CONFIDENTIAL. No. 1 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 5th January, 1924.

Britain and Afghanistan.

THE Press views the war clouds on the Afghan frontier with concern. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that while it is needless to say that the whole-hearted support of Hindus and Muhammadans will be given to the Government in a necessary war, it is unnatural to expect popular adherence to any policy involving the expenditure of millions. India has a right to know what it is all about. Let us know why Afghanistan should suffer and India would, barring certain irreconcilable elements, whole-heartedly support any British measures. The *Aj* considers the action of the Government of India in prohibiting the importation of arms and ammunition into Afghan territory simply because of the Amir's inability to trace out certain murderers, to be a violation of the terms of the Anglo-Afghan treaty on the part of the British Government and remarks that the existing Anglo-Afghan estrangement is not due to the murders on the frontier, but to the conflict between the imperialistic designs of the British and the assertion of its independence by Afghanistan. The *Sudharak* holds that if any war is declared against the Amir of Kabul it will lead to very serious consequences and convert the whole of Central Asia into an arena for a gigantic war. If British statesmanship has not become altogether bankrupt the treaty rights of the Amir should be duly respected. The *Medina* says that the Afghan bogey is in fact a creation of British diplomacy which finding the Assembly packed with Swarajists now wants as a precautionary measure to create an atmosphere for successfully piloting the heavy military budget. In another article the same paper predicts the defeat of the British policy of territorial aggrandisement if it engages in a war with Afghanistan. The *Al Khalil* remarks that a war with Afghanistan will be an invitation to Russia to join the conflict as it has been on the lookout for finding a pretext to fight with Great Britain. The *Haqiqat* says that any breakdown of relations with Afghanistan will endanger the peace of India and that it is the duty of the Afghan Government to arrest and punish the assassins, who have taken refuge in Afghanistan. Mir Rahmat Ullah, writing to the *Najat* from Kabul, holds the Government of India responsible for the crimes committed by the tribesmen as a result of a policy of ruthless repression pursued by the former and remarks that every Afghan child is now ready to shed his blood for his country and the Amir alone, without the help of any neighbouring power, is capable of crushing down England.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Anand* deplores that Maulana Abdul Bari is on the war path by declaring the Hindus to be the enemies of Muhammadans and by inciting the latter against the former. It is because of the doings of bigotted Maulanas like Abdul Bari that the Muhammadans regard it to be their duty to hurt the feelings of Hindus. If the Congress leaders really want to establish harmonious relations between the two communities they should save the Muhammadans from the clutches and baneful influence of these Maulanas. The Hindus, while maintaining good-will towards the Muhammadans, should strengthen themselves by organising the scattered sections of their community inasmuch as their weakness is the main cause of Hindu-Muslim dissension. The *Sudharak* urges that in retaliation for the Muhammadan excesses at Nagpur and other places the Hindus should use the weapon of boycott against the Muhammadans in order to bring them to their senses. The *Tabligh* describes Lala Rajpat Rai's speech as betraying those hidden feelings which he was secretly entertaining against the Musalmans and remarks that in view of his being a great patriot and politician his utterance is not only regrettable and disappointing but shameful. The *Arya Varta* says that the exhortations of Maulana Abdul Bari are highly detrimental not only to the Hindus but also to the Muslim interests and that he is one of those bigotted persons who try to create a gulf between the two communities at the cost of the country's interests. The *Arya Patra* says that a spirit of selfishness pervades through his exhortations and that the political unity of the Musalmans with the Hindus was entirely based on self-respect.

The National Pact.

The National Pact as framed by the *Swaraj* party of Bengal has been severely criticised. The *Pioneer* in a leading article says that the *Swarajist* pact, which was intended to

heal the dissensions between the two communities, has merely served to widen the breach between them. A union of this kind can only be attained by slow and almost imperceptible degrees, through the elimination of fanaticism and the gradual evolution of sentiments of mutual toleration and forbearance. It cannot be hastened by any formal pacts to which a section of the political leaders subscribe, while the masses remain indifferent, if not actively hostile. The *Leader* says that the pact is one-sided through and through and is a fraud on the electorate as well as the Hindu community, and it is up to the *Swarajists* in other provinces not only to disown it but to condemn it in no hesitating terms. In an another article the *Leader* says that the pact arrived at in this hole-and-corner fashion can only be regarded as worthless. The *Advocate* remarks that the terms of the National Pact should at first be placed before the country for discussion and for ascertaining the views of all parties before final adoption. Both hurry and indifference in coming to a decision on this momentous question should be avoided. The *Independence*, while sympathising with Mr. C. R. Das' difficulties, is not in favour of attempting to solve the Hindu-Muslim question by pacts. It thinks that the Bengal Pact is only a feeler, a tentative arrangement between the members of the Bengal Council to find a way to combine to attack the bureaucracy. What is wanted is a change of heart in all concerned and this can come through the cultivation of the communal sense of reverence and tolerance. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that the discussion round the National Pact must be as discouraging to the enemies of Nationalism who instinctively grasped at the Bengal Pact with a desire to set the Hindus against the Moslems and as a consequence, to wreck the Indian National Congress. The *Anand* holds that the National Pact formulated by Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Ansari, if acted upon, will remove most of the causes of Hindu-Muslim dissensions and establish good-will between the two communities. Unlike the Bengal Pact the National Pact has treated the religious interests of both the communities on an equal footing. The clauses on cow-killing question should serve to satisfy both the Hindus and the Muhammadans. If the latter will accept them, the future of national unity is assured. On the other hand, the Hindus will never recognise the National Pact if the Muhammadans persist in their obstinate attitude over this question. The *Vartman* remarks that since the Hindu Maha Sabha and other authoritative associations were not invited to make suggestions it will not be a matter for surprise if the National Pact is not accepted by the public. The *Surya* holds that the Hindus of Bengal will never accept this one-sided pact and will throw it into the wastepaper basket as it tramples upon their legitimate rights. It urges the Hindu institutions all over the country to protest against the unjustifiable action of the Bengal *Swarajists* in proposing to conclude a pact on their behalf without consulting their recognised religious leaders. The *Anand* asks the *Bengal Swaraj* party to repudiate the pact in view of the universal opposition evoked by it among the Hindus who find therein an unparalleled blow to their rights. The *Kartavya* says that this pact has all the more complicated the Hindu-Muslim problem and created grave dissatisfaction among the Hindus. The Congress and not the *Swaraj* party is competent to deal with this question. The *Vartman* remarks that the pact murders the rights of a particular community and as such can have no value. The *Aj*, while disapproving of the separate provisional Bengal Pact, in view of the fact that a National Pact had already been drawn up, sees no reason to be embarrassed by it, as it is only a tentative proposal and not a final decision, which the Congress alone is empowered to make. It suggests that the Cocanada Congress should decide the matter without delay. The *Arya Varta* remarks that under the present state of India's subjugation it is useless to draw up any pact as it can never be put into practice. The pact should be concluded when *swaraj* is achieved. The *Oudh Akhbar* approves of the terms of the pact as drawn up by Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Ansari and remarks that if it is acted upon with sincerity the present strained relations will disappear to a great extent and there will be no more communal disputes in future. The *Al Khalil* prefers the Bengal *Swarajists'* pact to that drawn up by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai and remarks that while the former is more practicable the latter is calculated to widen the gulf between the two communities. The *Hamdam* congratulates the Bengal *Swarajists* upon the statesmanlike step taken by them and remarks that the pact will go a long way in frustrating the efforts of the enemies of the country and will prevent any misunderstanding being created between the two communities and will safeguard the just rights of both. In another article the same paper resents the opposition of the Hindus to this pact and exhorts the Musalmans to adopt some proper means to safeguard their religious and political interests when *swaraj* is obtained. The *Medina* praises the Bengal *Swarajists* for drawing up the pact and remarks that a

new era in Indian politics will begin from the January sessions of the Indian Legislatures. The *Azad* says that the pact chalked out by Lala Rajpat Rai and Dr. Ansari is more deserving of consideration and more acceptable than the Bengal one, the greatest defect of the latter being that the *Swarajists'* pact cannot be applicable to other provinces and that it contains some provisions which cannot be acceptable to the Hindus.

Cocanada Congress.

The *Leader* which characterises the annual gathering of the non-cooperators as a sort of *tamasha* in which it is difficult to transact any serious business or to discuss important national questions, says that no amount of *camouflage* can hide the fact of the fundamental nature of the differences that prevail among the Congressmen and the claim of unity in the Congress can deceive only those who habitually practise self-deception. In another article the paper congratulates Mr. Muhammad Ali on his improved outlook on the all-important question of Hindu-Muslim unity and felicitates him on the ability that marks his address, and says: "We must affirm with equal frankness that, while both of us are anxious to attain *swaraj*, there is almost nothing else common between us in the political work that lies before us." The *Advocate* says that the presidential address of Maulana Muhammad Ali is a statesmanlike pronouncement worthy of a great national leader. Though of unusual length, there is not a jejune passage in the whole address. It is the outpouring of his heart in language at once simple and sincere. The *Independence* is gratified at the compromise resolution and says that the atmosphere for united vigorous action has been vouchsafed by Cocanada, but adds that to talk of civil disobedience, to talk of any kind of aggressive campaign in the country without organising Congress work, is to talk irresponsibly. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that Muhammad Ali's address is remarkable for its close knowledge of Indian affairs and his closely argued address explains to the British, in the best English style, why Indians are against them and why, from being loyalists, the Moslems are today bitter against them. With regard to Maulana Shaukat Ali's address the paper says that it is the most inspired, and rings with that deep earnestness that is the foremost characteristic of the man. He may well claim to be the most representative Muslim not only in India but in all Islam. He has spoken out the Muslim mind. It cannot be gainsaid that by their learning, sacrifice and devotion to their religion, the Ali brothers, and even more particularly Shaukat Ali, have earned for themselves a name that will go down the history of Islam. The *Pioneer* in an article headed "India in Wonderland" says that a continuous study of the vagaries of non-cooperating politicians in India is calculated to daze the observer. The creed of non-cooperators is destructive and, undoubtedly, their subversive agitation has created an atmosphere favourable to the development of racial and communal antipathies. The plans they are now projecting, if brought to fruition, will lead to further strife, and possibly to imprisonment for the dupes of non-cooperation. In another article headed "Whither" the *Pioneer* asks: Cannot every one see whither the teachings of the Ali brothers must inevitably lead? Referring to Maulana Shaukat Ali's anti-British sentiments the *Pioneer* says that in view of the tension that exists between the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities in India it is more than strange that it should be generally accepted without protest, if not with placid equanimity. The threats against the British Empire can be dismissed as idle vapourings. It is India that stands to suffer if another campaign of rampant lawlessness is set on foot and the forces of disorder to which appeal is being made are let loose once more upon law-abiding people. It is from the point of view of India, then, that law-abiding men should resolutely and openly repudiate the pernicious teachings that have been cited, which are pregnant with evil potentialities for this country. The *Hamdam* describes the presidential address as a valuable addition to the political literature of the country. The *Kartavya* says that the cry "Back to Nagpur" is now altogether out of the question. The Bardoli programme should be re-adopted and the destructive programme should also include the organised boycott of British goods. Preparations should also be made for mass civil disobedience without which *swaraj* cannot be attained. It also insists on the adoption of complete independence as the goal of the Congress. The *Bharat Jiwan* also emphasises the need for fulfilling the constructive programme and urges the inclusion of the Moderates within the Congress, pointing out that the sacrifices made in the Congress creed, policy and programme for the purpose will be far outbalanced by the accession of strength accruing to it by the reversion of the Moderates to its fold. The *Vartman* remarks that the Congress should treat with indifference the *Swarajist* threat to withdraw from the national body in case the Council entry question was re-opened. It will be a great blunder on our part if we reject a tried

programme for fear of the withdrawal of a few leaders from the Congress ranks. The *Dehati* urges the vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme without re-opening the Council entry question and says that those who believe in *satyagraha* should raise volunteers for the purpose and be ready to resort to civil disobedience when the time comes for it. They should be prepared not to pay even their taxes. The *Navayug* urges that the organisation of labourers and cultivators should be given the foremost place in the next Congress programme. In another article the same paper suggests the desirability of a select body of people preparing quietly for civil disobedience in particular areas. It says that the Congress will do well to give its mandate to the *Swaraj* party to work in the Councils subject to certain restrictions.

The Swaraj party.

Speculation is rife as to the future programme of the *Swaraj* party and their attitude in the Councils. The *Pioneer* says that the idea that the *Swarajists* will succeed in their aim of paralysing the administration is grotesque. The King-Emperor's Government must and will be carried on, and the executive possess ample resources to enable them to frustrate the attempts of the revolutionaries to bring it to a standstill. The *Independence* says that the success of the *Swarajists* at the polls is a glorious proclamation of the unassailable fact that the *Swarajists* have the sympathy of tbe country. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that with the statement before the public, bearing the signature of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, no one will dare cast any aspersion on the motive of the *Swarajists* in seeking election. It is a dread evidence of the success of the movement that has sent forth its ambassadors to seek fresh fields and pastures new. No Indian accustomed to think politically will cease to regret that, at this supreme moment, when the great patriots have framed their policy, any of his countrymen should be discovered in the camp of the Government. India is heading for an interesting phase in its political development. The *Leader* says: Now that the non-cooperation movement has collapsed and the *Swarajists* have failed to capture the Assembly and the Legislative Councils with one exception, it would be idle to expect that the Government would cooperate with the *Swarajists* in facilitating the evolution of its scheme for the formulation of a brand new constitution for India. How can they dictate their terms to Government which is fully conscious of its strength and of the weakness of the *Swarajist* position? The resolution of the *Swaraj* Council betrays the incapacity of the party to face realities. The procedure suggested by the *Swaraj* party appears to be impracticable in the existing conditions. The *Swaraj* party is merely complicating issues, instead of trying to solve them by putting forward a scheme which is open to serious objections on constitutional grounds and which starts with a demand for the release of all political prisoners. The *Leader* characterises His Excellency the Governor's speech at Cawnpore as a challenge to *Swarajists* and says that His Excellency's speech is not calculated to promote the cause of tranquillity inside and outside the Council, which is so dear to him.

The Liberal Federation.

The *Leader* is gratified at the enthusiasm displayed in the proceedings of the meeting of the Liberal Federation at Poona and at the large attendance of delegates and visitors and says that the address of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is distinguished by the qualities of frankness and straightforwardness, courtesy and urbanity, opportuneness, and sober practical wisdom. It is singularly free from discourtesy or bitterness. The *Pioneer*, on the other hand, thinks that Sir Tej Bahadur's reference to the Kenya question must by this time be growing more than a little weary. The *Indian Daily Telegragh* says that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's address does not even possess the merit of an intimate and exhaustive presentment of the present situation. This is the first time that we have come across such an uninspiring and stale speech on an occasion which, to the Liberal imagination, is to supply the place of the Congress. We are afraid his voice will not be heard further than the narrow circle to which the Liberals have been forced. The *Anand* says that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's views expressed in his presidential address should be carefully pondered over by the Liberals. Though the number of the supporters of the policy of the Liberals has decreased owing to the anti-British feelings in the country created by the illiberal policy of the Government, yet the Liberals can gain in strength if they work more energetically and reorganise their forces. The *Hamdam* says that Dr. Sapru has truly voiced the sentiments of the Indian public regarding the Kenya question, though it cannot be said how far it was necessary to go on harping upon the same subject. His

address shows that the Liberals have not been disheartened by their defeat in the elections but they have rather realised their weakness and want to strengthen their party.

The U. P. Ministers.

Referring to the re-appointment of Ministers the *Leader* says: Nothing better was expected of a Governor whose whole political outlook is reactionary. The *Independence* says that the announcement of the U. P. Ministry does not come as a surprise. The surprise would have been if a leader of the *Swaraj* party had been offered the office of Minister. The Ministers must be such as to command the confidence of a clear majority in the House, and we doubt not that the nomination of two landlords to that post is all that any reasonable man could expect any sane Government to do. The paper views the situation with cheerfulness and says: The *Swarajists* have no big leader in the U. P. Council. Theirs will be a soldiers' fight, without a General on the spot. And the fight will strain all the resources of the Ministry and the Government alike. The *Pioneer* approves of the re-appointment of the old Ministers and says that it will be welcomed by sober opinion, both Indian and European, in the United Provinces. The two Ministers have an excellent record for the short period during which they have been in office; they come from a class which has a definite stake in the country and an interest in the preservation of stable conditions; and they represent the largest party in the new Council.

The late Raja Parmanand.

The *Pioneer* says that the utimely death of Raja Parmanand is a serious loss to the Local Government. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that as Minister of Education during the short period he filled that position, he displayed a breadth of view and mastery of details that marked him out as a successful administrator. The *Leader* says: Widespread will be the regret felt at the death of the Hon'ble Raja Parmanand. Even in his advanced age he brought much industry and enthusiasm to bear on the discharge of his duties.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* prefers revolutionary methods to constitutionalism and remarks: Constitutionalism is an ineffective weapon for effecting a complete change in the present system of administration without which the attainment of national freedom is impossible. The only means of fulfilling this condition is to preach discontent and dissatisfaction against the present system of administration and on this depends the success of revolution. The *Aj* remarks that at present revolutionary ideas have taken hold of the country. Revolution is but a mental state. It does not depend upon arms; whether we have an armed fight or a non-violent struggle if the tendency is revolutionary the ground is fertile for revolution. Those people who do not cherish this tendency have no place in public life. The *Nayaya* says that though the Indian States are free and their Chiefs are declared to be the allies of the King-Emperor on paper, yet in practice they are in a state of utter subjection. No sooner an Indian Chief displays independence then he falls a victim to the displeasure of the Political department. The achievements of Lord Dalhousie are being re-enacted by Lord Reading in the matter of Nabha and other States. This will create an awakening among Indian Chiefs and make them realise their true position. The *Hamdam* regards the speech of Sir Malcolm Hailey at Cawnpore as an open challenge to the Indians and exhorts them to unite in defeating the reactionary policy of the Government. It reminds him that if the Government persists in its retrograde policy, then even those people who are now siding with it, will desert it as it is not the *Swarajists* alone but the Liberals also who are in favour of Indianisation of services.

LUCKNOW:
The 5th January, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 12th January, 1924.

Britain and Afghanistan.

THE Indian Press continues to be alarmed at the prospect of a conflagration on the Afghan border. The *Advocate* says that the prospects of embroiling the country in a war with Afghanistan, resulting in the expenditure of crores of rupees and loss of thousands of lives to avenge the murder of half a dozen British officials, cannot be looked upon with complacency by the people of India—especially in view of the fact that the Government's frontier policy in Waziristan has not been sound and has given cause for provocation to the frontier tribesmen who value freedom more than life. The *Garhwali* says that if war is declared against Afghanistan it will create excitement in all Muhammadan States and make them the enemy of the British Government. The *Hamdam* exhorts all the political parties in India to unite in averting the unnecessary war with Afghanistan and remarks that the present political situation in the country demands that the Government should desist from taking any dangerous step in that direction. The *Paigham* says that if the hostile attitude adopted by the Government is not changed at once it is likely to embroil India in a dangerous war against Afghanistan sooner or later. The *Al Bureed* lays stress on the necessity of an Anglo-Afghan friendship and insinuates that the question of arrest of the frontier criminals is only a pretext; the real object of Great Britain is to bring Afghanistan under its subordination.

The Khilafat.

The *Medina* remarks that the inopportune question of the power and prestige of the Khalifa has caused an excitement throughout the Muslim world. The pro-Greek and anti-Muslim activities of Great Britain have made the Turks well aware of the cunningness of the enemies of Islam and they naturally regard as dangerous any proposal emanating from the British Empire. Commenting upon Maulana Shaukat Ali's address at the Khilafat Conference the *Hamdam* remarks that he has truly voiced the sentiments of his co-religionists regarding the policy adopted by responsible British statesmen against the Muslim world within the past few years. It hopes that the Government will pay attention to his utterances and will refrain from taking any short-sighted and hasty action against Afghanistan.

The Nepal Treaty.

The *Pioneer* remarks that the treaty, now happily concluded, is equally satisfactory and honourable to both the high contracting parties and forms a fitting sequel to the first historic treaty signed between the two countries at Segowlie in December 1815. The *Aj* views the treaty with disfavour and remarks that if this treaty will do nothing else it will at least injure the indigenous trade and industry of Nepal, with the result that unemployment and poverty will increase in the country.

The Cocanada Congress.

The *Anand* notes with satisfaction that Maulana Muhammad Ali expressed important views on the Hindu-Muslim question in his presidential address and says that if both Hindus and Muhammadans were to act upon them they would never come to loggerheads again. It considers the president's warning at the conclusion of his address as quite uncalled for and says that it will only accentuate bitterness. It remarks that the Maulana failed in putting forward any new programme which could infuse enthusiasm into the people. The *Vartman* opines that in his speech Maulana Muhammad Ali depicted the real feelings and sentiments of the people. His exposition of the council-entry question was particularly sound and remarkable. His advice to work the Gandhian programme for one year more will be received with alacrity by the people and will engender the requisite enthusiasm. In another article the paper says that after the Congress our representatives should at once raise corps for *satyagraha*, resume the boycott of foreign cloth, fulfil the constructive programme and launch out *satyagraha* at the gate of the Yervada jail. The *Kartvaya* remarks that Maulana Muhammad Ali has once again made it clear that Indians have no other weapon than non-cooperation to secure freedom and that the path of red revolution is not desirable for them. It expresses approval of his views on

the Hindu-Muslim question and hopes that both Hindus and Muhammadans will mould their future conduct in that light. The *Vartman* says that by rejecting the Independence resolution and the ideal for which it stood the Subjects Committee of the Cocanada Congress, its president Maulana Muhammad Ali and other Congress leaders have betrayed their timidity and weakness of mind. Thus for the time being the high aspirations of Indian youths have been crushed and weakness and ambiguity have triumphed. The *Hindustani* describes the Congress session as being a great success and remarks that the presidential address will ever remain memorable in the annals of history, and that Maulana Muhammad Ali has fulfilled all the expectations entertained of him. The *Ariya Patra* says that Maulana Muhammad Ali's presidential address was fit to be read in a meeting of the Muslim League considering that throughout the address he has constantly kept in view the fact that he is first a Musalman and then an Indian. His address is devoid of the truer spirit of patriotism. The *Al Khalil* remarks that the Congress session ended very successfully in spite of the fact that the foundation of unity was undermined and *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* had usurped the place of political activities. Maulana Muhammad Ali deserves to be congratulated for his candour and outspokenness and the manner in which he treated the important though unpleasant question of Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Liberal Federation.

The *Bhartiya Lokmat* remarks that the dominant note in the presidential address at the Liberal Federation was one of mendicancy as usual. Whatever action is to be taken to redress Indian wrongs the Viceroy is called upon to undertake it. Regarding the administration of the country Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has prescribed the panacea of a commission despite the bitter experience that no commission has so far yielded any substantial results. He will do well to leave the political field rather than put obstacles in the way of the Indian nationalists to attain *swaraj* by destroying the existing system of administration. The *Surya*, on the other hand, pays a tribute to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for his presidential address and says that he has fully voiced the views of his party. No true patriot can take exception to them, of course with the exceptions of British Tories, the Civilians, Smuts and the *Swarajists* who hold divergent views to serve their own selfish purposes.

The National Pact.

Commenting on the resolution of the Khilafat Conference on the Indian National pact the *Leader* says that Musalmans enjoy representation much in excess of their numerical strength in the local Council on the basis of the Lucknow pact and also on the local bodies. But they will lose heavily if the basis of population for purposes of representation is accepted. Whatever principle is accepted should be applied to all parts of the country. For our part we are opposed to the reopening of the question as it is likely to create fresh communal discord and to increase the existing bitterness. The Bengal Hindu-Muslim pact continues to be the burning topic in the vernacular press, specially in its Hindu section. The *Abhyudaya* strongly disapproves of the pact and remarks that it will spoil the chances of a Hindu-Muslim settlement rather than facilitate it. No nationalist and particularly no Hindu can ever agree to and be satisfied with it. If *swaraj* is to be attained under the conditions laid down in the pact, we will rather like to be without *swaraj*. If the Hindu leaders fail to take any action and allow Mr. C. R. Dass and his colleagues a free hand in the matter, the situation will assume a very serious turn. The *Gyan Shakti* remarks that the Bengal Hindu-Muslim pact renders the Hindus the slaves of the Muhammadans. Complete extinction should be preferable for the Hindus to the acceptance of such a pact which murders all their religious rights. If the attainment of *swaraj* depends upon the acceptance of this pact the Hindus will prefer to go without it. The *Gorakshan* considers the pact to be wholly unjust, one-sided, reprehensible and unacceptable. The pact concedes even such rights to Muhammadans as they did not enjoy under their own rule. It utterly ignores the religious sentiments and susceptibilities of the Hindus. Its clauses relating to cow-killing and music before mosques are specially objectionable. The *Swadesh* says that the pact neither does any good to the country nor solves the Hindu-Muslim problem and that on the contrary it further complicates that question. The *Jhansi Samachar* remarks that it is fatal to the communal and religious interests of the Hindus and can therefore never succeed in establishing the much-desired unity between Hindus and Muslims. The *Vartman* points out that if the contemplated national Hindu-Muslim pact allows even under very limited conditions the slaughter of cows, it will be unacceptable to the Hindus. No Hindu true to his religion can ever allow cow-slaughter under any condition and in any part of India. It urges that the national pact should be revised so as

to satisfy the Hindu sentiment on the point. The *Aj* says that no tribute to the national pact drafted by Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Ansari can be too high. It stands for self-respect, national honour, Asiatic interests and universal peace. It is to be hoped that the Congress will accept it. The *Medina* is sceptical about the enforcement of the national pact even if it is accepted by the Congress and remarks that if in local bodies the Musalmans and other minorities are not given separate representation then their political and civic prestige will be destroyed and a severe blow will be dealt to their just rights. The *Paigham* says that the pact is a living example of the broad-mindedness, generosity and large-heartedness of the Bengal *Swarajists* and is a clear indication of the fact that the *Swaraj* party has sincerely at heart the common good of the country and wishes that all the communities within the country should march side by side on the path of progress.

Swaraj party.

In a leading article headed "Swarajists and Councils" the *Leader* assumes that the Government will refuse to consider the *Swarajist* demands presented by registered post and with a pistol at its head. It thinks that they will carry out the policy of obstruction. Their electors will gaze with awe and admiration on these shining lights of non-cooperation doing nothing except voting now and then, but probably drawing their allowances. Commenting on the *Swaraj* party programme the *Pioneer* says that no Government worthy of the name could yield to the hectoring demands advanced by the *Swaraj* party. In another article the paper says that the *Swarajists* initiating a policy of continual and persistent obstruction in the United Provinces Council may be regarded as unlikely. The *Leader* replying to the comments of the *Pioneer* says that the *Swarajist* programme should have occasioned no surprise even to the *Pioneer* which, while living, moving and having his being in India, is yet strangely out of touch with the realities of the situation. There is not the slightest doubt that the non-cooperation in India is the direct product of bureaucratic government just as Bolshevist Russia is the child of Tzarist Russia. And the threatened *Swarajist* obstruction in Councils is wholly due to the obstinate unresponsiveness of Government to temperate and reasoned persuasion. There is not the slightest doubt that effective means will be found, within the limits of the Act itself, to deal with the ill-advised and childish attempts at destructive obstruction. But every well-wisher of both England and India will earnestly hope that the wisdom and the vision of the statesman will prevail and not merely the vigour and the capacity of the administrator, that the policy that will be favoured will be not merely a hand-to-mouth or a day-to-day policy but a policy that will envisage the future and secure peaceful progress. The *Advocate* says that it is not possible to forecast the course which the coming tussle between the elected representatives of India and the Government will take, but it seems probable that the latter will not easily yield until forced to do so by circumstances. The Government will not be in a hurry to yield to the popular demand. But it cannot be denied that the *Swarajist* success has caused considerable uneasiness to the officials and the Anglo-Indian papers. Commenting on the proceedings of the Legislative Council the *Leader* says: The courtesy and consideration shown to the *Swarajists* in the allotment of seats is evidence only of the insinuating ways of the bureaucracy. Commenting upon the general defeat of the Muslim *Swarajist* candidates the *Dilchasp* remarks that the Muslim public acted wisely in not returning those candidates to the legislature who had allied themselves with the party of Pandit Malaviya, an enemy of Islam. Most of the *Swarajist* candidates are not free from communal prejudice and there is every apprehension that it will be these members who will bring about the failure of their party. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that if the Government is sincerely desirous to grant self-government to India then it should have no hesitation in accepting the demands formulated by the *Swarajists* in their conference at Cocanada. It observes that Mr. Gandhi and other political leaders were not prompted by any ill-will against the Government, but only voiced the public desire for *swaraj*.

Public Services Commission.

Commenting on the evidence submitted by the Madras Association of Indian Officers to the Public Services Commission the *Pioneer* says that it is obvious that evidence of this kind is likely to have a very deleterious effect upon the prospects, already none too bright, of recruitment of British candidates for appointment to the Indian Services. The *Leader* says that the interesting statement submitted by the Madras European Servants Association shows in more explicit terms than any of the statements previously submitted before the Lee Commission did the way of thinking of the superior services in India. Englishmen seem to forget that the cost of living

has increased not only for them but for all and sundry, and the persons who are most affected by these hard times are not so much the Englishmen who are clamouring for higher pay and prospects as the poor hard hit tax-payers who are being more and more squeezed every day, and who find it extremely difficult to make both ends meet. To such Englishmen who think it necessary to keep seventeen servants in India in order to maintain their prestige and dignity we would recommend the reading of Wordsworth's poem wherein he emphasises the necessity of 'plain living and high thinking' instead of a glittering and polished life 'drest only for show.'

Civil Disobedience in Gujrat.

The *Hamdam* writing before the issue of the *communiqué* by the Bombay Government protests against its action in imposing the punitive police tax on the people. It does not believe that the people offered shelter to the robbers and praises the non-violent protest of the people, and their attitude when their effects were confiscated and warns the Government that it cannot succeed through repression against the firm attitude of the people. The *Leader* says that the Bombay Government *communiqué* announcing the remission of the punitive police tax imposed on the people of the Borsad taluk, who had started *satyagraha* as a protest against the levy, will be claimed as a triumph of non-cooperation and the defeat of Government. The Government, however, deserves to be congratulated on the rare moral courage it has shown in confessing its mistake and the admission it has made that those who refused to pay the punitive tax were justified in the attitude they took up. The Government having admitted its mistake should compensate those who suffered by resisting an unjust levy.

The U. P. Ministers.

The *Leader* approves the appointment of Rai Rajeswar Bali and says that His Excellency's choice is better than it was thought it would be. During the last term of the Council Rai Rajeshwar Bali's record of work was better than that of the average landlord member and particularly during the days that the District Boards Bill was before the Council he showed much foresight and courage in actively identifying himself with the Progressives with a view to saving the Bill from the die-hard onslaughts. It is a difficult task he has undertaken, but he will have with him the good-wishes of many progressive and independent members of the Council and of others outside who have come to appreciate his high character and patriotic outlook in the discharge of his onerous duties. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that in his selection of his new Minister His Excellency has shown both discrimination and courage. Rai Rajeshwar Bali is one of the most highly educated among the taluqdars, belongs to a very distinguished family, is a reputed scholar and his manners as a man have earned for him the appreciation of all, but it warns the landholders of the dissensions in their camp and of the positive insecurity of the ministry if the *Swarajists* and the Independents among the taluqdars and among the politicians should combine, as they can easily. The Governor has done his part well. He has selected from the party in power two Ministers against whom not even their enemies have anything to say. He certainly expects from them the cohesive force to keep their party together.

The Akali agitation.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* ascribes the action of the Punjab Government in arresting the Akali leaders to their having gone to Cocanada to make a demonstration. It praises the Akalis for their self-restraint at the time of the arrests, and says that the Government of the Punjab is the greatest inspirer of patriotism in the minds of India. The Indian patriots will not fail to take up the challenge. Remember the action against the Akalis is a challenge from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and not in Amritsar alone. And the Government will soon know it. And the Government wants it. It shall have it. On the other hand, the *Pioneer* which praises the tact and forbearance exercised by the District Magistrate of Amritsar and the police, says that if recrudescence of organised aggressive activity among the Akalis is averted it will be mainly due to the firmness now displayed by the Punjab Government in taking immediate action against those who were met together to concert a renewal of the anti-Government campaign, and to the precautions taken by the police to give no shadow of ground of complaint in the execution of their duty.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* observes that the increase in the air forces of all the countries of the world and the increased manufacture of air-ships are the preparations for the next great war in which the whole world will be involved. It prophesies that this war will take place within two or three years, and the strength in air force will be the one

deciding factor in it. It also opines that Germany, Russia, Austria, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and China will form one party and that the British will have to fight on a front extending from Europe to the Far East. The *Utsah* commenting upon Lord Reading's régime including his incarceration of Mr. Gandhi and the certification of the salt tax says that his injustice and tyranny cannot last for ever. The obstructive opposition of the *Swarajists* within the Councils and vigorous prosecution of the boycott of British goods will surely end in his recall to England. If he is wise he will do well to retire before any such contingency arises. The *Abhyudaya* says that the Bangalore speech of Mr. Sastri shows that his views have of late undergone a radical change. He has lost faith in British justice and generosity and has pinned his faith to self-help. He too does not want petty reforms but stands for *swaraj*. Our Congress leaders should welcome him back among their ranks and work unitedly for *swaraj*. The *Bharatiya Lokmat* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in which he claims that all his work in Germany, Turkey and Afghanistan during the Great War was for the good of India, that he secured letters from Germany and Turkey to seven Indian Maharajas and Nawabs conveying the assurance that if the Indian people and princes established a national government of their own it will be recognised as such by those States; that it was he who got the Kaiser to address the Ruler of Nepal as His Majesty. It was after this event that the British Government also recognised the appellation of that Ruler as His Majesty. He asks the Nepal Durbar to contradict or corroborate the statement of the companion of Captain Gujar Singh who took the Kaiser's letters to Nepal that the Nepal Durbar honoured the messenger.

LUCKNOW:

The 12th January, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

MAIL BRANCH
4 FEB 1924
INDIA OFFICE

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 19th January, 1924.

Britain and Afghanistan.

THE *Advocate* says that the cloud which appeared in the horizon of the North-Western frontier is now assuming rather ominous proportions, and insinuates that Great Britain is seeking to reduce the power of the Amir in order to make up for the loss of prestige she has suffered in Turkey. The *Leader* notes with satisfaction that with the capture of the Ajab gang the tension between the Afghan and Indian Government will certainly lessen, but thinks that the question of the renewal of the Afghan Treaty may have something to do with the present troubles, as the issues involved are not merely captures of this gang or that but the whole foreign relations of the one Government with the other. The *Pioneer* is gratified at the capture of the Kohat murderers by the Afghan Government and says that the Amir has given a practical demonstration of his wish to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain. As soon as the Landikotal murderers are captured the main causes of the protests made by Great Britain will have been removed, and the avoidance of any similar ground for friction in the future will retain for the Amir the good-will of a country which has always viewed with sympathetic interest the prospect of the establishment in Afghanistan of a stable and well-ordered Government on modern lines. The *Hamdam* accuses the Anglo-Indian press of trying to strain the relations between England and Afghanistan and advises the Government not to treat the frontier tribes as worse than beasts but to try to conciliate them and win their gratitude. The *Haqiqat* asks the Government of India not to lose sight of the present situation in the country and of the presence of the Bolshevik armies in Turkistan before committing India to a dangerous war against Afghanistan. The *Medina* exhorts the Indians to fully realise their responsibilities and urges that the Government should not get a pie from the poor and destitute Indians to wage a war against Afghanistan. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* hopes that the Government will not act upon the advice of a section of the press to declare war against Afghanistan and cause the bloodshed of thousands for a few murders committed on the frontier.

The Labour Government in England.

While the *Pioneer* is anything but enthusiastic over the change of Ministry in England, the prospect of a Labour Ministry coming into power is viewed with satisfaction by the Indian papers. The *Vartman* remarks that a Labour Ministry with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at its head is fully assured and that with its establishment the British Empire will undergo great changes which will not be favourable to the interests of the capitalists. The *Aj* resents the attempts in the British press to spoil the chances of a Labour Government in England and says: India does not expect the Labour party to confer freedom on her but what she does hope is that a Labour Government will be less unjust to her. But an attempt to deprive her of even this small gain means that we should abandon all hopes of justice at the hands of Britain. The *Hamdam* entertains high hopes for India in case a Labour Government comes into power and remarks that a Labour Government can be beneficial to India only when the political struggle started by Mahatma Gandhi is continued. The *Hindustani* hopes that all the demands of the Indians for *swaraj* will be satisfied under a Labour Government.

The Nepal Treaty.

Referring to the new treaty between Nepal and the British Government the *Pratap* remarks that the British Government is now patronising the Gurkhas only because it has forfeited the sympathy of the Akalis and the Afghans, but European diplomacy, says the paper, has taught the world to treat all former treaties as mere scraps of paper. The *Mashriq* welcomes the treaty and hopes that Nepal will profit by the proper and generous rights granted to it and will abstain from giving any cause of suspicion against itself.

The Cocanada Congress.

The *Swadesh* says that Maulana Muhammad Ali's presidential address at the Cocanada Congress was comprehensive and dealt ably with all important questions of the day. It pulsated with the spirit of nationalism and embodied sound arguments. He has succeeded in impressing upon the public mind the need of Hindu-Muslim unity and the fulfilment of the constructive programme. The *Shakti* remarks that the

presidential address was a historical pronouncement full of sound, striking and profound ideas. The *Utsah* holds that the address was marked with ability and thoroughly dealt with the present political situation in the country. The president rightly emphasised the need of Hindu-Muslim unity and his plea for mixed electorates ought to commend itself to the Muhammadan community. His views regarding the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements were impartial. The *Pratap* regrets that although the Cocanada Congress laid particular stress on working out the constructive programme, it did not prescribe any practical measures for the purpose. The *Dehati* exhorts all Indians to work out the constructive programme and reorganise national forces on the lines suggested by Maulana Muhammad Ali and says that if they do so they are sure to make the Government yield to their demands or at least they will have prepared the ground for the proclamation of a republic in India in case the Government of India does not release Mahatma Gandhi and place the Charter of the grant of *swaraj* in his hands by the end of the year 1924. They should be prepared to run a Congress Government parallel to the established Government in 1925 to demonstrate that they are quite capable of maintaining peace and order and fit for self-government. The *Kartavya*, while holding that the Cocanada session of the Congress was a success, notes with regret that the Congress failed to provide for the organisation of labour and to define *swaraj*. The *Vartman* remarks in a pessimistic tone that among all the great Indian leaders who could be seen in the National Congress at Cocanada there was none who could be called a true soldier of the nation and a true seeker of freedom. There was not one who could come forward and say that he was ready to sacrifice his life at the altar of freedom, and that he had pledged himself either to wipe out slavery from India or give up his life in the attempt. The *Bharat Jivan* says that despite the eulogies lavished upon the Poona Liberal Federation and the Cocanada Congress in their respective party organs, it remains a deplorable fact that there has been no improvement in the political situation in the country. The crying need of the hour is a leader who could command universal respect and who could effectively help in the solution of the difficulties of the country. The *Medina* remarks that it gives a lead to the right path and decides our course of action for the future. The *Haqiqat* says that the address in spite of being lengthy was very learned and remarkable. The *Mashriq* takes Maulana Muhammad Ali to task for belittling the Hindu-Muslim strifes and disturbances and observes that he has incurred the displeasure of both the Hindus and the Musalmans. The Ali brothers and their comrades are making the lot of the Muslims all the more miserable. The *Najat* expresses its gratification that contrary to all the apprehensions Maulana Muhammad Ali's statesmanship has saved the Congress from being divided into hostile functions. The *Zulqarnain* urges upon the Musalmans to organise a separate political association for themselves and not to leave their communal interests at the mercy of the Congress so that they may not be swallowed up by the Hindus and lose the importance which they enjoy in the country. The *Hamdard* eulogises the presidential address of Maulana Muhammad Ali and commends to every party in the country the portion of his speech dealing with the question of the Hindu-Muslim unity. It regrets, however, that the Cocanada Congress like the Delhi session has failed to accomplish any solid work.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Pratap* regrets that the Congress could effect little in the direction of Hindu-Muslim unity. Maulana Muhammad Ali's dictum regarding the stoppage of cow-slaughter ill becomes the present president of the country. It is idle to aspire for *swaraj* when the Muhammadans cannot give up their weakness for beef-eating for a time and the Hindus cannot stop music before mosques for a high ideal. No serious problem can be solved without sacrifice. Without the stoppage of cow-slaughter there can be no real Hindu-Muslim unity, and in the absence of this consummation the attainment of *swaraj* is impossible.

Indians in the Colonies.

In a leading article headed "Indians in South Africa" the *Leader* says that the position of Indians in South Africa calls for serious attention. The anti-Indian immigration law of the Union has already placed them in terrible isolation in a land whose atmosphere has grown tense with racial arrogance and economic jealousy. The Government of India must take a strong stand now that all their sweet reasonableness has so far completely failed. Public opinion in this country must need be focussed on the situation in South Africa. It is much to be regretted that the matter has not received the attention it deserves and it is time that we in India woke up to the grave peril threatening to wipe out the Indian community in South Africa.

Mr. Gandhi.

The Indian press views the illness of Mr. Gandhi with grave concern and urges his immediate release. The *Advocate* says that all India will feel anxious till Mahatma is once more at liberty. If Mahatma were to die while in a British prison or still a prisoner in British hands, the hope of reconciliation between the Indian and the British would die with him, and the event would have a terrible reaction on the people all over the world. The *Independence* remarks that the fact that the Mahatma is in prison proclaims the terrible truth that India is in chains. Mahatma Gandhi is the personification of the genius of the Indian race. We ask for his release not because his health has suffered in the jail, but because the bureaucracy had no right to put him in jail. The disastrous breakdown of the Mahatma's health is an unassailable testimony to the incompetence of the Government to have in their charge that great soul's body any longer. After the operation the Government will continue to keep the Mahatma in prison at their own peril. In another article entitled "Prisons and Health" the *Independence* says that the Mahatma who was so careful of his health should have developed appendicitis necessitating an operation is a gross reflection on jail administration by the bureaucracy as much as it is a revelation of the kind of treatment political prisoners can obtain in jails which are built for thieves, dacoits and murderers. Every moment the Mahatma passes behind the rusted bars after this major operation is a moment of anxiety to the Indian people. India must speak out as one man, its one mind: "Release Gandhi." And if the Government ignores the demand of India it will do so at its own peril. The *Leader* says that if Mr. Gandhi is let off there will be universal rejoicing in the country. No just and honest Government need be afraid of Mr. Gandhi, and his release will be indication of a change of heart which cannot fail to produce a salutary effect. The *Hamdam* is confident that the resolution for the release of Mahatma Gandhi will be passed in the Assembly, and if the Viceroy exercises his special power in setting it aside, then a fire of opposition will surely break out in the country. In another article the same paper is of opinion that Mr. Gandhi's illness was due to his imprisonment. It suggests to the Governor of Bombay the advisability of releasing Mr. Gandhi without hesitation. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* is gratified that a resolution for the release of Mahatma Gandhi is to be moved in the Assembly and hopes that the Government will release him with a view to appease the people and in the interest of peace and order in India. The *Al Khalil*, on the other hand, asserts that the release of Mahatma Gandhi will not be the result of the resolution passed by the Assembly but the Government, in case of a war with Afghanistan, wants to have in India a powerful and influential personality strongly averse to the entry of any foreign power in India and this personality can be no other than that of Mahatma Gandhi.

The U. P. Ministers.

The *Swarajist* resolution of non-confidence in the Ministers has attracted considerable attention in the press and a mass of correspondence on the subject has appeared in the Lucknow papers. A Taluqdar nationalist writing in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the crisis which threatens the present Ministry in the U. P. Council is also a crisis that faces the community of Zamindars and Taluqdars. Mr. Chintamani in a signed article published in the *Leader* describes the tactics of the *Swarajists* as "constitutional vandalism," and says that the relevant question is not whether the present Ministers are the best and ablest of available men, but what the "non-confidence" motion means and implies. The object of the *Swarajists* is to discredit, to wreck, to obstruct, to destroy, not to improve or reform. It is the duty of every member who has no faith in wrecking and destruction to disapprove and to discourage in every possible manner the insensate policy to which the *Swarajists* have pledged themselves. The *Independence* replies by calling Mr. Chintamani an abject apologist of the bureaucracy and its indigenous prop, the Ministry, and says that by characterising a sincere band of men who have no personal interests to serve as "constitutional vandals," Mr. Chintamani only reveals, incidentally, the depth of his own degradation. In another article the *Independence* says that the vote of censure is a censure of the system of dyarchy and of the spirit of cooperation which runs riot amongst a section of the Indian people. The *Swarajists* do not care for the results. It is their duty to clear their position before the public which is critically watching every movement of theirs in and out of the Council until the present system is changed and India released from alien leading strings. The *Leader* says that the *Swarajists* are up against the bureaucratic-*cum*-aristocratic block in the Council, and in spite of dissensions among the landholders, it doubts whether the motion will be carried. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the *Swarajists* have been deluded by the attitude

of certain Zamindar members and have unnecessarily plunged in a struggle which they should have reserved for the budget time. It urges them to leave the present Ministers alone and to make preparation for an attack when the budget comes up for discussion. The *Hamdam* fails to understand the fault of the present Ministers which prompted certain members to move the resolution of non-confidence and remarks that in view of the popularity enjoyed by the Ministers the resolution is sure to be defeated.

The Akali agitation.

The *Vartman* says that by arresting the sixty-four members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee the bureaucracy has tried to destroy the power of organisation of the Akalis, but it will soon find out how far it can succeed in this attempt. Let the bureaucracy arrest sixty-four thousand Akalis instead of sixty-four, but the Shiromani Committee cannot be destroyed by it. The Congress has taken up the cause of the Akalis, and as soon as it gives its mandate all the Hindus and Musalmans of India will fill the places of the Akalis and enter into a battle with the bureaucracy. By its action the bureaucracy has thrown out a challenge to the whole of India. Brave Indians will now come forward to the field and make the bureaucracy taste the fruits of its shortsightedness. The *Medina* praises the peaceful political activities of Akalis and wishes that the Hindus and the Muhammadans would take a lesson from this small community and be active in emancipating India from the iron grip of an alien Government.

The Swaraj party.

The *Aj* points out that the *Swarajists'* Councils will prove as futile and harmful as the former ones if no effort is made to exercise pressure upon the Government through a vigorous agitation from outside the Councils. This can easily be effected by the *Swarajists* participating in the working of the constructive programme. In another article the same paper remarks that as the foundations of British rule in India have already been shaken, it would be for its own good if the Government were to convene a Round Table Conference as demanded by the *Swaraj* party and to try to improve the situation. The *Abhyudaya* opines that the *Swarajists'* demands are wholly justifiable and no one can offer any adverse comments on them. The *Anand* says that if Government succeeds in forming a party against the *Swarajists* in the Councils the latter's threat to wreck the Councils will be rendered ineffective, but in case it fails to do so, it will have to face a very difficult situation. If the Muhammadan members join the Government, of which signs are not wanting in view of the increased number of Muslim Ministers in Bengal and Bombay, the *Swarajists* cannot at all prevail against the Government. The *Hamdam* is sceptical about the *Swarajists'* success in the Council in view of their minority and remarks that an immature dissolution of the Legislatures due to their policy of obstruction will create fresh difficulties in their path and compel them to alter their policy. The *Zulqarnain* in a communicated article urges upon the Liberals to give their full support to Government and exhorts all sensible men to protest against the *Swarajists'* policy of obstruction. The *Swadesh* says that the Governor's assumption that the *Swarajists* will not translate into action their election cry to wreck the Councils is meant to seduce them from their pledges to the voters and play traitor to the country.

The Chowringhee murder.

The papers deplore the recent anarchist outrage in Calcutta. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says there is no Indian of any position but does condemn the crime, but remarks that the Europeans, who have not hesitated to face the worst and to call upon the authorities to lose their senses and subject the people to repression, forget that the assassin was pursued by Indians at the risk of their own lives. The *Leader* condemns the murder as brutal and points out to the existence of a gang which eschewed violence under the influence probably of Mr. Gandhi's movement of non-violent non-cooperation but which has again resumed its activities with the collapse of the movement. In no country in the world has freedom been won by such methods. They defeat their own purpose and produce a reaction in the public mind which strengthens the forces of retrogression. The *Hamdam* thinks that the resuscitation of the revolutionaries and anarchists is due to the rejection by Government of the demands made by the non-cooperators. It warns the Government that in case it persists in its present policy, it is likely that the party of revolution will raise its head throughout the country.

LUCKNOW:
The 19th January, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

M. [illegible] 18 FEB [illegible] INDIA OFFICE

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 26*th January*, 1924.

Britain and Afghanistan.

THE *Swadesh* urges that if the Government of India does not allow the deputation, as suggested by Maulana Shaukat Ali, to proceed to Afghanistan to conclude an agreement with the Amir of Kabul, Indians should refuse to give any help to it in case a war is declared. The *Nejat* says that the Government is playing with fire at the frontier. The present condition of Great Britain does not justify her engaging in a quarrel with Afghanistan. Approving the suggestion of Maulana Shaukat Ali of sending an Indian deputation to Afghanistan, the *Medina* remarks that Great Britain wants to keep the two nations suspicious of each other, and that by bringing false accusations against Indian patriots she wishes to impress upon the minds of the people the fear of an Afghan invasion. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* advises the Government not to engage in a costly war with Afghanistan as the present dispute can be amicably settled.

Turkey and Khilafat.

The *Medina* justifies the action taken by the Turkish Government against the publication of the Aga Khan's letter and remarks that Turkey being a hot-bed of foreign intrigues and Syed Amir Ali and the Aga Khan being more or less tools in British hands, the Turkish Government did well in protesting against its publication and prosecuting the editors. In another article the same paper describes Maulana Shaukat Ali's address at the Khilafat Conference as free from affectation and artificiality and remarks that he has fully exposed Great Britain's autocratic and freedom-killing diplomacy which has hitherto deceived the Moderates. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* hopes that the proposed deputation to Angora will not prove extravagant like Maulana Muhammad Ali's deputation in England.

Death of Lenin.

The *Independence* says that the news of Lenin's death will cast a gloom not only in Russia but throughout the liberty-loving and autocracy-hating world. Lenin was a modern *rishi*, and his message, however cruelly misunderstood or selfishly misinterpreted, was not only for Russia but for mankind. Lenin's life-work and ideals will live as long as humanity endures. Lenin was a hero who had striven and greatly succeeded in bringing peace and happiness to an old country which had cruelly suffered for their attainment. The *Pioneer* remarks that judged by Soviet standards, M. Lenin probably achieved greatness; in the eyes of the civilised world he achieved his personal aim in the attainment of almost despotic power, but at an appalling cost in lives and misery to the Russian people.

The Labour Government in England.

The assumption of government by the Labour party has been generally well received, and the papers are satisfied with the selection of ministers. The *Pioneer* says that, taken as a whole, the Government is composed of real ability, most of whom have had no small experience of affairs. There is every indication, says the paper, that the country is prepared to give them a fair trial, and that they will be judged, as every administration should be judged, by their performance and not by their previous records or their promises. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that in his choice of a ministry Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has shown the steadiness and calm grasp which we had a right to expect from the one man to whom Labour looks forward to obtain the stamp on it of considered statesmanship, but the inclusion in the Cabinet of Lord Chelmsford will be received with positive dismay in India. Perhaps Lord Chelmsford is to be the lamb to be thrown to appease the Liberal wolf prowling in the Labour corridor sneaking for its prey. The *Leader* says that the advent of Labour makes an event of first-rate national importance. To those who are struggling against the inexorable pressure of capitalism or foreign political domination the rise of the Labour Party has conveyed a message of hope and faith. India particularly has special reasons to welcome the change in Government at Whitehall and rejoice at the exit of Lords Peel and Winterton, and the advent in their places of men of different ideals and a higher purpose. The acid test of the

profession of Labour lies in the fact that timely concession to Indian sentiments must be made by making the governance of India in the letter and spirit responsible to the Indian people. In another article the *Leader* says that the Labour Government is an unique event in the history of Great Britain. The great empire built by the concentration of centuries has definitely passed to the man of ideas from the pompous man with a stake in the land. It is to be governed by brains and not by the purse. India wishes the new Government every success in its undoubtedly difficult venture and hopes it will have the vision and the courage to deal justly by her. The *Abhyudaya* hopes that the bureaucracy in India will cease to continue to be as irresponsible as at present, and in a way Indians will be accorded the right of self-determination and will no longer be treated as inferiors. The *Hamdam*, however, has no hope that India will become free if the Labour party comes into power and remarks that however independent-minded a party may be, it always gives preference to the interests of its own nation and country over the interests of its subject nation. The *Aryapatra* does not expect that the Labour party will be able to satisfy the wishes of the Indians as it does not command an absolute majority in Parliament and will have to seek the support of the Liberals for its continuance. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* says Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will not be prepared to endanger the stability of his Government by attempting to grant more rights to India in face of the opposition of the Liberal and Conservative element in Parliament. The *Hindustani* remarks that it is impossible for the Labour party to accept our demands at once but its coming into power indicates that our future is bright. The *Mashriq* opines that the Indians should entertain no hope from any political party of England and that the sympathy of the Labour party can be of no avail until the spirit of attaining self-government is created in India itself.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the vindictive spirit displayed by the white colonists in starting a boycott movement against the Indian traders only casts an ugly slur on European civilisation. The *Medina* remarks that the Indians can hardly be able to help their brethren in foreign countries when even in their own country they cannot keep themselves safe from British oppression. A nation which could not hold its own against a Power in its own country can never be expected to subdue the same Power in Kenya and the Transvaal.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Hamdam* protests against the hostile attitude adopted by the Hindu press against Muslim leaders like Maulana Muhammad Ali and remarks that in face of such painful writings the Musalmans can no longer be expected to suffer patiently. If the Hindu leaders really desire unity they should first of all silence these promoters of religious dissensions. The *Al Burid* resents the Hindu opposition aroused by the Bengal *Swarajists'* pact and remarks that the Congress by rejecting the same has given a proof of its partiality towards the Hindus. One "Arya Putra" writing in the *Jiwan* urges the need of Hindus erecting monuments in Agra, Saharanpur and other places to commemorate the atrocities of Muhammadans upon them and to warn their future generations against placing any reliance upon the Muhammadans in future as they profess a religion diametrically opposed to their own and are sure to prove perfidious in the hour of need. The *Sudharak* condemns the Muhammadan frenzy in connection with the Howrah disturbance and remarks that if the Hindus had any spirit they would have organised themselves in a moment aud made the bigotted Muhammadans taste the bitter fruit of their cruelty and callousness against themselves. It exhorts the Hindus to wake up even now and devote themselves to the adoption of practical measures for their organisation and protection. The *Kartavya* holds that Mr. C. R. Dass has proved himself to be an enemy of the country by throwing the apple of discord among Hindus and Muhammadans and is thus responsible for dragging the country once more into the mire of mutual dissessions and the consequent division of the public mind from the pursuit of their national struggle.

Civil disobedience in Gujrat.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the success of the Borsad *satyagraha* has sent out a thrilling message to the spiritless and the suffering. The Government must either yield or face the music. It is getting rather difficult to govern India. The *Vartman* characterises the action of the Governor of Bombay in bringing the Borsad civil disobedience campaign to an end as wise and tactful and urges the restoration of the confiscated property to their owners. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* says that the success of civil disobedience in Borsad shows that *satyagraha* can be successfully

practised at any place provided full preparations are made beforehand and people are ready to undergo all sorts of hardships and sacrifice. It is certain that satanic forces cannot prevail against divine forces for long.

The Akali agitation.

The *Swadesh* points out that the arrest of sixty members of the new Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee will not disconcert the Akalis. If the Congress were to accept the Government's challenge serious developments would take place. The Punjab is to be congratulated on the appointment of Sir Malcolm Hailey as its next Governor, as this appointment is bound to aggravate matters there. The *Kartavya* remarks: The Akalis are a brave, courageous and self-respecting people. The bureaucracy cannot tolerate such a living community. It only desires to render the people weak and spiritless in order to keep them in subjection for ever. The Punjab bureaucracy has almost taken a vow to wipe out the Akalis, but the latter too are making a courageous stand against it. As soon as the mandate of the Congress goes out thousands of Hindus and Muhammadans will march forward to help the Akalis. This struggle between the bureaucracy, proud of its brute force, and the Akalis, firm in their vow of non-violence, will indeed be a terrible one. In view of its defeat in Guru-ka-bagh, Nagpur and Borsad the bureaucracy should realise that it cannot hold its ground against the Akalis for long. Protesting against the policy of repression pursued by the Government, the *Medina* remarks that a self-respecting people like the Akalis, which regards troubles and miseries as a means to success, can never be cowed by oppression. It is at a loss to understand why the Government, in spite of so much experience, still wishes to maintain an obstinate attitude and to add another reverse to its long list of defeats.

Mr. Gandhi.

The Indian papers continue to urge the immediate release of Mr. Gandhi. The *Independence* remarks that refusal to release Mahatmaji, even after the grave crisis to his health, will mean that the British Government is devoid of any sense of humanity and fellow-feeling, and that refusal to release him is bound to create a great revulsion of feeling. After paying a tribute to Colonel Maddock for his service to Britain and India, which has produced a deep impression on the minds of Indians, the *Leader* asks: Will British statesmanship fail to rise to the occasion and refuse to take advantage of the warm feelings aroused in healing the sore caused by Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment? Colonel Maddock has done his duty, let the Government do its own. The *Nyaya* remarks that if the Government of India is considering the question of the release of Mahatma Gandhi it is doing so, not out of any feeling of charity but because of the apprehension of its hands being forced by the *Swarajists* in the Assembly and the Labour Government in England, which must rectify the blunder of the Indian bureaucracy in this respect. The *Anand* says that Lord Reading will be well-advised to order the release of Mahatma Gandhi on account of his illness otherwise Government will be discredited and unrest will increase in case he dies in jail. If the Viceroy will not release him, in deference to the resolution in the Assembly, he will lose the opportunity of earning a good name for himself. The *Kartavya* asks the Indians to make India free first if they want Mahatma Gandhi to be released. It will be a blot on the country if he were released by Government by way of favour. The *Hamdam* resents the action of the Government in depriving Mr. Gandhi of private medical advice in the beginning of his illness and thus making it all the more serious. The Government by its action has rendered its position very delicate. The *Al Khalil* advises the Government to release Mr. Gandhi as he will prove a most useful man in case the Afghan war breaks out and remarks that he will surely be released if the Labour party comes into power. It will be better to release him before suffering a defeat in the Assembly.

Release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

Deploring the treatment meted out to Hasrat Mohani in jail, the *Medina* does not hope that the Hindus will agitate for the release of the Maulana however great a patriot he may be and exhorts the Musalmans to demand his release along with that of Mr. Gandhi. The *Hamdam* protests against the hardships imposed upon Maulana Hasrat Mohani and asks the Assembly to move a resolution for his release. It takes the people to task for doing nothing practical and hopes that the new Governor of Bombay will not follow the footsteps of his predecessor in victimising the leaders.

The Swaraj Party.

The passing of the "no-confidence" motion in the Central Provinces Council is interpreted by the *Indian Daily Telegraph* as an event of great importance. The paper remarks

that the Council of the Central Provinces today stands wrecked. The collapse of the wonderful Britisher, trained to administer India, is pathetic: it seems he has forgotten even the act of governing in the presence of danger. Whether the *Swarajists* carry the non-confidence motion or not in other provinces, the grip with the bureaucracy in the Central Provinces will bring out the British Government as an engine of autocracy. The *Pioneer* remarks India's progress towards full responsible government will undoubtedly receive a severe set-back if their wrecking policy should succeed. Non-cooperators have shown themselves absolutely reckless where the interests of their country are concerned, and while their impotence to govern India themselves is notorious, they are ready to destroy the only Government that is possible. These men have notoriously no conception of what they are aiming at. It is, indeed, time the situation were frankly met. The present condition of affairs is becoming intolerable and it is gravely detrimental to the prosperity and progress of India. Commenting on the *Swarajist* demands in the Legislative Assembly the *Leader* says: It is not improbable that the *Swarajist* demands when made, not through the constitutional channel provided by the Government of India Act, in the form of a resolution, but by the registered post in the form of an ultimatum, will be summarily rejected. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* says that there is no doubt that India will secure freedom one day or the other and it will be but wise statesmanship to gracefully accede to what will have to be done under force of circumstances and thereby avoid unnecessary unrest, bitterness and agitation. When the establishment of self-government in India is the declared aim of the British policy, Lord Reading will do well to accept the *Swarajist* demand for a Round Table Conference to settle the question. The *Surya*, on the other hand, remarks that Government, strong as it is, can never yield to the humiliating terms of the *Swarajists* and that the latter should moderate their demands if anything is to come out of their agitation. The *Ariyapatra* remarks that if the Government rejects the demands of the *Swarajists*, then it will be altogether an act of self-deception for the Indians to cooperate with the Government any more. Every patriotic member of the Assembly should cooperate with the *Swarajists* so that a successful war may be waged against the bureaucracy. The *Oudh Akhbar* describes the resolution of "No-confidence" passed by the C. P. Council as the first victory of the *Swarajists* and advises the Government to reconciliate the *Swarajists* by promising to support their demands strongly. The *Nejat* says that the money and energy spent by the *Swarajists* in contesting the elections would have been better employed in pushing forward the constructive programme of the Congress. The *Azad* remarks that the *Swarajists* by taking the oath of allegiance have in a sense indicated their willingness to cooperate in carrying out the work for which the Councils have been established.

The U. P. Ministry.

The *Swarajist* papers continue their propaganda against the U. P. Ministry. Mr. C. R. Ranga Iyer in a signed article says that the purpose of the *Swarajists* in bringing the no-confidence motion at the very outset of their entry into the Council must be plain to those who know their pledge to the party and their manifesto to their constituents. The definite appeal to them by the Head of these provinces to break their pledge and forget their promise to the electorate has compelled them to make it clear to a questioning and doubting world that they propose to do nothing of the kind. The origin of the no-confidence motion is in the inaugural address of the Governor of the provinces to our new Councillors. The immediate objective of the provincial *Swarajists* is to remove this half-way house by a series of ministerial crises. He appeals to the members of the Council to see whether it is consistent with the aspirations of the people of their own character as popular representatives to cooperate with those who agree to work dyarchy and await in loyal submission the day when it might please their "masters" to fling a few more bones before their faithful dogs. The *Anand* apprehends that if the Zamindar opponents of the present Ministry in the United Provinces join the *Swarajists* the resolution of no-confidence against the Ministers will be carried. It doubts whether any compromise could be effected among the ranks of Zamindar members to avert this serious contingency. The *Aj* asserts that Ministers after Ministers will fall victims to no-confidence resolutions so long as *swaraj* is not established. No capable patriotic Indian can accept the office of Minister until his appointment and dismissal are under the control of the Council and not that of the Governor, and if anybody does so he will occupy a very unenviable position as has been made apparent in the case of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narayan Mulla. In another article the paper regrets the acceptance of the office of Minister by Rai

Rajeshwar Bali and remarks that those who become a part of dyarchy must be prepared for trouble and opposition as the people are determined to get rid of this obstacle in the path of *swaraj*.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* remarks that no one who has even a superficial knowledge of Indian history can deny that while Indians were prosperous before the advent of British rule in India, the average income of an Indian has now been reduced to rupees thirty a year. The indigenous industries of the country have been destroyed and unemployment has followed in its wake. Indian money has been and is being terribly wasted in maintaining the white elephant of the Civil Service. The insults to which Indians are every day subjected by the whites, the atrocities that are perpetrated on Indian women in the railway trains and the brutal oppression practised upon the poor labourers in the mills are but the inevitable concomitants of British rule in this country. The same paper warns the Indians against the anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America and other countries and asks the Congress to adopt counter-measures against it, bearing in mind that without some such action on its part opinion is likely to remain prejudiced against India. The *Bharat Jiwan* refers to shooting accidents in which Indians have been killed at the hands of Europeans and points out that in such cases there is generally miscarriage of justice, with the result that Europeans are encouraged to indulge in violence and haughtiness. The only cure for this tendency is for the Indians to retaliate in self-defence out of a sense of self-respect and not seek redress in law courts. The *Nyaya* says that the treatment meted out to the heirs of Amba Bai Desai in respect of their rights in the Sankali State should make the Indian Chiefs realise how the bureaucracy treats as a scrap of paper the treaties entered into between their ancestors and the Government of India. The bureaucracy becomes blind with rage when it sees any Indian Chief taking interest in national affairs and does not hesitate to take the most arbitrary action against him.

LUCKNOW :
The 26th January, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

INDIA
18 FEB

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 2nd February, 1924.

Great Britain and Afganistan.

The *Utsah* says that the efforts of the Amir of Kabul to establish his supremacy over the frontier tribes, the steady advance of the Bolsheviks in Central Asia and their attempts to win over the Afghans to their side and Maulana Shaukat Ali's speech in the Congress Subjects Committee at Cocanada have greatly exercised the mind of Lord Reading who is now busy devising means to extricate himself successfully from the complicated situation. The *Medina* hopes that the political relations between the two countries will not be adversely affected if Great Britain abstains from indulging in arrogance and the English press changes its bellicose attitude. The Indians cherish friendly feelings towards the Afghans and it will be harmful to Great Britain if it goes to war with Afghanistan. The *Al Khalil* reproduces from the *Aman-i-Afghan* an article saying that Great Britain has in fact suffered a discomfiture in the present quarrel and if it again stands up against Afghanistan it will have to bear extraordinary loss of life and money. England should know that she cannot rest in peace by provoking Afghanistan. In another article the same paper remarks that Great Britain by holding out a threat of war has turned Afghanistan and Russia into enemies. The *Al Bureed* avers that the accusations made by the *Englishman* against the Afghan Government were unjustified and malicious considering that the latter is exerting every nerve to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain.

Khilafat.

The *Mansur* ridicules the Sharif for laying claim to the office of Khalifa as he is not an independent ruler and remarks that if the Turks ignore the question of the Khalifa's status, the Muslim world will be obliged to take it up in its own hands along with that of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*.

Death of Lenin.

The *Leader* says that Lenin was the heart and soul of the new movement in Russia. But there is no doubt that he came in for a good deal of unmerited criticism in the capitalistic press of England, who had much to fear from the Bolshevik propaganda in the Middle East. The *Aj* says that after Mahatma Gandhi Mr. Lenin was the greatest man of the world in the present age. Humanity has suffered an irreparable loss by his death. May God give his followers strength to fulfil his mission of the emancipation of the world.

The new Ministry in Egypt.

The *Leader* says that the rise of Zaglul Pasha under the new constitution constitutes a landmark in the political development of Egypt. In contrast with *Swarajist* methods of obstruction, says the paper, the Egyptian nationalists did not refuse to make what use they could of the opportunities provided for it by the new constitution for the service of their country. The idea of wrecking the constitution by launching upon a career of reckless opposition within the legislatures, such as has appealed to the *Swarajists* in India, has not found favour with the Egyptian nationalists, who are as keen on the consummation of their aspirations as our "neo-non-cooperators." When called upon to form a ministry Zaglul Pasha, unlike Mr. C. R. Das, did not wobble and refuse to accept responsibility. The paper does not doubt that the method which the Zaglulists have chosen to carry on their struggle is far more potent and less liable to arouse hostility on the part of the British Government than the *Swarajist* way of winning India's freedom by insensate obstruction and presentation of "national" demands per "registered post." The *Pioneer* regrets that Zaglul Pasha should have included the independence of Sudan in his statement of policy.

The Labour Government.

The *Leader* says that India wishes the new Government every success in its undoubtedly difficult venture and hopes it will have the vision and the courage to deal justly by her. It approves the appointment of the new Secretary of State for India and says that his writings show that he is free from racial and colour prejudice, and that so far as the domestic politics of England are concerned he is a strong radical. In dealing with India he should try to follow in the footsteps of

Mr. Montagu and undo all the mischief that has been done by his predecessor-in-office. The paper is satisfied with the new Ministers in England, several of whom are noted for the sympathetic interest they have evinced in Indian affairs, save Viscount Chelmsford who like the curate's egg is good in parts. Quoting Sir Sidney Olivier's views with regard to India the *Leader* says that extremists on both sides may please take note of this. Lord Reading has now a splendid opportunity of doing something substantial for India and making his lustrum a memorable one. The time is now overdue for his Government to make constructive suggestions for further political advance in accordance with public demand. The people of India are among those who are struggling for freedom, security from exploitation and a happier life. Will they be helped in that struggle by Labour or will the latter also fail to act up to its professions? According to the *Advocate* the appointment of Sir Sidney Olivier as Secretary of State for India will be regarded as a result of strong representation from official heads in India. It regrets that in rejecting Colonel Wedgwood the Labour Party succumbed to the pressure of vested interests. The *Bir Hindu* does not entertain any high hopes for India from the Labour Government and remarks that the only way in which it can make its régime memorable is to release Mahatma Gandhi and the other political prisoners. The *Arya Patra* points out that the only way in which India can have its wishes fulfilled is to carry on the agitation and create obstruction in the Councils. India should not allow this chance to slip away and should do its utmost to harass the bureaucracy and compel it to bow down its haughty head. The *Hindustani* advises the Indians not to depend upon the Labour Government, but to continue their struggle with increased energy and vigour till they succeed in forcing the Labour Government to recognise their demands. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses its satisfaction at the appointment of Sir Sidney Olivier as the Secretary of State for India. Referring to the Premier's message to the *Hindu* the *Nejat* says that the Indians are now well aware of the deceitful and cunning policy pursued by the Government and hence such threats can be of no avail. India's success lies only in silent and peaceful resistance. The *Hamdam* remarks that the Premier's message to India proves that the dream of India's freedom can never be realised during the régime of the Labour Party. It regrets that he has not uttered a single word of sympathy for the Indians and on the other hand has held out a severe threat to them. The paper is not sanguine that Sir Sidney Olivier will sympathise with the aspirations of Indians and tolerate any change in the present system of administration. It, however, hopes that the new Premier will establish friendly relations with Turkey and other Muslim countries and take a broadminded view of the daily increasing awakening in the East and its desire for liberty. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's message to India has been commented upon adversely by the *Swarajist* press. The *Vartman* says that Mr. MacDonald has followed in the wake of Conservatives and Imperialists, the inveterate opponents of democracy, in his remarks about India. His advice to Indians to follow constitutional methods and his threat to the *Swarajists* who are determined to carry on a policy of unadulterated obstruction must open the eyes of Congressmen who should now give up their attachment for the Empire. In another article the paper says that the Labour representatives in Parliament are in fact Liberals in disguise and their outlook is not broader than that of Imperialist Lloyd George. It asserts that despite the Premier's threat Indians will not give up non-cooperation which has proved a blessing to them. The *Aj* says: Let those who had built hopes on the Labour Ministry see what a change the altered circumstances have brought about in its angle of vision. Indians have got to accept this challenge from the new Premier in the same manner in which they accepted challenges from Mr. Montagu and Mr. Lloyd George in the past. In another article the same paper remarks that a vigorous prosecution of the boycott of British goods in India will aggravate the unemployment problem in England and compel Parliament to enter into a compromise with India. The *Utsah* warns the Indians in view of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's views against direct action and in favour of constitutional methods, not to entertain any hopes that he will grant *swaraj* to Indians but to continue their activities for its attainment. The *Anand* does not expect that anything substantial will be done by the Labour Government in the matter of advancing India on the road to self-government. It asks the Labour Government to pay attention to the solution of the Akali question. If it fails to do so, it will have to be admitted that so far as India is concerned it matters little which political party holds the reins of Government in Britain. The *Prem* says that though the Labour Party has pledged itself to the grant of responsible government to India, it is doubtful whether it will be able to redeem its pledge owing to its dependence on the Liberal Party. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* has no hopes from the

Labour Government in England and urges the Indians to devote themselves to the formation of a very powerful organisation to enforce the boycott of British goods so as to accentuate the unemployment problem in England. This will surely compel the Labour Government and the British capitalists to come to terms with the Indians. Referring to Colonel Wedgwood's recent speech in England sympathising with Indian aspirations the *Aj* says that Indians should not rejoice over it, seeing that the professions of politicians widely differ from their practices. The *Vartman* remarks that Colonel Wedgwood's speech indicates that the Labour Party wants to swallow the *Swaraj* Party and put an end to its agitation. Just as the Moderates were reduced to a deplorable position by being fed on false hopes, in the same manner it is being sought to deal with *Swarajists*. If the *Swaraj* Party falls a prey to these allurements, then it will meet the same fate which has befallen the Moderates.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Kartavya* condemns the new legislation against Indians in South Africa. It says that the Classes Areas Bill is designed to reduce them to the status of outcastes and that it is no wonder that they should be thus wronged and insulted in the Colonies when they are slaves in their own country. If they want to be free and to secure honourable treatment in the Colonies, they will have to launch the movement for the boycott of British goods. The *Hamdam* describes the new Immigration Bill as a cruel method of depriving the Indians of the right of citizenship. It exhorts the Indians to unite and take no rest until equal rights of citizenship are granted to them throughout the Empire.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on the National Pact the *Pioneer* says that it will be interesting to see whether Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai will prove more successful than Mr. C. R. Das in allaying communal jealousy and distrust. The *Hamdam* exhorts the Musalmans to establish a powerful national organisation to combat successfully the activities of the *Hindu Mahasabha* and remarks that they have now every opportunity to reorganise the Muslim League on the above lines. One Thakur Lal Tiwari writing in the *Desh Bhakta* says that Khwaja Hasan Nizami's new book clearly shows that Muhammadans are bent upon destroying Hindus. He urges the Hindus to keep aloof from the Congress till they attain communal freedom. If the Muhammadan leaders cannot stop cow-killing before the attainment of *swaraj* it is impossible that they can do so after it. If the Hindus do not completely organise themselves before the advent of *swaraj* they are sure to be annihilated on its establishment. In a communicated article the *Al Khalil* remarks that in the absence of feelings of toleration, whether religious or political among the Indians, any discussion regarding the pact only serves to betray their unfitness for *swaraj*. The *Mashriq* is glad that the Hindus have expressed their disapproval of the *Swarajists'* pact as such devices on the part of the Hindus are designed to crush the Musalmans after obtaining *swaraj* with their aid.

Mr. Gandhi.

The *Independence* says that the statement of Mr. Muhammad Ali about a message that he is alleged to have received through the agency of young Devidas places Mahatma Gandhi in a very false position. We do not believe a word of what Devidas, Mr. Muhammad Ali thinks, told him, nor do we believe that Mahatma Gandhi could have violated his principle of listening to Devidas's discussion of the political situation outside and sent a message of any kind to Mr. Muhammad Ali from inside the prison. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's message, the *Aligarh Gazette* remarks that in spite of the Ali brothers holding him in high reverence, Mr. Gandhi never hesitates to prove them to be liars. The present incident will have a far-reaching effect upon the political life of the Ali brothers and in future their tactics of exploiting the name of Mr. Gandhi will not be effective. The *Oudh Akhbar* advises the Government to earn public applause by releasing Mr. Gandhi at once and remarks that if in the discussions in the Assembly the Government members resort to their old practice of abusing the leaders, then the *Swarajists* are likely to rouse the public sentiments against the Government and resort to direct action instead of making constitutional efforts for his release. The *Hindustani* avers that the non-cooperation movement cannot be checked by keeping Mr. Gandhi in prison and the Government by rejecting the demand for his release will discredit itself in the eyes of the public. The *Arya Patra* remarks that the leaders by taking no practical step for his release have given proof of their lack of courage and have shown themselves devoid of any sense of duty and sentiments of liberty. If the Indian youths had really the freedom of India at heart they would have got Mr. Gandhi released within a year

or would have themselves gone to jail. Writing in a similar strain the *Al Bureed* exhorts the people to demand the release of Maulana Hasrat along with Mr. Gandhi and remarks that the latter being a strong Khilafatist his release will be hailed with delight by the Musalmans. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* opines that the release of Mr. Gandhi is sure to remove the distrust against the Government and disarm the agitators of their most effective weapon of agitation. The *Medina* says that Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment betrays the autocracy of the Government which can easily rectify its mistake by releasing him at once along with Hasrat Mohani and other political prisoners and by peacefully putting an end to the struggle between Mr. Gandhi and itself. The *Aj* takes it for granted that the release of Mahatma Gandhi cannot be withheld any longer, and says that if the release is not made unconditional it is certain that a wave of discontent and dissatisfaction will spread in the country resulting in an all-India *satyagraha*. Let the Government realise that it will not be able to withstand the force of this all-India *satyagraha* and that it will be compelled to release the Mahatma unconditionally. The *Arya Mitra* hopes that the Government of India will show the same generosity in releasing Mahatma Gandhi as it did in removing him to the hospital for his satisfactory treatment. It thinks that the circumstances which led to his incarceration no longer exist and it is now time that he was released. The *Surya* urges the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi in response to public opinion and thereby earn the gratitude of the country. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* says that if the bureaucracy has committed a blunder in imprisoning Mahatma Gandhi, it should admit it and repent of it. The Government should act courageously and release him unconditionally if a better situation is to be created in the country and more harmonious relations are to prevail between the officials and the people. The *Aligarh Gazette* is the only paper which sounds a dissenting note and interprets Mr. Gandhi's message as a desire to demand his release. Mr. Gandhi never enjoyed a greater peace of mind than in prison and to give any practical shape to his desire will be detrimental to the interests of the public as well as to that of Mr. Gandhi himself.

The Swaraj Party.

The *Leader* continues to severely attack the *Swarajist* policy in relation to the legislative councils. Commenting on the deadlock in the Central Provinces the *Leader* says: They will be mistaken if they fancy that by such means they will hasten the advent of *swaraj*. To speak plainly, it must be clear to thoughtful minds that the *Swarajist* challenges and threats are merely childish. In another article the paper says that a party bent upon not reforming but ending the Government ought to seek its opportunities elsewhere than in the legislature. One looks in vain for the sense of proportion, foresight, and compromise in the policy of the *Swarajists* and they deserve to be beaten all along the line. Our only regret is that as a result of their fatuous policy the country's interest is likely to suffer. The position of the constitutionalists has been rendered very difficult. If the Reforms are wrecked, the old autocracy will be re-established and the forms of democratic government will be discarded. If the country were prepared for revolution there might be some justification for the *Swarajist* policy. But the collapse of the non-cooperation movement conclusively shows that it is not. The *Advocate* says that both the Moderates who criticise the *Swarajists* and the officials should bear in mind that the electors are at the back of the *Swarajist* programme of mending or ending the Reforms. Not only the electors but the vast majority of the people are entirely in agreement with the *Swarajist* policy of obstruction until the national demands are satisfied. It has full confidence in the sagacity of *Swarajist* leaders to avoid the pitfalls. The *Gorakshan* says that the demands of the *Swaraj* Party represent a reversion to the old policy of mendicancy which is as unlikely to be fruitful now as it was ever before and will only drag the country backward. The people will do well to oppose their demands and have recourse to self-help for their deliverance.

The U. P. Ministers.

The *Zulqarnain* says that the *Swarajists* were not justified in moving the resolution of no-confidence. They ought to have presented their demands first and then launched out a destructive programme if those demands were rejected. By keeping the ministerial offices vacant the Government machinery cannot be brought to a standstill. Writing in a similar strain the *Aftab* exhorts the members of the Council not to encourage the *Swarajists* in their policy of destruction but offer a strong opposition to them. The *Garhwali* remarks that the *Swarajist* members are not well advised in their action as it will only alienate the Ministers and will not bring the country nearer to *swaraj*.

The Adh-Kumbh mela at Allahabad.

Prohibitory orders of the Allahabad district authorities regarding bathing at the *sangam* have evoked universal resentment in the Hindu press. The *Aj* says that the *satyagraha* which took place at Allahabad on the *Sankrant* day shows that the local authorities are incapable of managing the fair and that it is but fit that the Governor should transfer the responsibility of managing the fair on to the municipal board which has volunteered to undertake it. In another article the same paper remarks that by violating the order of the District Magistrate Madan Mohan Malaviya and others have made it clear to the authorities that it is only by resorting to *satyagraha* that the people can compel them to respect their views. The *Anand* says that the United Provinces Government will not be well advised in prosecuting those who participated in the *satyagraha* at Tribeni. This will only fan the fire of discontent among the Hindus. When the Hindus were prepared to undertake the responsibility of managing the fair, obstinacy on the part of the local authorities was altogether unjustified. The *Abhyudaya* says that the District Magistrate's order was improper, illegal and unjustifiable. It was nothing short of a challenge to the entire Hindu populace and we wish to say this plainly that instead of a few Hindus violating the magisterial order and bathing at the confluence, we should have preferred that all the Hindus assembled at the Tribeni had drowned themselves in the Ganges. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* warns the District Magistrate of Allahabad not to repeat the exhibition of such self-will in religious matters in future as led to the practice of *satyagraha* at Tribeni or else very serious consequences are likely to ensue therefrom. The *Vartman* remarks that the Tribeni *satyagraha* was the sequel of the foolish decision and behaviour of the authorities. They wanted to crush the religious sentiments of the Hindus on the pretext of the depth of the Ganges. But the determination of the pilgrims to save their religion even at the cost of their lives compelled the District Magistrate to withdraw his orders and brought home to the authorities the infinite force of *satyagraha*. The *Kartavya* says that the prohibitory orders were issued not because of the dangers attending bathing at the place but because the District Magistrate wanted to make a show of his power and to tell the world that the British controlled even the religion of the Indians. The successful *satyagraha* of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others in this connection should convince even the most sceptic of the efficacy of this weapon of *satyagraha*. Self-willed officials like Mr. Knox should fully realise that the Hindus, despite their subjection, have enough of religious self-respect to be ready to sacrifice even their lives in its defence. Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of *satyagraha* has taken hold of the hearts of the Indians and they will always use this weapon notwithstanding all the war paraphernalia of the Government in case their religion is attacked. The *Bharat Jiwan* points out that the *satyagraha* at Tribeni shows how spirit can be created even among lifeless Hindus by interference with their religious matters and expresses the hope that the Government which is already at its wits end owing to the Akali agitation, will think twice before provoking the followers of other creeds.

The Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the new Legislatures the *Pioneer* remarks that the Viceroy admirably and with great lucidity stated the political situation with which India is faced. Referring to His Excellency's warning to the non-cooperators the paper says if these men will not be deterred at the eleventh hour from pursuing the foolish and insensate policy to which they have committed themselves, upon them will rest the full responsibility for what must inevitably follow the paralysis of Council Government. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the Viceroy's speech cannot be described as conciliatory to the council wreckers and on that score must be hailed with satisfaction by the retrograde elements in the country. The vague suspicions about a change of heart as a result of the Labour Government were dispelled by the threat of the Labour Premier who did not hesitate to display the shopkeeper character of his race by unnecessarily abusing Indians. Referring to the Liberals the paper says: These time-serving politicians are already by the side of the officials in supporting the Government against *Swarajist* attacks. The Viceroy has taken advantage of these reeds as well as the frail bark on which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is embarked in making one of the most retrograde speeches of which he has become a past master.

LUCKNOW:
The 2nd February, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 9th February, 1924.

Khilafat affairs.

THE *Al Balagh* of Lucknow disputes the Sharif's right to Khilafat and remarks that any participation in this question on the part of Englishmen, who have been ever trying to spread dissension among the Muslims, will be greatly resented by the Muslim world. The Musalmans, who are well aware of the Sharif's treachery, can never acknowledge him as their Khalifa. The *Najat* says that the Sharif has now resorted to extreme mischief and cunning and that his recent activities are due to British support. By proclaiming himself Khalifa he will have to face great difficulties in Arabia as the Arabs, in spite of being lavishly supplied with money by Great Britain, are well aware of the true state of things and know who is pulling the wire from behind the curtain. Referring to the Sharif's message to Great Britain the *Hamdam* remarks: When the Sharif himself, after taking the oath of allegiance in *Ka'aba*, played false to the Turks, who were the greatest benefactors of the Arabs, how can he expect a Christian Power to keep faith with him. The fate of the Arabs has been sealed and the Sharif's wailings are like a cry in the wilderness. The *Medina* regrets that owing to disunity and dissension prevailing among the Arabs British diplomacy has achieved success in Palestine and that the Arab, ignorant of politics and ever avaricious and greedy, has at last been entrapped.

The Labour Government.

Commenting on the British recognition of the "Union Soviet Republics" in Russia, the *Pioneer* says that the first and most important act of the new Labour Government is unlikely to evoke much enthusiasm in Great Britain, at any rate outside the ranks of the Labour Party. The paper is sceptic whether it will be possible to conclude that "definite and practical agreement" which the Labour Government have in view on a basis satisfactory to the British people. The *Leader* suggests to the new Secretary of State for India the immediate need of ordering an inquiry into the economic condition of India, and says that among the main causes of dissatisfaction with British rule is the extremely unsatisfactory economic condition of the masses, who are, therefore, ready to listen to any subversive doctrine and to sympathise with extremist propaganda. The remedy can be found not in extreme forms of socialism but in a compromise between individualism and socialism. The British Labour Party is the fittest instrument to bring about such a compromise at least within the British Empire, provided it remains true to its ideals and applies them not only to the solution of its domestic problems but also to those of India. The vernacular press continues to express resentment against the Premier's message to the Indian people and the burden of its song has been one of general distrust in the British statesmen irrespective of the parties to which they may belong. The *Al Bureed* says that in view of the past utterances of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald the Indians were justified in entertaining high hopes for India from the Labour Government, but the Premier's message to the *Hindu* has now disillusioned them. The *Arya Patra* deplores the attitude adopted by the Premier after coming into power and remarks that he has not only ignored the sentiments and the demands of the Indians but has held out a threat to them. Those who are entertaining high hopes from the Labour Party are in fact falling a prey to a sad blunder and deception, as whatever party may reign supreme in England its policy will always be opposed to the interests of the Indians. The *Aligarh Gazette* characterises it as an act of self-deception on the part of the *Swarajists* to expect *swaraj* from the Labour Government as by their anti-British activities they are planning to starve the English labourers. The *Mashriq* does not expect any change in the angle of vision of Great Britain by the ascendancy of the Labour Party to power. But the change of Government in England will prove beneficial to Turkey as the Labour Government will avoid incurring huge expenditure on war preparation. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* describes the Premier's message as a challenge to the Congressmen and the non-cooperators and remarks that it is idle to expect that Englishmen by lowering the prestige of their own countrymen would stoop down to help the Indian slaves. The *Hamdam* interprets the Premier's message as a threat to the *Swarajists* and

remarks that if the Government gives practical assurances of its change of attitude the *Swarajists* will have no cause to harass the Government. The *Bharat Jiwan* avers that India has no cause to be too much elated at the Labour ministry in England, seeing that self-interest will be too strong for the Labour Party to deal justly by India. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's recent threat to India to confine itself to constitutional methods makes it quite plain that the iron grip on India will not be relaxed whether those in power in Britain are Conservatives or Labourites. The *Swadesh* says that it will be folly to expect that the change in ministry in England will assure immediate emancipation of India. Those who built hopes on the Labour Government must have been seriously disappointed by the appointment of Sir Sidney Oliver and Mr. Robert Richards as the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State for India. It considers Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's recent threat to India as a challenge to the non-violent non-cooperation movement and says that the best reply to this challenge will be for the Indians to realise their subjection and to work earnestly for the fulfilment of the constructive programme for their deliverance. The *Kartavya* asserts that the threat of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald cannot cow down Indians who have found out that the attainment of *swaraj* depends only upon their own exertions and that they can establish it only through the non-cooperation movement. The *Aj* displays an attitude of indifference in the matter of the change in the British ministry as it considers the Labour Party, notwithstanding its high-sounding professions, to be no better than the Conservative in its treatment of India. In another article the same paper belittles the Liberals for sending congratulatory messages to the new Premier and building hopes on him in face of his challenge to the Indian people and its acceptance by the latter. The *Shakti* opines that the message of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has made it abundantly clear that Indians will have to depend on their own exertions for the attainment of *swaraj*. The boycott of British goods and the encouragement of the *swadeshi* movement are the only means of creating an impression upon the Labour Government. The *Swadesi* hails with exultation the Labour ministry in England and, unlike other nationalist papers, takes a very optimistic view of the character of the Labour régime. Whether the Labour Government, says the paper, will be able to give full effect to its noble principles or not, this much is certain that India, which was being ground down by the repressive Conservative Government, will now heave a sigh of relief. This in itself is no small satisfaction to the Indians who have got rid of the galling yoke of Lords Peel and Winterton.

Death of Lenin.

The *Desh Bhakta* says that the death of Lenin means a serious loss not only to labourers but to all nations groaning under the burden of subjection. Lenin was the saviour of not only Europe but of the whole world. Capitalists can have no peace even now, for although Lenin is no more on earth, he has planted his principles deep in the minds of the people. The *Vartman* commends the decision of the Kisan and Labour organisation, Madras, to observe Lenin week as a mark of respect for the departed Bolshevik leader and urges all the Labour organisations throughout India to follow the lead that has come from Madras and avail of the opportunity to give an impetus to the international labour activities. The *Medina* deplores the death of Lenin and remarks that Russian Communism was the only weapon which could be successfully wielded against Capitalism.

Indians in the colonies.

Commenting on Mr. Thomas' statement with regard to the Kenya question the *Leader* says: If the interests of the natives are to be considered paramount, the Whites must be deprived of the many privileges they have secured at the expense of the natives who should no longer be allowed to be exploited by the white settlers. The racial discrimination as between the Whites and Indians has caused the greatest resentment in this country, and if this is to be maintained then the Labour Party must also forfeit the confidence of the Indian people. The paper concludes by saying that the Labour Party is more anxious at present to consolidate its position. In fact his statement is calculated to shock the Indian public which expected after Colonel Wedgwood's statement in the House of Commons in the course of the Kenya debate, that the decision would be revised when Labour came into power. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* does not agree with His Excellency the Viceroy that the Indian Government have supported the efforts of Indian leaders. The position of Indians in the colonies is wholly different from that of white British subjects and is materially worse than that of white aliens. In spite of misleading official optimism, Indians do not in practice hold any but subordinate appointments even in Crown Colonies, where there are no or very few permanent white settlers.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Hamdam* regrets that even those leaders who were noted for their broadmindedness and largeheartedness have been influenced by the movements started by Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand and remarks that the unexpected support given to the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements by Lala Lajpat Rai is calculated to destroy the national movement for liberty and weaken Hindu-Muslim unity. In another article the same paper takes to task Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal for accusing the Musalmans of not keeping faith with the Hindus and remarks that they have not abandoned the desire for *swaraj* and are ready to work side by side with the Hindus for the freedom of India. In a communicated article the *Mashriq* ridicules Maulana Muhammad Ali for relying upon the Hindus in spite of being abused by them. It exhorts him to take a lesson from Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand and devote himself in organising the Musalmans and propagating Islam. The *Medina* regrets that the hue and cry raised by the Hindus has prejudiced Lala Lajpat Rai against the Musalmans and has made him set aside all considerations of patriotism and nationality.

Mr. Gandhi.

The Indian papers which have so far commented on the release of Mr. Gandhi are jubilant over his freedom. The *Leader* says: The unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi is an act of wisdom and humanity on which both the Governments of Bombay and India deserve to be warmly congratulated. It indicates a welcome change in outlook which, however, ought not to lead Indians to relax their efforts to attain the desired national goal of responsible self-government within the Empire by all constitutional means. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: If the announcement had been made earlier, perhaps the prestige of the Indian Government might have stood higher, for the release on the eve of the debate in the Assembly cannot but have the ugly appearance, so dreaded by certain people, of concession to popular agitation. The signs of joy on all sides at the news of his release constitute an event in the history of India. Of no living being on earth, not even the King-Emperor, could it be said as of Gandhi that three hundred millions love, revere and worship him. The *Independence* says that the key of the Yervada jail has been found at last: it lay flashing on the floor of the Legislative Assembly for the *Swarajists* and the Independents to stoop and pick up. Even in releasing the bureaucrat cannot be graceful. The bureaucratic ideals of prestige have not yet changed. They will soon be changed under the hammer blows from the *Swarajists*. And what will Gandhi do after the sea has invigorated him? Let the bureaucrat think and tremble. The *Hamdam* congratulates the Indian nation and all those who were searching for the key of the Yervada jail. The paper observes with satisfaction that the event will work as a cold douche to the activities of those who are trying to destroy the Hindu-Muslim unity, and the people who were responsible for creating dissensions between Hindus and Musalmans by launching the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements will now be ashamed of their mistakes. Writing before the release of Mr. Gandhi Indian papers were persistent in demanding his immediate and unconditional release. The only exception was the *Aligarh Gazette* which remarked that the Government of India will take upon itself a great responsibility by releasing Mr. Gandhi unconditionally as he is very easily influenced by his environments and is ever ready to explain away his words and actions. The *Medina* regrets that the non-cooperators have stooped so low as to request the Government to release Mr. Gandhi who ought to have been set free by the first President of the Indian Republic. The *Swadesh* emphatically asserts that the general public is extremely eager for the release of Mr. Gandhi and that even the most callous-hearted person will feel that the Mahatma should no longer remain in jail. Government must order his immediate and unconditional release. The *Aj* opines that the release of Mahatma Gandhi is a very urgent question before the country. It points out that if the Government does not release Mahatmaji then it is the imperative duty of the Indian people to secure his release by launching out an all-India *satyagraha* campaign. They could very well postpone the constructive programme of the Congress but they must not bear to see Mahatmaji in jail any longer. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that if Mahatma Gandhi is not released and public opinion in this connection is flouted it will be a matter quite unbecoming the Government and of deep shame to the country. If the Mahatma is sent back after his serious illness to the Yervada jail the Indian nation will be humiliated everywhere. It expresses the hope that the Government will give no cause for a vigorous all-India agitation being started in this connection. The *Pratap* points out that it would be futile for the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi on the pretext of his illness. It should release him only if it thinks that it committed an error in imprisoning him. It

does not approve of making any request to the Government or of moving resolutions in the Assembly and the Council of State for his release as it apprehends that such a course of action will tighten the chains fettering the Mahatma rather than break them. Mahatma Gandhi does not want his release by becoming an object of clemency or mercy. There is only one method of releasing him and that is to make ourselves strong and organise ourselves in such a way as to compel Government to yield and release Mahatmaji unconditionally.

Release of Maulana Hasrat.

The *Mashriq* regrets that while so much agitation is going on for the release of Mr. Gandhi not a voice has been raised for that of Maulana Hasrat. It advises the Government to release Maulana Hasrat before it releases Mr. Gandhi and remarks that according to the Islamic injunctions no Musalmans should give preference to Mr. Gandhi over Maulana Hasrat. Eulogising Maulana Hasrat's sacrifices in the cause of the country, the *Mansur* exhorts the Musaln ans to demand his immediate release and remarks that the Government by releasing him will be able to bridge the gulf of mutual hatred. The *Rahnuma* regrets that Maulana Hasrat has been consigned to oblivion by the nation and says that the Government by releasing him will give a proof of its largeheartedness. The *Arya Patra* protests against the unjust and vindictive spirit shown by Government and the inhuman treatment meted out to Maulana Hasrat in jail and hopes that the Assembly will raise its unanimous voice for his release.

The Swaraj Party.

The *Pioneer* in a leading article headed "The Goal of the Swarajists" says that the demand that is being pressed by the *Swarajists* is that the Governance of the country should be entrusted to an oligarchy incapable of maintaining internal order and of securing India from external aggression. The issue can no longer be camouflaged. India is faced with realities and stands at the parting of the ways. It points to the danger of creation of potential danger in the shape of Bolshevik intrigues in India and says that the Russian Revolutionary Communists are taking a definite interest in India as a field which offers suitable opportunities for the establishment of Communism and their Indian agents who are working with the Bolsheviks are consistently advising their employers that if once the British power is withdrawn the task of overthrowing what they describe as a bourgeois Indian Government and confiscating the possession of landowners and of the commercial classes could be accomplished with comparative ease. The crisis in the C. P. Council continues to engage the attention of the Hindi Press. The *Surya* apprehends that the attitude of the *Swarajist* members in the Central Provinces is not likely to do any good to the province and may only result in the augmentation of the autocracy of the Government and in prolonging the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Vartman* refers in condemnatory terms to the decision of Mr. Chitnavis, the C. P. Minister, to continue to remain in office in spite of the passage of the 'no confidence' resolution in the Council and remarks: It is the height of shamelessness on the part of Mr. Chitnavis to attempt to protect the tottering Reforms in face of public censure. The paper regards this incident as illustrative of the attitude of the Liberals who are now going to side openly with the enemies of the country. Referring to the rumour about the contemplated appointment of the Maharaja of Burdwan as the Governor of the Central Provinces, the *Pratap* insinuates that the Governorship is going to an Indian only because of the critical situation in the province. The *Aj* remarks that if the Government does not give effect, as is most probable, to the resolution about the release of political prisoners passed in the Bengal Council, then Mr. C. R. Das will have to show to the country how *swaraj* may be attained by obstructing Governmental business and by clogging the wheels of administration. The *Medina* expresses its gratification at the *Swarajists'* first success in the Bengal Council and hopes that they would show the same spirit throughout. The *Oudh Akhbar* describes the passage of the resolution as a great and unparalleled victory of the *Swarajists*. The *Haqiqat* has no hope that the Bengal Government will release all the political prisoners and remarks that, if it ignores the recommendations of the Council, the Independents and the *Swarajists* by uniting and cooperating together will harass the Government at every step. In another article the same paper remarks that the withdrawal of the resolution of no confidence against the U. P. Ministers has dealt a severe blow to the prestige of the *Swaraj* Party which has to a great extent lost the confidence of the public. It has enhanced the reputation of the Ministers and the people have now begun to repose greater confidence in them. The *Hamdam* remarks that as the U. P. Ministers had done nothing objectionable to incur the displeasure of the public, it was but proper and wise for the *Swarajists* to withdraw the motion. The

Arya Varta avers that if the Independents combine with the *Swarajists*, a situation can again be created which once compelled the Government to ask for a round table conference. As long as the people do not act on the policy of direct action neither *swaraj* can be obtained nor can the bureaucracy be brought to its senses. The *Anand Pracharak* resents the activities of the *Swarajists* and remarks that the policy of the Congress is proving ruinous to the Hindus. It advises them to sever their connection from the Congress and establish a separate *Sabha* of their own.

The Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech before the Indian Legislatures the *Leader* says: Another golden opportunity of putting heart into the country and, in any case, of strengthening the hands of those who believe in constitutional methods of agitation has been missed by Lord Reading. We are constrained to say that his speech fills us with gloomy foreboding of the future. The *Independence* says that the speech must be hailed with satisfaction by the retrograde elements in the country. It congratulates the *Swarajists* on point-to-point contact with the wildest form of bureaucratic opposition from the head of the Government of India. Whatever it is, the *Swarajists* have been insulted, and rightly, in a place where they know they are not wanted. Only a few Hindi papers have so far commented on the Viceroy's speech. The *Aj* characterises the speech as barren and full of mere platitudes. It says that in his speech the Viceroy has made the perilous attempt to sail in two boats at one and the same time. On the one hand he has tried to please the new Assembly and on the other he has held out a threat to those who have entered the Assembly with the avowed object of creating obstruction there. It asks the *Swarajists* to accept the Viceregal challenge. The *Vartman* considers the speech as disappointing and remarks that to expect any good to India from the Viceroy is like attempting to press water out of sand. What sympathy can that official bear towards India who is himself a slave of the Government and dances at its bidding. Those who had falsely hoped that the Viceroy might respect the wishes of the Council will now be totally disillusionised. It is very good that the disillusionment has come so early. The *Hamdam* says that on the whole the Viceroy's speech presents a future full of bright hopes for India and the most satisfactory side of it is this that it has altogether dispelled the danger of a war with Afghanistan. The *Haqiqat* remarks that the views expressed by the Viceroy on the relations between India and Afghanistan will be read with satisfaction in both the countries and it will go a long way to remove the public anxiety regarding the present Anglo-Afghan relations. It describes the speech as full of threats and warning to the *Swarajists* and has no hope that the nationalists will be influenced by these threats. The *Arya Patra* describes the speech as disappointing even to the Liberals and exhorts the Independents to cooperate with the *Swarajists* and by their concerted action to show Lord Reading that no power on earth can now check them from obtaining *swaraj*.

The Chowringhee murder.

One Govind Hayaran writing in the *Nyaya* strongly condemns the misguided youth who murdered Mr. Day and urges Government not to succumb to the clamour of Europeans to start wholesale repression, which will not only be unjustifiable but will also create unnecessary unrest in the country. The *Vartman* remarks that the revolutionary agitation in Bengal is but the result of the sins committed by the bureaucracy. The ordinary laws of the country are sufficient to put down the agitation and the enforcement of extraordinary measures for this purpose is quite indefensible. The people will continue to oppose the Government as long as it does not give up extraordinary measures and instead have resort to ordinary laws.

The Reforms.

Speculation is rife in respect of the demands for constitutional reforms and a section of the press profiting by the Viceroy's statement before the Legislatures urges upon the members the necessity of presenting a united front to the Government. The *Leader* says: We desire to emphasise that the Viceroy's speech and more than it its implications should not be lost sight of in the discussion that is bound to arise on the motion for constitutional advance. It thinks that the only bold way of facing the problem is by bringing about the appointment of a Royal Commission. The Assembly must put forward that demand and implement it by work in England. Is it too much to hope that the *Swarajists* will yet revise their attitude of scorn of help of our friends in England? If, however, they are as obstinate in the rejection of the proposal for the appointment of a Royal Commission as the Government of India, then we repeat what we said yesterday that we view the future with the gloomiest of forebodings. In a recent issue the paper advocates its original

suggestion of entrusting the work of formulating further reforms to a Royal Commission and opposes the idea of a Committee in India, and says: Stalwarts in the Assembly who have not given much evidence of sound political judgment, appear to be enamoured of it, and we are afraid they are going to commit a serious mistake in not pressing for the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission and in urging for the appointment of a committee which is likely to delay further advance. The *Independence* says that the biggest bluff so far known to India and humanity is "dyarchy." When the corpse of dyarchy is decently cremated, when the mask of the reforms is torn off, then none can stand between India and the world-opinion asking for India's freedom. It trusts that the *Swarajists* and the Independents will prove equal to the task.

Hindu organisation.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* draws the attention of the Hindus to the necessity of releasing Hindu temples from the hands of those who care only for the accumulation of wealth, for personal gratification and for the satisfaction of princely luxury and wanton lust. These temples of God ruled by modern Beelzebubs are becoming an abomination unto God and religion. It suggests that the *Hindu Mahasabha* should organise small committees all over the land to keep a strict watch over the Hindu temples and see that they are not turned into little hells on earth.

The Adh-Kumbh mela at Allahabad.

The *Aj* applauds the action of the *sanyasis* of Allahabad in condemning the conduct of the District Magistrate on the occasion of the *Adh-Kumbh* fair and says that it would have been better if they had also taken a vow to establish *swaraj* in India, for until *swaraj* is established it is impossible to prevent the recurrence of such untoward events. One of the reasons why we want to change the present system of administration is the autocracy of the officials. Those who come to our country as rulers have doubtful administrative capacity. They only know how to make military or police demonstrations.

LUCKNOW:
The 9th February, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 7 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 16th February, 1924.

The Labour Government.

COMMENTING on the statement of policy by the Prime Minister in Parliament, the *Pioneer* remarks that the task to which Mr. MacDonald has to apply himself is a terribly onerous one, and none is likely to begrudge Labour its victory if it succeeds where the other political parties have failed. The *Aj* asks Indians not to build false hopes on the installation of the Labour Government in England and adds: The continuance of Lord Reading as the Viceroy of India and the inclusion of Lord Chelmsford in, and the absence of Mr. Lansberry from the Cabinet demonstrate the truth that the Labour Government does not want to deal justly by India. In another article the same paper remarks that the appointment of a nonentity like Sir Sydney Olivier as the Secretary of State for India and his membership of the House of Lords instead of the House of Commons are indicative of the fact that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald does not want to effect any improvement in the present system of administration in India.

Death of Lenin.

The *Vartman* says that just as Lord Buddha is still living and Jesus Christ scorned death by promising to come to this earth again in the same manner Lenin, the god of the poor, is immortal. Lenin was more kind-hearted than Buddha, more devoted than Jesus Christ, and a more rigid follower of non-violence than Mahatma Gandhi. He finished with his own hands what Buddha could only begin and Christ left uncompleted. Those who are sinners see Lenin's activities as bloody, but he is always living like god in the hearts of those who have understood his lofty ideals.

Indians in Colonies.

The *Hamdam* is indignant at the propaganda started in India by the Guiana Government for the success of its colonisation scheme and warns the Indians not to be influenced thereby. So long as the Kenya question is not satisfactorily settled, and India is not powerful enough to safeguard the interest of her sons abroad the colonisation scheme will always prove harmful to the Indians.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's message the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the emphasis laid by Mr. Gandhi on Hindu-Muslim unity will not be slurred over by the country, but there is no use concealing from ourselves the clouds that gather. The Muslims are fast gathering round the Bengal Pact as the irreducible minimum and the Hindus are deliberately opposed to it as a working programme. It is unfortunate, but none the less true, that forces are actually at work pulling the communities from each other. All the strength of the leaders is necessary to restore the position which Gandhi had effected before his incarceration. The *Arya Mitra* urges that in order to bring about harmonious relations between Hindus and Muhammadans, the former should stop music before mosques, and the latter should give up cow-slaughter except on *Bakr'Id*. As regards the *shuddhi* and *sanguthan* movements, it says that the Muhammadans should not object to them as they too can organise their community and add new members to it. Wherever either Hindus or Muhammadans are in a minority the number of their seats in the local boards should be fixed. The *Medina* regards communal unity as a great factor in the attainment of *swaraj* and remarks that the emancipation of India is the only thing which can ensure the safety of the Muslims in Arabia, Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, Tripoli and Morrocco. It is simply cowardice and weakness on the part of the Hindus to suppose that the Musalmans will subjugate them; similarly it is absurd and wrong for the latter to interpret *swaraj* as Hindu rule. Writing in a similar strain the *Al Balagh* exhorts the Hindus and the Musalmans to maintain happy relations and abstain from interfering in the religious matters of each other if they have the emancipation of their country at heart. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Hindus regard the stoppage of cow-slaughter as a condition precedent to unity and remarks that the best way to bridge the ever-widening gulf of mutual hatred is that the Hindus should cease to be aggressive and should not attempt to solve the question of cow-slaughter by legislative measures.

MAILS BRANCH
18 MAR 1924
INDIA OFFICE

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Independence* says that the Viceregal utterance before the new Assembly has caused the deepest disappointment in all political circles in India. The speech though full of superficial sympathy is lacking in broadmindedness, imagination and even diplomacy. It is far from concialiatory. The speech clearly shows that no change can take place under existing circumstances in India. India declines to accept this position. The *Aj* remarks that the Viceroy's speech before the Legislature shows that he too has begun to doubt if the illusion of the Reforms can last long. His eulogy on the Reforms and his threat to the *Swarajists* are therefore the inevitable outcome of his doubtful mind. But let the Viceroy have no delusion in regard to the policy and the programme of the *Swarajists*. Until *swaraj* is conferred they are determined to resort to obstruction. The *Abhyudaya* thinks that the speech was a downright challenge to the representatives of the people in the Assembly and was an open declaration of the bankruptcy of British statesmanship. One great service which it has done is that it has disillusioned the Moderates. The *Azad* describes the Viceroy's speech as disappointing and remarks that his observations on the question of further Reforms have hurt the sentiments of patriotic Indians. It was highly impolitic on his part not to announce in his speech the much-expected release of Mr. Gandhi. The *Najat* says that the Viceroy's speech betrays his utter ignorance of Indian affairs and lack of sympathy with Indians, and that instead of trying to solve the present difficulties he delights in holding out threats to the people. The *Aligarh Gazette* hopes that unlike former occasions the threats held out by the Viceroy will be translated into action and will not be kept confined to the official desks and council platforms.

Mr. Gandhi.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* does not think that the release of Mr. Gandhi has eased the political situation in the country. The Government of India released Gandhi not because of any change of heart but because it felt that it was risky to keep him in jail where he is liable to sudden serious illness. The *Leader* says that the release of Mr. Gandhi has created a significant change in the people, as well as the Government. In view of the great clearing of the astmosphere that is taking place as a result of Mr. Gandhi's release we offer once more our hearty congratulations to Government on its courageous act of statesmanship. It was the inhumanity of Jallianwalla Bagh which stirred a revolt in the heart of the people, and it is the sense of humanity behind the release of Mr. Gandhi which has touched the tenderest chords of the people. Commenting on the message of Mr. Gandhi to his countrymen, the paper says : It is simple and straight, magnanimous to opponents, dignified throughout in substance and in language. Although his observations on Civil Disobedience are not approved by the paper, it says : If he should apply his unequalled powers of leadership and inspiration chiefly to those parts of the Bardoli programme whose success will make of Indians both a more efficient and a more united people, the result will be such as undoubtedly to hasten the advent of *swaraj*, and every single man, woman and child, English and Indian alike, will without one exception be able conscientiously to regard Mr. Gandhi as absolutely the greatest benefactor that India has had in modern times. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thanks God that Gandhi is free, and is gaining strength. If Mr. Gandhi does not find the change of heart in the Government, and if he finds it in the people, in Hindu-Muslim reunion, India may be a united Borsad. The release of Mr. Gandhi has been received in the vernacular press with universal satisfaction. The *Gyan Shakti* says that the wise and proper action of Government in releasing Mahatma Gandhi will ensure contentment in the country and inaugurate an era of hope and trust. The *Swadeshi* congratulates the Governor of Bombay and Lord Reading on the wise action in releasing Mahatma Gandhi and says that Government would have been well-advised in acknowledging that the decision was brought about by the force of public opinion as well as by the desire of Government to deal justly by him. The *Aj* holds that the main cause of Mahatma Gandhi's release is the unanimity of public opinion in its favour. Among other contributory factors may be mentioned the influence of the Labour Party in England and probably the desire of the bureaucracy to gratify the *Swaraj* Party. Whatever may be the causes that brought about the release of Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Leslie Wilson deserves our heartfelt thanks and not Lord Reading. In another article the same paper remarks: We cannot help laughing at the tactics of the Liberal leaders and journals in offering their thanks to the Bombay Government and the Government of India for releasing Mahatma Gandhi. The Government itself says that it was compelled to release the Mahatma under medical advice and was not swayed by any consideration for public opinion and yet our Liberal friends are going to thank the

Government for respecting public opinion. In another place the paper says that although we are ashamed of the fact that we could not secure the Mahatma's release by virtue of our own strength yet we are overwhelmed with joy in finding the Mahatma in our midst again. The *Anand* observes that the universal jubilation in the country over the release of Mahatma Gandhi despite political differences should convince the Government of the Mahatma's influence over the people. The *Medina* is jubilant at the release of Mr. Gandhi and remarks that for the first time in its life the autocratic Government has displayed a sound conception of politics and allowed public opinion to triumph over itself. The *Hamdam* says that the Government by releasing Mr. Gandhi has earned the gratitude of the people and given proof of its farsightedness. A favourable atmosphere will now be created and Lord Reading will do well to alter his views to suit the changed conditions. The *Haqiqat* avers that the Government by releasing Mr. Gandhi has removed great public unrest and created an atmosphere favourable for reconciliation. The *Al Khalil* says that Mr. Gandhi's release marks the failure of the non-cooperation movement because it shows that the Government is no more afraid of him. The *Hindustani* praises the wisdom and sagacity of the Government in releasing the greatest man in the country and hopes that he will now apply himself in creating happy relations between the Hindus aud Musalmans. The *Aryapatra* says that in releasing Mr. Gandhi the Government has clearly anticipated the decision of the Assembly. The *Rahnuma* remarks that the Government by releasing Mr. Gandhi has shown its respect to the united demand of the country. It hopes that the activities of the advocates of *shuddhi* and *sangathan* will now be paralysed and happy relations will once more be restored between the two communities. The *Aligarh Gazette* is the only exception which disapproves the action of the Government in releasing Mr. Gandhi at a time when the political atmosphere is cloudy on account of the activities of the *Swaraj* Party and remarks that his release will cause a fresh stir in the minds of the people. Commenting upon Mr. Gandhi's message the *Hamdam* regrets that the people during his imprisonment have deviated from the course chalked out by him. Both the communities should now reunite to gratify the wishes of the great man.

The Akali agitation.

The *Vartman* accuses the police of merciless flogging of the Akalis at Bhai Pheru. This callous and ruthless treatment is not only despicable but also reprehensible. By such actions the police is goading the Akalis to violence. All the designs and the repression of the bureaucracy proved futile at Guru-ka-Bagh ; in the same manner it will suffer a discomfiture at Bhai Pheru.

The Swaraj Party.

The *Haqiqat* hails with satisfaction the union of the Independent and the *Swarajist* members of the Assembly and remarks that the Government will have no peace until it accepts the just demands of the nation. Commenting upon the *Swarajists'* activities in the Assembly the *Al Khalil* remarks that the Home Member has now adopted a conciliatory attitude instead of an imperious one and it will be no wonder if the Government climbs down and agrees to hold a Round Table Conference. On the other hand the *Aligarh Gazette* condemns the activities of the *Swarajists* as detrimental to the interests of the country and advises the Government to use its power of veto against the resolutions passed by them. When the existing laws have proved effective in maintaining peace and order there is no reason why they should be repealed, on the contrary they should be made more rigid.

Constitutional advance.

Commenting on Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech in the Legislative Assembly, the *Leader* congratulates the Home Member on the signal ability with which he treated the subject and says: We should further acknowledge, as we do gladly, that a perusal of the text leaves on the mind a less disagreeable impression than the summary prepared by the Associated Press. It asks the Home Member what exactly he means by the term "Local Government." Did he mean only the Governors in Council or he had also the Ministers in mind? It regrets that instead of concentrating on Mr. Rangachariar's resolution asking for a Commission and according to it unanimous support, certain non-official Indian members should have deviated into less wise suggestions in favour of a committee or a conference. Even at this last moment we would fain hope that they may show greater foresight and withdraw their amendments in favour of the original motion. It deprecates the attitude adopted by the Home Member with reference to military policy of the Government and says that a great and a relevant point in the consideration of the subject of a further constitutional advance is that the longer it is postponed the greater may be the difficulties. The *Pioneer* says: When it becomes known in England

that the leader of the *Swaraj* Party in the Legislative Assembly has described the Reformed Constitution as an "evil thing" and declared that the Government of India Act "had enacted great injustice," there will be a more pronounced disposition than ever to reject the claims put forward by him and his party. No Government in England is likely to give way to cheap threats. The next stage towards responsible government will be possible when Indian politicians have shown full sense of responsibility and a sincere desire to cooperate with Government in advancing the interests of their country. The *Independence* disapproves the idea of a Royal Commission or an official committee and says that there is nothing unprecedented in the demands for a Round Table Conference in the history of the British Empire, though lack of precedents is no excuse to create precedents. It quotes the example of Egypt and says Egypt was given the right of framing her own constitution. And today the Egyptian rebel whom the Anglo-Egyptian bureaucracy had deported is Egypt's Premier. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the spokesman of the Government, Sir Malcolm Hailey, forgot the millions standing solid, as one man, behind the demand for *swaraj*; he only remembered the prince and the foreign capitalist. It hopes that he convinced the princes and those he addressed at the Cawnpore Chamber of Commerce of his strength and determination. As for the country, it will not be impressed by his specious words. He has failed to explain why the British Government should not deal honestly with the demand for *swaraj*. Let the Government remember the definite threat of the *Swarajists*. It is not a mere reply to Lord Reading or his minister: it is the voice of the Indian nation. The *Independence* says that the Round Table Conference will determine the principles of a constitution for India. This is the only honourable way in which Indian agitation for *swaraj* can be ended. We find no other path of India's reconciliation with England and the Empire. This path was followed by the English Cabinet and Parliament in regard to Ireland. If India is to avoid the sorrows and sufferings of Ireland, England will see the inevitable trend of events and recognise it by a brave stroke of broad statesmanship. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the Government of India again undertook a grave responsibility in opposing the resolution of the Nationalists for a round table discussion to settle the preliminaries to the grant of *swaraj*. The spirit of the country is the spirit of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. It knows what it wants. Indians are unarmed. Indians are pledged to non-violence. But Indians are pledged also to wrest *swaraj*. The change of heart is not yet visible: the taunt of British trusteeship does not show it: the idle and innocuous threat against the council-wreckers would only rouse a smile from those who have realised their own strength. England will soon know what it is to govern autocratically a people determined to have democracy. The *Independence* says that the immediate outlook is certainly not very promising. There is no earthly chance of inducing the Government in India and England to realise the Indian point of view until and unless the various parties in the Assembly are welded into one united whole not merely in the mere adoption of a few demands but in the plan of campaign to enforce these demands. The *Hamdam* is gratified that all the political parties in the country are united in their demand for complete self-government for India and remarks that it was due simply to the Liberal opposition that the Government dared to adopt an unsympathetic attitude towards the popular sentiments. It requests the Liberals to join the non-violent and constitutional activities of the other political parties. The *Oudh Akhbar* resents the opposition of the Calcutta European Association to the Indian demand for self-government which is based on righteousness and truth, and remarks that by going against the Indians the non-official European community will not be able to stay even for a day in the country when self-government is granted. The *Medina* says that the Indians have now fully realised that by showing a united front they can force the Government to accept their demands. The Government will have now either to yield before the united demand of the country or throw the entire responsibility on the shoulders of the Viceroy and make him to bring into play his special power of veto. The *Hindustani* remarks that Indians can now no longer be duped. The desire for liberty is so widespread and intense that the Indian leaders will have no rest until they obtain complete self-government.

The Public Services Commission.

The *Swadeshi* urges that whatever the decision of the Lee Commission regarding the increase of pay of the superior Civil Services may be, they should all be brought under the control of Local Governments.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

Eulogising Maulana Hasrat's services in the cause of the country, the *Aligarh Gazette* regrets the utter neglect shown to him by his countrymen in not demanding his release simply because he is a Musalman. The *Hamdam* enumerates the hardships imposed upon Maulana Hasrat in jail and exhorts the members of the Bombay Legislature to bring them to the notice of the Governor and demand his release.

Conviction of Mr. Victor Mohan Joshi.

The *Aj* says that never before has section 144 been so grossly abused as in the case of Mr. Victor Mohan Joshi of Almora, who has been sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment for violating this section. Here is a sample of justice administered in the régime of Lord Reading. Mr. Victor Mohan Joshi is a nationalist Indian Christian and the sole object of passing a severe sentence on him is to prevent the growth of nationalism and patriotism among Indian Christians.

Labour.

The *Weekly Mazdoor*, a recently started journal of the Labour Party in these provinces, in a leading article headed the "Impending Strike" says that the time has now come for the labourers not to be mute but to assert their rights with a voice equal to that of a roaring lion. These lions, who are the mainsprings of trade and Government, were brought up with sheep by accident, and began to bleet like sheep; but they have come to realise through their mother lioness (Unionism) that they are not sheep to bleet, but lions to roar, and they have seen their faces in the transparent lake of unity.

Political propaganda.

The *Prem* publishes a contributed article in which "Raja" Mahendra Pratap urges the advocates of the propagation of the Nagri script to send their representatives to Turkey and Afghanistan to carry on their propaganda in those countries. This will ensure not only the use of that script in those countries but also result in political advantages to India. The *Dehati* makes out that British rule in India has been unsuccessful owing to the failure of the British Government to grant home rule to the country and its efforts to perpetuate its subjection by means of enormous increase in military expenditure, poisonous education in schools, distortion of history and finally by the repudiation of Queen Victoria's Proclamation by Lord Curzon. The unrest in the country has been steadily increasing and has only been met by repression after repression. It is not yet too late for the British statesmen to grant equality of treatment to India, otherwise they will soon find that the brightest jewel in the British Crown has separated itself from the British Empire. The *Bhawishya*, a new weekly nationalist journal of Cawnpore, in describing its policy in its first issue says: "The main object of the *Bhawishya* is to remove the veil of servility from the hearts of the Indian people so as to expose them to the sunshine of liberty. 'Death is preferable to subjection,' will be the motto of the *Bhawishya*. *Bhawishya* will be the supporter of equality and it will consider it to be its duty to work for the redress of the various atrocities that are at present perpetrated upon the poor *kisans* and labourers. *Bhawishya* will not tolerate the treatment of inequality which is at present meted out in India to women and untouchables. It will aim at the propagation of fraternal feelings among all communities and religions. It will be the duty of the *Bhawishya* to work for the propagation of *swadeshi*. Fearlessness and impartiality will be the chief features of the *Bhawishya* and under no circumstances will it deviate from truth."

LUCKNOW:
The 16th February, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 8 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 23rd February, 1924.

The Khilafat.

A CORRESPONDENT writing in the *Haqiqat* challenges the authority of the Turks to restrict the power and prestige of the *Khalifa* and to decide the Khilafat question in utter disregard of the opinion of the Muslim world and demands the abolition of the Khilafat Committees. The editor, however, disagrees and opposes the abolition of the Khilafat Committees unless the Muslim League is reorganised to safeguard communal interests, and refutes the allegation that the Khilafat Committees are responsible for Hindu-Muslim dissensions. The *Arya Varta* regards the abolition of the Khilafat Committees as beneficial to the interests of the country and as an incentive for the Musalmans to join the Congress and remarks that in order to create and maintain friendly relations between the two communities it is necessary that the Khilafat Committees should be abolished.

The Labour Government.

The *Leader* says that there is at least one party in England whom all sections of Indian politicians can trust, viz., the Labour Party but its position in office is not strong enough for it to do anything striking. Recognising its limitations it is the duty of Indian politicians neither to hustle it nor to antagonise it, but to make the utmost use of its capacity to do good while it is in power by making demands which it is in a position to meet. Pointing out the difficulties which the Government in England has to face in connection with foreign affairs the paper asks: Will the British foreign policy under the Labour Government effect a miraculous change? Mr. Lloyd George wanted to be the saviour of Europe but he failed. Let us see if better luck awaits Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's efforts. The *Vartman* says that in view of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's unequivocal attitude towards India, Indian leaders of all shades of opinion must cease to depend upon Britain. They must give up the idea that the British Government is the arbiter of their destiny and unitedly announce that Indians will establish complete independence in their country by their own exertions. The paper takes Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to task for his letter to the British Premier, and remarks that it is regrettable that the Moderates have not even after their discomfiture in the last elections given up their habit of servility and sycophancy. It is possible that Mr. Chintamani and his colleagues may have built hopes on the Labour Government, but the non-cooperators labour under no such delusion. They shun sycophancy and know how to compel the Government to yield to their wishes. The Indian public and the Congress leaders want to win *swaraj* and not beg for it.

Death of Lenin.

The *Utsah* publishes an article highly eulogistic of M. Lenin whose policy, the paper asserts, was to serve his country and not become its master for his personal gratification. He was an enemy of despotism and territorial aggrandisement. Those alone are his enemies who advocate despotism. The principles of Lenin will continue to flourish in the world so long as those people live who want to take advantage of helpless people. Had he been born in India, Indians too would have realised what nationalism meant. What Mahatma Gandhi could not achieve by words and threats, Lenin achieved by dint of strength. Lenin did not approve of the policy of killing the serpent but of nourishing its young ones. The propaganda against Lenin in India is nothing but an attempt to take advantage of the ignorance of Indians and prevent them from breaking their chains. Mahatma Gandhi too hates slavery but he is afraid of the policy which destroys it. India alone had a place in Lenin's heart. Indians do not exactly know as to who are their real foes and friends. The truth, however, will soon be out since Lenin's disciples will surely carry out his principle of helping the distressed people of the whole world.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Desh Bhakta* holds that so long as the Indian Muhammadans do not regard India as their mother-country and do not give up their sympathy for Turkey, Arabia and Afghanistan, the Hindus cannot fully trust them. The Hindus and Muhammadans cannot unite even under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, and if any compact is concluded between the two communities it cannot last long, for the Muhammadans are sure to fall out with the Hindus as soon as their selfish ends have been gained.

MAILS BRANCH
18 MAR 1924
INDIA OFFICE

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Abhyudaya* says that by his discourteous and disappointing speech the Viceroy has exasperated the members of the Assembly. If the leaders in the Assembly are possessed of any self-respect the Viceroy will have to repent of his utterance. The *Surya* holds that the Viceroy's speech was highly unsatisfactory. His Excellency is determined not to move an inch from his old position. He has done nothing to prove himself to be a well-wisher of the country. He has not helped in the attainment of *swaraj*, but only threatened to suppress the *Swarajists*. He holds out the threat of withdrawing the Reforms, quite forgetful of its disastrous effect on the country. If he will not help forward the cause of Reforms he will forfeit the confidence of even those who have so far supported his Government. If obstacles will be put in the path of those who work for the attainment of *swaraj* by creating internal differences so as to emphasise the unfitness of India for *swaraj*, it will be regarded as the weakness or the mistake of the existing Government itself. The *Bharat Jiwan* reminds the Viceroy that his too frequent use of threats will only stiffen the back of the Congressmen. His threat to abolish the Councils only shows that the Reforms are shadowy and unsubstantial. If this is not so, the Government should carry out the resolutions passed in the Councils and the Assembly. The Viceroy is mistaken in emphasising that India can get anything from England only as a favour. He should know that Indians have now realised their strength and that they no longer believe in the policy of mendicancy.

Constitutional advance.

The debate in the Legislative Assembly on "Constitutional advance" is being followed with close attention. The *Pioneer* in a leading article headed "Political Myopia in Delhi" indignantly remarks: Apart from a small section which is blinded by fanaticism, there is not a man among those who voted for the Nehru resolution who does not know full well that he and his associates would be incapable of carrying on stable rule and of maintaining efficient administration. The adoption by the Assembly of the Nehru resolution is a fitting climax to the make-believe, the refusal to face facts or to recognise realities, which characterise Indian politics. The special feature of the debate at Delhi, according to the paper, was the visualising of an India in which, the British civil official having been driven out at the point of the tongue, the British soldier will remain to protect the evictors from those who would rule at the point of the sword. Mr. Patel and his coadjutors may rest assured that the day will never come when the sole function of the British in India will be to shed their blood for the exponents of anti-British doctrines. The paper resents the attitude of the Moderates and says: In the first year of the operation of the new Constitution the Moderates claimed that they had already proved their fitness to exercise additional powers. Now, in 1924, they have joined the *Swarajists* in calling for Dominion status. They have witnessed the grievous injury inflicted upon India by non-cooperation; they have followed the long record of crime, the massacre of police, the fomenting of labour disputes, the practice of cruel social tyranny and the flouting of law which have been the concomitants of the baneful movement. Yet in the Council Chamber they are prepared to join hands with the leaders of the non-co-operators in demanding fresh power which cannot honestly be granted until there arises in India a constitutional party possessing the courage of its beliefs, imbued with a high sense of responsibility and determined to give no countenance to politicians who, while professing lofty principles, are prepared to follow a course of action which if it succeeds must disintegrate the ties that hold civilised society together. The *Leader* says that the Government's attitude has shown a deplorable lack of imagination and statesmanship and strengthened the hands of the opposition. And what is the measure of the Government of India's appreciation of the force that its own short-sighted policy has aroused? A departmental enquiry! If this is the limit of British statesmanship under a Labour Government, then no one should be surprised if deeper distrust and gloom spreads over the country. In another article the paper suggests that efforts should be made to get a Royal Commission appointed, and for this purpose the paper thinks it absolutely necessary that a deputation should visit England to represent to the authorities the Indian side of the case and to press the need of an early inquiry by an independent commission. It feels convinced that the work in England in the existing circumstances is as necessary as in India, so that judgment may not go against us by default. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the political question at once becomes interesting after the passing of the Nehru amendment. Round Table is a standing proclamation that the bureaucrat is not trusted. No words, no sentiments, no pious solicitude will satisfy. The *Swarajists* will wreck the Reforms. It wishes

the Government of India all happiness over this concurrence in its policy by the Cabinet. But they will find small satisfaction in setting themselves against the people in this country. They are face to face with an agitation the like of which they have never before experienced. The *Advocate* says that the bold and outspoken speeches of the *Swarajists* and the Independents bring into prominent relief the great improvement which the present Assembly is upon its predecessor. The speech of Sir Malcolm Hailey shows how weak is the case of Government for withholding the desired basis of *swaraj*. It characterises his arguments as puerile and says: If British statesmanship is not totally bankrupt, the Government will take courage in both hands and meet the modest demand of the people. The *Independence* in a leading article headed "Mr. Patel's Straight Talk" praises him for his candour, "because it was so void of diplomacy which the non-cooperator has winnowed from his politics as chaff from good wheat." Mr. Patel has destroyed that illusion which the foreign bureaucrat and his Indian friend have sedulously tried to build up, namely, our own incompetence to defend our homes. Commenting on the Home Member's statement the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that he betrays a strange ignorance of human character indeed when he piteously bemoans against mistrust. The Government have only reaped what they have sowed. The rhetoric about justice from posterity falls flat on the country: the bathos of the whole utterance is sickening. The Government has made up its mind. It is not prepared to yield to the popular demand. We now await the action of the self-respecting patriots. The *Independence* writing on the prospects of a Royal Commission says: It is extravagant to predict that the boycott of the new Royal Commission, if appointed, will be as complete as the boycott of the Milner Mission in Egypt. Who knows that Egyptian history will not repeat itself in India. If the Royal Commission comes, it will give the Congress once again a chance to demonstrate the principle of non-cooperation. At another place the paper says: If the Round Table is denied and the Royal Commission is promised there is but one alternative—boycott that Commission and leave it for Sivaswami Iyers and Rangacharis. The *Arya Mitra* says that the bureaucracy is standing in the way of India's demand for self-government. The Government will be well-advised to accept the demands of the Indians, as any opposition in this matter will compel them to sever their connection from Great Britain. If bureaucracy has lost its reason and attempts to suppress the desire of India for liberty, then India knows well how a self-respecting nation should behave under such circumstances. The *Rahnuma* welcomes the formation of a national party in the Assembly and hopes that concerted action on constitutional lines will force the Government to accept the demands of the Indians. The *Azad* disapproves the Government's proposal of a departmental inquiry into the working of the Reforms and exhorts the members of the Assembly to insist upon the immediate appointment of a Royal Commission for that purpose. The *Najat* remarks that with the formation of the nationalist party even the "Ji-huzurs," who always supported the Government in its policy of repression, have abstained from siding with it. The *Anand* holds that Sir Malcolm Hailey's statement in the Legislative Assembly was highly unsatisfactory and disappointing. Sir Malcolm Hailey altogether ignored the King-Emperor's message to India conveyed through the Duke of Connaught on the occasion of the inauguration of the Reforms and expressed views which cannot but increase unrest in the country. The Government of India itself appears at the present time to be opposed to the fulfilment of Indian aspirations and it is highly desirable that a deputation should be sent to England to exercise pressure on the Government and to make the British Government acquainted with the existing situation in India.

The Salt-tax.

The *Aj* says that if it is proposed to retain the salt-tax this year also it should be the duty of the Assembly not only to reject the salt-tax but consign the whole budget to the wastepaper basket. The Assembly should also reduce the excessive military and administrative expenditure and save the people from the terrible burden of taxation.

The release of Mahatma Gandhi.

The *Vartman* is jubilant over the release of Mahatma Gandhi and remarks: God alone deserves our thanks for his release which is the outcome neither of any benevolence on the part of the Labour Government nor of any regard on the part of the Government of India for the *Swarajists*. The *Abhyudaya* says: Although we are happy over the release of Mahatma Gandhi we cannot congratulate the Government on it. By releasing Mahatma Gandhi Government has only removed its previous injustice. It did not release the Mahatma out of mercy or clemency but was

constrained to do so by the compelling force of the unanimity of public opinion. The release of Mahatma Gandhi shows that if Indians are only united they can force the Government to yield to their wishes. The *Hamdard* points out that there is no doubt that the release of Mahatma Gandhi is very happy news for the country, but the people would be guilty of extreme ungratefulness if Government were not thanked for this wise and sympathetic act. The *Shakti* remarks that the release of Mahatma Gandhi shows that even the most powerful Government has to yield to the force of public opinion. Government may well conceal the fact, but it is nevertheless true that Government released Mahatma Gandhi to conciliate the people. Truth has after all triumphed over obstinacy and falsehood. The *Swadesh* reads in the release of Mahatma Gandhi the triumph of spiritual force over brute force. It is sure that with the release of Mahatma Gandhi there will be a change for the better in the fortunes of the country. The *Kartavya* says that Government has set right the mistake which it committed two years ago. It asks Mahatma Gandhi to assume the leadership of the distracted country once again and renew the non-violent struggle for liberty. The *Al Balagh* is gratified at the release of Mr. Gandhi and exhorts the people to act upon his advice. If they have any sense of shame left in them they will not pollute their bodies by the use of foreign cloth, and if they are desirous of freedom they will abstain from purchasing any foreign article. The *Aftab* describes Mr. Gandhi's release as a great proof of Government's good faith and asks the *Swarajists* to be grateful to the Government for sparing them the trouble of carrying on a vigorous agitation. The *Haqiqat* hopes that Mr. Gandhi will start a new movement to create enthusiasm among the public and to infuse fresh life into the non-cooperation movement and remarks that any failure on his part to do so will greatly disappoint the people and affect their minds adversely. The *Hamdam* emphasises the necessity of observing the "Gandhi month" throughout the country to strengthen India's demand for liberty and hopes that the leaders will take an active part in this movement.

Maulana Hasrat.

The *Mansur* is indignant at the silence maintained by the Musalmans in the matter of the Maulana's release and advises the Government to immediately release him in order to wipe away the distrust and hatred prevailing against it. His imprisonment will prove injurious to the Government and it will be in its own interest to release him. The *Medina* regards the Maulana as an innocent victim of the unconstitutional laws of the country and exhorts the Musalmans to carry on a vigorous agitation for his release.

The Nizam and the Berar.

The *Leader* says that the Nizam's letter to the Viceroy is a sensational document and the attempt to seek publicity is certainly remarkable. It probably indicates a desire on the part of His Exalted Highness to seek the support of Indian public opinion to strengthen his claim. This change in the angle of vision of a prince like the Nizam is welcome. The paper calls upon the Government of India to come forward with its own version of the affair, and suggests that the dispute between the ally and his sovereign can best be settled by reference to a plebiscite. The people of Berar are most concerned in the matter and theirs must be the determining voice. It does not believe in the profession of the Nizam regarding his faith in self-government and suggests that in order to be true to this solicitude he should put an end to autocracy in his own dominion. It is doubtful if the offer of the Nizam will appeal to the Beraris or the rest of political India as Indians of British India have got more constitutional freedom and look forward for more of it in the near future than the subjects of most Indian princes, who are denied freedom of speech and writing and security of person and property against the arbitrary will of the rulers. The *Al Balagh* thinks the Nizam's demand are quite legitimate and hopes that in view of his loyal services the British Government will no longer deprive the Nizam's Government its lawful right and will restore Berar to it. The *Haqiqat* says that the demand of the Nizam for the restoration of Berar is quite reasonable and just and the scheme of administration chalked out by him will meet the approval of the people of that province. Writing in a similar strain the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the restoration of Berar will go a long way to allay the present agitation for the immediate grant of further Reforms and will keep back Mr. Gandhi from getting a new handle to stir the minds of the people.

The Royal Commission.

The *Leader* publishes in full the statement made by Mr. Hasan Imam before the Royal Commission and says that his replies to the questionaire of the Commission set out the

issues involved in clear and forceful language, and it would be difficult to improve upon his presentment of the Indian case. The *Oudh Akhbar* praises Mr. Hasan Imam for his sound and straightforward evidence before the Commission and agrees with him that there is a great defect in the Government of India Act in that the Ministers do not possess full control over the staff of the departments under their charge.

Baby Shows.

The *Gorakshan* says that the baby shows organised by the bureaucracy in India are a hollow farce and cannot reduce infant mortality. If the bureaucracy is really anxious for the well-being of Indian children, it should stop cow-slaughter and provide pasture grounds for cows so as to increase the milk supply which is so necessary for the proper preservation and nourishment of children. The *Surya* also writes to a similar effect.

The Akali agitation.

Commenting on the activities of the Akalis the *Hamdam* suggests that the *Swarajists* being busy with the Councils the no-changers should now turn their attention towards the Akalis and encourage them in their struggle. The influential members should make a tour of the Punjab and enlist the sympathy of the Hindus and Musalmans for the Akalis. The *Haqiqat* describes the struggle of the Akalis as a moral lesson to the country and remarks that the measures adopted by the Government against them amount to a challenge to the whole nation. In view of the past experience the Government will do well to abstain from interfering in purely religious matters and to accept their demands. Commenting upon the shooting of Akalis at Jaiton the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the Akali situation can never be solved by buckshots ; on the other hand, that is the best way to aggravate it.

The Nationalist Party.

The *Vartman* is not very hopeful of the newly formed Nationalist Party in the Assembly. This party though organised by the efforts of the *Swarajists* is weaker than the *Swaraj* Party itself in its ideals and convictions. The majority of its members are advocates of responsive cooperation, while some of its members are such as will be willing to cooperate whole-heartedly with the Government as soon as it becomes apparent that it is determined to oppose them. The *Aj* remarks that the formation of the Nationalist Party and the inclusion of *Swarajists* in it along with the members of other parties and of a different political outlook show that the direction in which the *Swaraj* Party is leaning is the old path of political mendicancy.

The crisis in the Central Provinces.

The *Aj* condemns the decision of the Liberal Ministers of the Central Provinces to continue to remain in office in spite of the no confidence resolution and remarks that if the Ministers do not resign the whole of the budget will be rejected. In that event the bureaucracy will have either to withdraw the Reforms or confer real rights on the people.

Hindi and the United Provinces Council.

The *Kartavya* referring to the refusal of the President to allow Lala Sangam Lal to speak in Hindi in the Provincial Legislative Council asks other members of the Council not to tolerate this insult to their mother-tongue. The *Swarajists* and Independent members should speak in their own language and refuse to use the English language. The *Hamdam* in a communicated article exhorts the members of the Council to deliver their speeches in Hindustani and resents the restrictions imposed on them for the convenience of the officials. It is simply ludicrous that the rulers remain ignorant of the language and customs of the people over whom they rule.

Political propaganda.

Commenting upon the census report the *Oudh Akhbar* deplores the growing poverty in the country and accuses the Government officials of deceiving the world by deliberately concealing the true facts. The present unrest is the direct result of the bread problem, and unless the economic question is solved any change in the form of administration will be of no avail. The *Najat* says that to make the Indian exchequer bear the burden of military operations for Imperial purposes amounts to only a refined way of plundering the country. The *Desh Bhakta* publishes a poem by Trivedi in which the following lines among others occur: "The tyrannical people are oppressing the country. They are squeezing it in their grip. Behold ! brave men, open your eyes. . . The house is on fire. The foreigners are carrying on their predatory practices. . . Destroy the crooked policy of the evil-minded people. . . " The *Utsah* publishes an open letter to Indian princes in which the writer points out how

they are utterly at the mercy of the Residents and how the Nabha affair shows that their Narendra Mandal is treated as an insignificant body with no substantial powers. Virtually they are internees in their own territories. If they are to possess real powers and want to keep their subjects happy and contented, they should not remain indifferent to the *swaraj* movement in the country but should rather welcome it. The *Swadesh* urges that if the country is to be wholly interested in the struggle for *swaraj*, leaders should visit the villages in their largest number and make their inhabitants take their due share in national affairs. The *Vartman* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap giving an account of his interview with Trotsky and Lenin in the years 1918 and 1919, respectively, and pointing out that Trotsky sympathised with his political views, declared that he wanted freedom for the oppressed Eastern nations and that Lenin expressed even greater sympathy with his political views.

LUCKNOW:
The 23rd February, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 1st March, 1924.

Muslim affairs.

THE *Hamdam* resents the Government notification requiring the *Haj* pilgrims to purchase return tickets and blames the Sharif for upsetting the old Turkish arrangements and thereby adding to the difficulties of the pilgrims. The Indian Government should not grudge to help the destitute *Hajis* and the enforcement of the notification would be regarded as an interference in religious affairs. The *Haqiqat* opines that Great Britain is playing a losing game in Mesopotamia and infers from the recent statement of the Premier that he is contemplating the evacuation of Iraq as the British tax-payers can no more bear the burden of expenditure. The *Aligarh Gazette*, on the other hand, finds in the statement an example of the Labour Premier's lack of sympathy with the nationalists' demands and asserts that in spite of heavy expenditure in Iraq he is not prepared to evacuate the country. The *Medina* says that the existence of the Khilafat Committees is a religious necessity and essential for the emancipation of India. The first object of the Khilafat deputation shortly to start for the Muslim countries would be to free Asia from European imperialism and promote the pan-Asiatic movement. The *Aligarh Gazette* regards the arrival of the Turkish deputation in India as a proof of friendly relations between England and Turkey and trusts that the Government of India would leave no stone unturned to make its mission a success.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Haqiqat* protests against the Class Area Bill in South Africa and says that it casts a slur on British statesmanship and amounts to a challenge to the Indians. The miseries of their countrymen abroad have exhausted the patience of the Indians and if the matters are not mended soon they would be compelled to go out of the British Empire.

The Labour Government.

The *Aj* remarks that the fact that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald made no mention of India in his statement of policy, shows that the Labour Government too attaches little importance to Indian affairs. It is unmistakably clear from this indifference that the British Parliament, the so-called arbiter of India's destiny, has contented itself with giving the "steel frame" to India and does not want to bother itself any more about her. The *Vartman* holds that the Labour Government may well be able to do some good to England, but that no good can accrue from it to India unless the labouring classes here organise themselves and have recourse to agitation.

Constitutional advance.

The *Leader* praises Sir Malcolm Hailey for his speech in the Legislative Assembly and says: Although his speech was a fine forensic performance and showed that he could hold his own against the guns of the other side, he could not influence the votes because he had nothing better to offer than a departmental enquiry which was not wanted by any non-official member. In the course of a signed article, headed "An open letter to Lord Reading" Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, the editor of the *Abhyudaya*, surveys the political situation in the country during the last three years and concludes that the situation at present is much graver than what it was at the time of Lord Reading's assumption of the viceroyalty of India. He ascribes this deterioration in the political situation to the mistakes repeatedly committed by Lord Reading. He asks whether His Excellency can deny that the recrudescence of the anarchical crime is not the direct outcome of the policy of his Government. The *Aj* contends that the Indians are as dependent today as they were in the pre-Reform days. The Reforms have led only to increased expenditure. The *Swadhin* maintains that neither a round table conference nor a commission appointed by the Government of India can do anything substantial towards pushing forward the constitutional advance of India. What is required is a Royal Commission whose recommendation may be binding upon the British Parliament. As the existing Government in Britain is formed by Labour and Liberal members, such a Commission is bound to be composed of members having sympathies with India, unlike the Lee Commission, which was appointed by the Conservative

Government. The *Vartman* points out that if the Government rejects the proposal of the elected members of the Assembly for a round table conference it will have to meet with obstacles at every step and it will become impossible for it to carry on administration. The Government will therefore be well advised to accept the proposal and to include among the members of the conference Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai and Maulana Muhammad Ali. The *Bharat Jiwan* contends that if the Reforms are not shadowy the Government must carry out the resolution regarding the grant of dominion status to India if passed by the Legislative Assembly. It is to be hoped that the British Government will surely save its declining prestige and act justly by India by meeting her political aspirations. Contrasting the speeches of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Assembly the *Abhyudaya* remarks: Pandit Moti Lal's speech was reasonable, well-balanced and altogether restrained. The only fault was that it suffered from an excess of moderation. On the other hand, Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech was not like that of a sensible vakil but of a pettifogging *mukhtar*. The *Desh Bhakta* remarks that it is the height of folly to enter the Councils and cooperate with the cruel, and selfish Government which has been repeatedly proved to be deceitful and tyrannical. It will be nothing but barefaced shamelessness on the part of Indian leaders if they, even after Sir Malcolm Hailey's statement, continue to be members of the Councils and cooperate with Government. If Mr. Gandhi remains firm in his principles victory is sure to come into his hands. The *Al Bashir* remarks that Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech has made it clear that the fear of an Afghan bogey was not the result of natural timidity on the part of the Hindus but was impressed upon them by a third party. He has proved that dissensions and lack of confidence among the different communities of India are essential for the stability of the present Government. The *Medina* says that it will greatly redound to the credit of the Labour Government if it respects the firm determination and perseverance displayed by the Assembly in its demand for further reforms, otherwise India will be prepared for a vigorous struggle. The *Hamdam* is sceptical about the success of a Royal Commission in allaying the present political agitation. India can wait no more and the Government instead of trying to cool down the enthusiasm of the nationalists for the time should adopt some effective practical measures to allay the unrest prevailing in the country. The *Azad*, on the other hand, favours the appointment of a Royal Commission by the Premier in view of the present political situation in the country. The *Haqiqat* regards the speech of Sir Malcolm Hailey as disappointing and remarks that at a time when ideas of liberty and democracy are occupying the minds of the people, India cannot silently and patiently accept the certificate of unfitness given to it by the Home Member. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses its gratification at the passage of the resolution in the Assembly for further reforms and remarks that the question of *swaraj* cannot be solved without convening a round table conference. Writing in a similar strain the *Arya Varta* says that Pandit Moti Lal has truly voiced the sentiments of the people and that the Government would be well advised to convene a round table conference, if it wants to prove itself a well-wisher of the country. The *Mukhbar-i-Hind* is against the appointment of a Royal Commission as the cause of the present unrest is too well-known to require an inquiry.

Lord Olivier's statement.

The *Leader* says that Lord Olivier's statement does not go much beyond the statement made by Sir Malcolm Hailey. No one can fail to be struck by its conciliatory tone, which is in strong contrast to the spirit and the temper of the Home Member's speech in the Assembly. It bears evidence of the goodwill of the Labour Government towards Indian national aspirations. The paper opines that a policy of indiscriminate obstruction will defeat the end in view and will render the position of the Labour Government itself very difficult. The appeal should not lightly be dismissed coming as it does from an undoubtedly friendly quarter. The Labour Government should be given a chance. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, on the other hand, says that the statement will not raise any echo of appreciation in political circles in this country. Lord Olivier has disappointed expectations, for he has not even made a striking speech. This is not the kind of service that India had been led to expect from the idealists and thinkers of the Labour Party. Every word uttered to Indians against their cherished ideal of immediate grant of *swaraj* will only draw forth a smile from the hardened patriots pledged to win their birthright for their country. In another article the paper dismisses Lord Olivier's speech with a mingled feeling of amusement and disgust and says that there can be no clasping of the hand that pulled the trigger at Jaito. The *Independence* congratulates the Secretary of State for

India for disappointing the Liberals who have been agitated over a Royal Commission. God be thanked that no such dangerous futility has been forced on the country. Lord Olivier has done a distinct service in strengthening the hands of the *Swaraj* party by disappointing some of the Independents who might have liked to flirt for a while with a Royal Commission. The *Pioneer* says that the statement will be a signal campaign of vilification and denunciation similar to that with which his Conservative predecessor was assailed.

The Imperial Budget.

Commenting on the Indian Budget the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the budget statement will not take any one by surprise as the proposals indicate no departure from previous records. It is a sorry picture to see education, sanitation and industry being impoverished to enable the bureaucracy to keep a huge monster in the shape of ludicrously expensive military organisation and to maintain the British element therein. A change of heart is required. The present burden is an insult to the self-respect, ambition and patriotism of the sons of the soil. The paper concludes its criticism by asking: The magician of a Blackett has waved the magic wand—who will be hypnotised and who will affix boldly the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth? The *Haqiqat* advises the members of the Assembly not to vote for any military expenditure in connection with Waziristan. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* urges the Nationalist Party in the Assembly to compel the Government of India to reduce the salt tax, the postal rates and the railway fares, and in case the Government refuses to do so, to consign the budget to the waste paper basket and thus unmask the Councils and lay bare the bureaucracy in its utter nakedness.

The Restoration of Berar.

The *Swadesh* remarks that the Government will act wisely if it will satisfy the demand of the Nizam for the restoration of Berar, specially in view of his services during the war and his pledge to grant responsible Government to that province. It adds that the Nizam would strengthen his case all the more if he were to proclaim responsible government within his existing dominion and withdraw the ban on the entry of the *Hindu*, *Swarajya* and *Tej* into it. The *Bharat Jiwan* doubts whether the Nizam who interdicted the entry of the *Hindu* and other papers into his territory for the mere offence of criticising his administration will ever grant self-government to Berar, but nevertheless urges that if the inhabitants of Berar consent, that province should be restored to the Nizam who has certainly succeeded in proving that injustice was done to him in depriving him of it. The *Hindu Kesri* says that the Nizam should first grant responsible government to the Hyderabad State and then demand the restoration of Berar. If he does so, the inhabitants of Berar will be assured of the *bona fides* of his intentions. The *Vartman* remarks that the story of the usurpation of Indian States forms one of those black chapters of the history of British rule which are full of accounts of loss and exploitation. The Nizam has held out great promises to the people of Berar, but they smack only too well of British diplomatic methods. Perhaps the Nizam considers Berar to be his private property, but truly speaking the inhabitants of Berar are the property neither of the British Government nor of the Nizam's Government. However defective the British administration of Berar may be, it is far better than the irresponsible administration of the Nizam. The best way to secure the restoration of Berar for the Nizam is to reform the administration of his own dominion. If he does so the inhabitants of Berar will of their own free will desire to be ruled by him. The *Khadim* of Fyzabad regards the annexation of Berar as an act beneath the dignity of a respectable Government and upon which no civilised nation would look with equanimity. It is a sheer injustice to deprive a faithful ally of his legitimate right. The Nizam's promise of Home Rule has put heart into the leaders, and if the Government does not accede to his request Mahatma Gandhi will start civil disobedience with the help of the Berar people. The *Haqiqat* hopes that the Government will no more obstinately adhere to its old policy in the matter of Berar as it will create a distrust against it among the well-wishers of the Nizam. The *Hamdam* says that the restoration of Berar is not only based on the considerations of right and justice but it will also help the cause of political freedom in India. The *Medina* accuses the British Government of cunningness and diplomacy in the matter of Berar and remarks that the Nizam's demand is a legitimate one and is based on righteousness and justice. The *Mansur* says that the Nizam's demand for the restoration of Berar has afforded a good opportunity to the Labour Government to give proof of its frequently avowed love of justice. Commenting upon the legitimacy of the Nizam's demand the *Al Khalil* remarks that territories are acquired by sword or given under compulsion but not willingly for considerations of justice.

The Akali agitation.

The Indian papers are unanimous in condemning the firing at Jaito. The *Leader* emphasises that more light ought to be thrown on the happenings at Jaito than has been done by the very guarded *communiqué* that has been issued, as it contains some gaps which require to be filled up. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the responsibility which the Government of India have taken for the Jaito shooting incapacitates them from dealing with the new question that has with one fell blow effaced all prospects of any cooperation between the people and the Government. Mr. Ranga Iyer in a signed article asserts that the supporters of the Maharaja outside Nabha are multiplied by the policy set in motion against the Akalis. Lack of imagination is writ large in the policy of the Punjab Government. The *Independence* hopes that the question of the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha over which the whole country is intensely excited will be pursued further, not by the Akalis alone, who are sure to do it, but by the leaders of Indian political opinion. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* remarks that the *jatha* of five hundred Akalis has by its martyrdom electrified the whole of the province of the Punjab with enthusiasm. It is certain that the brave Akalis will ultimately emerge victorious from their struggle and their oppressors will have to hang down their heads in shame. The *Hind Jadid* of Jaunpur appreciates the firm stand made by the Akalis and remarks that in spite of being a warlike tribe the way in which they have adhered to the creed of non-violence can find no parallel in any other community. We have not the slightest doubt that their present enthusiasm, religious fervour and sincerity will result in success and that it would amount to a treachery to the nation not to extend a helping hand to them. The *Haqiqat* deplores the recent bloodshed at Jaito and remarks that it has made the situation all the more critical and serious. In view of the present organisation of the Akalis there is apparently no hope that the Government will succeed in allaying the agitation by repressive measures. The *Pioneer* says that the incident at Jaito has led to the dissemination of the most reprehensible mendacities and to scurrilous abuse of British officials. One of the most shocking features in Indian political life at the present time is the manner in which falsehoods of the most mischievous character are spread among ignorant people, and every official who is called upon to accept grave responsibility in maintaining order is held up to obloquy and abuse.

Mr. Gandhi.

The *Anand Pracharak* remarks that the release of Mr. Gandhi was not due to any fear of agitation but was the result of the magnanimity and kindness of the Government as his life was endangered in jail. The *District Gazette* of Aligarh regrets that Mr. Gandhi's views have undergone no change after his release, though he will probably admit now that he was not painting the Government in true colours before. The Government in releasing him has proved itself very merciful and Mr. Gandhi would do well to apply himself to the social progress of the country. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the country can easily be brought to its old position three years ago, provided Mahatma Gandhi resumes the control of the national affairs in his strong hands. One Brij Behari Mehrotra writing in the *Kartavya* points out that the release of Mahatma Gandhi is not the outcome of any charitable feeling but of a clever move on the part of the Labour Government which knows that he will certainly hurt his influence against the boycott of British goods which cannot but accentuate unemployment in England and thereby multiply its difficulties in solving this problem. The Government of India appear to have supported the release of Mahatma Gandhi to stem the anarchical tendencies manifesting themselves in the country. These two facts go to show that Government has had to bend its knees before Mahatma Gandhi's personality which stands for peace and non-violence. It is the Government which is responsible for the recrudescence of anarchism as the sequel to its policy of repression. The *Prem* finds nothing in the release of Mahatma Gandhi to thank the Government, which it thinks must have been moved by some self-interest to make this paltry expiation for its terrible mistake and unjust action in imprisoning him. It remarks that the Indians played traitor to Mahatma Gandhi and were the main cause of his incarceration. They have done nothing in the interval to enable them to welcome him with a clear conscience. Let them now make up for their previous negligence by redoubling their efforts in the country's cause under his renewed leadership.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* expresses gratification that the Bolshevik movement continues as strong as it was in the time of M. Lenin. It is entirely the fruit of his labours. It remarks that

even imperialist Britain is now seeking the friendship of the Bolsheviks by recognising the Soviet Government. The *Bhavishya* refers in commendatory terms to the principles of socialism and remarks: Through socialism its originators seek to inaugurate a new era of equality. Socialism means that the *kisans* and labouring classes should carry on the administration of the country with their own hands in accordance with democratic principles. Bolshevism is but another name for socialism. The installation of Labour Government in England is a living proof of the success of socialism. This victory of socialism in an imperialistic country like England gives a foretaste of the future order of things. It is certain that the future Government of every country in the world will be socialistic and akin to the Bolshevik system of administration. The *Utsah* publishes a contributed article in which the writer makes out that though there is complete religious liberty in Russia, the Bolsheviks are being discredited by interested people. The greatest power in the world being helpless against the Bolsheviks, seeks to prejudice the world against them by means of an unscrupulous propaganda. Indians have nothing to fear from Bolsheviks who are only out to destroy despotism.

The U. P. Budget.

According to the *Leader* the Hon. the Finance Member did not hold out a cheerful prospect for next year. It urges the claim of the United Provinces to the remission of provincial contribution and regrets that they have to suffer because of the impecuniosity of the Government of India. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the budget is no 'Prosperity Budget.' Old deficits stand in dark prominence. The Government have not made efforts to economise, and if they wanted they will do it with a will and not depend on the notes of Under Secretaries. The *Pioneer* says that the closing deficit instead of anticipated surplus will be a disappointment to the provincial tax-payer, who will find himself once more called upon to shoulder the burden of the additional taxation imposed last year. The tax-payer, therefore, is left to derive what comfort he may from Mr. O'Donnell's confident expectation that it will not be necessary next year again to introduce Bills extending the operation of these Acts.

The Chauri-Chaura Memorial.

Referring to the Chauri-Chaura memorial the *Pratap* sarcastically asks H. E. Sir William Marris to request the Government of India to erect similar memorials to the memory of the victims of the Moplah train tragedy and of the Indians shot down at the Jallianwala Bagh.

Enforcement of the Muslim Waqf Act in U. P.

The *Hamdam* is confident that the resolution for the immediate enforcement of the Muslim Waqf Act will meet the warm support of the Council and the Government will abstain from placing any obstacles in accepting the same. The Muslim *waqfs* are generally for religious and educational purposes and it is the prime duty of every civilised Government to help in the achievement of such object. Writing in a similar strain the *Zulqarnain* says that the resolution voices the sentiments of the Muslim public of these provinces and the opposition of those who are in possession of the *waqf* property is of no importance as they belong to the interested party. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the resolution of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan will to a great extent satisfy the long-standing need of the public. It suggests the establishment of an office composed of honorary workers in each district under a Muslim member of the Council for that district to do the work on behalf of the Government. Shah Wilayat Husain and others of the Allahabad district in a memorial to the Muslim members of the Council published in the *Haqiqat* assert that the passage of the Waqf Act is calculated to create difficulties and dissensions among the Musalmans and besides being an open interference in religious affairs it will furnish a good weapon to the people to harass the trustees.

Political propaganda.

The *Hindi Kesari* publishes a communication from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in which he says: "I ask whether those who call themselves Aryas and accepting service under the British bureaucracy help it in crushing the Indians are really Aryas? Certainly not. And in the same way those Hindus are not Hindus and those Musalmans are not Musalmans who oppress Hindus and Musalmans for the sake of a few pice. God has given two religions, Hinduism and Islam, for the benefit of mankind to suit different places and times, but their object is one and the same. These two creeds are but two aspects of the same religious system. Those who regard them as wholly opposed to each other are fools or have been blinded by false pride. They alone are the wise people who recognise

oneness in these two forms. The *Aj* also publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in which he warns the Nepalese against accepting British help in the construction of bridges, railroads, etc., otherwise they themselves will be the instrument of imposing shackles of subjection upon their country. They will do well to seek the aid of Japan and smaller European countries like Switzerland, Sweden, and Denmark in the development of their country. If the rising kingdoms like Nepal and Afghanistan, he says, want to maintain their self-respect they should strengthen themselves by mutual agreements and never allow the British, who hate the coloured races, to gain ascendancy in them. The *Hindustani* says that the growing poverty of the country and the present unrest are due to the continual drain of wealth to England. It does not believe that India can enjoy prosperity under the British rule and remarks that only *swaraj* can keep the nation alive during the present struggle for existence.

LUCKNOW:
The 1st March, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 10 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 8th March, 1924.

The Khilafat.

THE papers which have so far commented on the Khilafat crisis are surprised at the news of the deposition of the Khalifa. The *Leader* says that the news must cause a great shock to the Indian Musalmans who made such huge sacrifices for its victory and preservation. The drastic action taken by the Angora Assembly has, we are afraid, knocked the bottom out of the Khilafat movement in this country. It calls upon the Ali brothers and other Khilafat leaders to devote their time and energy henceforth exclusively to the national movement and to shed once for all their extra-territorial patriotism. There is no room left for divided allegiance, and if the decision of the Angora Assembly produced the happy result of drawing Muhammadans and Hindus nearer to each other, and bringing into closer approximation their aims and objects, we would regard it as divinely inspired. In another article the paper says: The action of the Angora Assembly is one of the unkindest cuts to those Indian Musalmans who prayed for the victory of Turkish arms and made great sacrifices in the belief that if the Turks won, the Khilafat would be safe. Now this almost arrogant attitude of Ismet Pasha is likely to be resented rather keenly by Indian Khilafatists. It is a cruel slap in their face. In a contributed article the paper says: It is not the "satanic" British Government which has destroyed the Khilafat but the redoubtable Kemal Pasha, whose praises the Indian Khilafatists have sung and who cannot be described as the enemy of Islam. It advises the Indian Musalmans to give up their extra-territorial patriotism and revise their policy. Their future lies not in Turkey nor in Arabia but in India, and the decision of the Angora Assembly ought to bring this fact home to them. The Khilafat Committees and its offshoots should be abolished and Muslim politics should be freed from the domination of religion here as they have been in Turkey. It offers a warm tribute to the great patriots of Turkey who have thus won the internal and external freedom of Turkey and thrown off the shackles of ages. The *Pioneer* says: By a curious irony the leader of the party at Angora which favours the deposition and banishment of the Khalifa and has prevailed on the National Assembly to endorse its views is Mustapha Kemal Pasha who was not so long ago hailed by Khilafatist leaders in India as the saviour and bulwork of the Khilafat. Commenting upon the deposition of the Khalifa the paper says: Whether this action on the part of Turkey spells the end of the Khilafat it is for Moslems to decide. The Khilafat may be revived in some other Moslem country, but the decision of the Angora Assembly makes it clear that the seat of it will no longer be in Turkey. The leading Muslim daily, the *Hamdam*, is surprised to find the Turkish republicans trying to oust the very family which carved out the Turkish State and which was the pride of the Muslim world for centuries. The Turks are entitled to choose their own Government, but they must at the same time uphold the institution of the Khilafat. The news is distressing to the Musalmans but they should take no hasty steps and should carefully study the trend of events in Turkey. It approves of the action taken by the Central Khilafat Committee in applying to Mustapha Kemal Pasha for authentic news. The office of Khilafat is a basic principle of Islam and the question can admit of no hasty solution but requires an atmosphere free of excitement. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The root and branch effacement of a religious and historic link that rallied the superstitious attachment of the Moslem all over the world to Constantinople, will affect the large body of conservative Moslem opinion. Turkish statesmanship, in the sudden and extreme action it has taken, has failed to utilise the large body of Islamic opinion available outside. They had the help from other Muslim countries whose opinion they now profess to discard.

Indians in Colonies.

The *Hamdam* describes the Class Areas Bill as insulting to the Indians, productive of racial bitterness, harmful to the commerce of the country, and prejudicial to the interests of both the communities. It hopes that the Government of India will not allow the Gandhi-Smuts compromise to be thrown into the waste paper basket. If the British Government fails to solve the question to the satisfaction of the Indians, the latter will see no good in remaining within the British Empire.

Constitutional advance.

The *Hindustani* regrets that the Labour Government has failed to take advantage of a great opportunity by refusing to hold a round table conference. The *Mashriq* asserts that the Government will act ungratefully towards the Musalmans if it grants *swaraj* to India at a time when the Hindus are oppressing the Musalmans. It trusts that the English will not leave the Musalmans at the mercy of the Hindus and remarks that every act of bringing India to the path of liberty was a folly. The *Garhwali* says that when the British Government is pledged to grant *swaraj* to India it should have no hesitation in accepting the demand for the amendment of the Government of India Act. When Lord Reading was ready to convene a round table conference two years ago he should have no scruples in convening such a conference now. The unnecessary postponement of the grant of *swaraj* will be equally detrimental to the interests of the rulers and the ruled. While the *Surya* considers the action of the Government of India in opposing the Nehru amendment as imprudent, it says that the *Swarajists* would also be betraying similar imprudence if they resorted to an obstructionist policy and wrecked the Reforms. If the Reforms are withdrawn and an arbitrary administration is re-established in the country not only the Viceroy but also the *Swarajists* will be responsible for it. The *Aj* opines that by refusing to give effect to the Nehru amendment which has been passed in the Assembly by an overwhelming majority of votes the bureaucracy has accepted the challenge of the *Swaraj* Party. The *Bhavishya* is convinced that the Nehru amendment will not be carried into effect by the Government and thinks that the *Swarajists* have wasted their energies for nothing. It advises them to cease to rely on the satanic and unholy weapons of the crooked bureaucracy and follow the divine and holy path laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. The *Kartavya* also doubts whether the Government will carry out the Nehru amendment despite its passage in the Assembly but is sanguine that when the Government will have to face opposition at every step it will have to yield in the end. The *Vartman* asserts that if only a few more debates take place in the Assembly like the one that took place on the Nehru amendment it will become very difficult for Sir Malcolm Hailey to continue to remain in office and the need for adopting an obstructionist policy will also not arise. The Indian bureaucracy and the British cabinet are cognisant of the unprecedented change that has taken place in the Indian political situation and if they do not profit by it they will have to undergo bitter experiences in the future. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that if the leaders of the Nationalist Party decide that the attitude of the Government in regard to the Nehru amendment is unsatisfactory the Government will be compelled to dissolve the Assembly. This dissolution of the Assembly will form the first chapter of the struggle between the Government and the representatives of the people. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that if the members of the Legislative Assembly maintain the unity they displayed on the occasion of the passing of the Nehru amendment they can surely win *swaraj* whether the Government grants it or not. It asks the people also to continue to push forward their *khaddar*, boycott and *swadeshi* movements with full vigour to support from outside the agitation for *swaraj* within the Council.

Lord Olivier's statement.

The *Pioneer* is satisfied that the Labour Government will entertain no proposal for a round table conference to settle the future constitution of India and that they decline definitely to accede to the demand for the premature appointment of a Statutory Commission under the Government of India Act. While welcoming the Labour Government's declaration of policy the paper cannot help feeling that Lord Olivier would have been well advised if he had avoided some of the propositions which he put forward in his survey of the past, notably his reference to Mr. Lloyd George's "steel frame" speech. Lord Olivier will soon discover that there are few acts of Government which cannot be made the pretext for violent political agitation in India. The Secretary of State has yet to grasp the true aims of the *Swarajists*, to realise the implacable racial animosity by which they are inspired and the apprehension which their methods created among the sober and solid elements in India. The *Hamdam* expresses its disappointment at the speech of the Secretary of State for India and remarks that it is not materially different from the utterances of the Conservative and Liberal Governments. He has repeated the old song of praising the bureaucracy and condemning the non-cooperators. If India is unfit for *swaraj* it is chiefly due to the rule of an alien Government. The *Haqiqat* regards the speech as extremely disappointing if it is the true reflection of the policy of the Labour Government and remarks that it has been prepared with unusual

care to give no cause of complaint to the Anglo-Indians and the bureaucracy. The *Najat* says that the Indians who were counting on the vigorous support of the Labour Ministry to their scheme for *swaraj* have been greatly disappointed by the speech of Lord Olivier. The *Aj* remarks that Lord Olivier has endorsed the views of Sir Malcolm Hailey *in toto*. The only difference between the statements of Sir Malcolm and Lord Olivier is that while the former is full of bureaucratic arrogance, the latter is couched in sweet and polite language and contains indefinite promises for the future likely to allure the Indian mind. The *Vartman* believes that the Secretary of State's statement on India is not the final pronouncement and that the question of the expansion of autonomous powers in India is still under the consideration of the British Government which is anxious to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question. It does not find in the Secretary of State's pronouncement any confirmation of the statement made by Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Assembly on behalf of the Government. The *Anand* opines that the sympathetic statement of Lord Olivier on India encourages the hope that the Labour Government will take measures to satisfy Indian aspirations and asks the *Swarajist* leaders to abandon their obstructionist policy in view of this statement.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Arya Mitra* characterises Maulana Muhammad Ali's remarks that a Muhammadan, howsoever degraded and impure he might be, was superior to Mahatma Gandhi, as rank bigotry and says that he should make it plain to the Hindu leaders who are tired of harping upon the topic of Hindu-Muslim unity, that the Muhammadans look upon them with supreme contempt. It asks the Hindus to maintain their self respect and individual identity in their cry for unity and *swaraj*. They shoul- have nothing to do with such a *swaraj* as is built on the ashes of the Hindd community and the Hindu religion. The *Vartman* also takes to task the Maulanu for his statement that the Khilafat Committees were the originators of the nona cooperation movement, remarking that every action and utterance of the Maulana- strongly smacks of communal partisanship. The Congress is the originator of the non-cooperation movement and not the Khilafat Committees. The Maulana is [illegible] to himself and his community the entire credit for every- thing which the Indian nation as a whole has achieved. He must have some regard for his high responsibilities as the Congress President.

Imperial Budget.

The *Independence* says that the budget statement of the Finance Member will not take any one by surprise. By its plausibility, outward attractions and clever marshalling of figures it puts before the legislators a picture that is calculated to create imperfect impressions and stimulate those who choose to sit on the fence and are ready to drift to the bureauoratic point of view under the garb of moderation or sweet reasonableness. The *Advocate* remarks that it is satisfactory to note that the budget shows a surplus instead of a deficit, but there are a number of ugly features which cannot but be condemned by all impartial observers. In spite of the Inchcape cuts, the military octopus still continues to play havoc on the finances of India. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the bait of provincial contributions has not been caught by the politicians who might have clutched at it in advocating the cause of the poor. There is no other country in the world that pays so heavy for its military protection. The paper is afraid the Commander-in-Chief was overdoing his part when he swore about the impossibility of further reducing the strength of the army. As regards the salt-tax the paper says that it would be safe to predict that the salt-tax would go and that the provincial contributions would stand. The *Leader* says that it appears unlikely that the Nationalist Party should follow a policy of obstruction and throw out the budget. If this policy is to be followed by the majority in the Assembly, it would be obviously waste of time and energy for Indian publicists to discuss it any further on the merits and to make suggestions for its improvement. It opines that the duty of the non-official members of the Assembly is absolutely clear and it is to vote for a rate of Re. 1-4-0. The *Hamdam* says that the Finance Member deserves to be congratulated on presenting a "surplus budget." The people will not be satisfied at the small reduction made in the salt-tax and the members of the United Provinces Council will surely raise a protest against the very small reduction allowed in their provincial contribution as compared to other provinces. The *Anand* remarks that though some efforts have been made to meet the public wishes with regard to the budget yet the concessions made are so few and meagre that they cannot satisfy the people.

Restoration of Berar.

The *States*, a new journal devoted to the interests of Indian States, appreciates the idea of His Exalted Highness the Nizam to confer on the Beraris a constitution with an "absolute popular control." Instead of holding out a promise for Beraris it suggests that His Exalted Highness should give the idea a practical shape in his present dominion. The Beraris will then have no objection to the restoration of their province. Besides, this wise step of the Nizam will give lead to other Indian princes and help them a great deal. The *Hind Jadid* does not believe in a plebecite in the matter of restoration of Berar as in India thousands of people can be got who at the least hint from local officials will be prepared to sacrifice their national pride and patriotism and says that they are not willing to accept any change in the existing system of administration. The *Azad* remarks that the Nizam's offer of home rule to the people of Berar refutes the plea of opposition of the Indian States to *swaraj* put forward by the Home Member in the Assembly. The home rule to Berar, besides proving beneficial to the cause of India, will furnish a good example for other Indian States also. The *Oudh Akhbar* resents the opposition of a section of the Hindu press to the restoration of Berar and remarks that the Hindu-Muslim controversy raised in this connection will prove detrimental to the interests of the country. The opposition to the restoration of Berar amounts to an opposition to the grant of *swaraj* to India. The *Mashriq* says that the prestige and honour of England will suffer a heavy loss if it persists in its present attitude in the matter of Berar. It is high time for the British nation to give practical proof of its love for constitutional reforms by restoring Berar to the Nizam. The *Swadhin* says that if the Nizam is prepared to grant responsible government to Berar provided it is restored to him, he should have no objection to establishing at least partial *swaraj* in his existing dominions.

The National Conference.

The *Medina* adversely criticises the National Conference held at Delhi and describes the Liberals as a party which wants to gain public confidence and at the same time appease the Government. It regards the proposal of sending a deputation to England as absurd and useless. Commenting upon the conference the *Arya Patra* says that it is an insult to the nation to call it a National Conference. The people who have taken part in the deliberations of this conference have committed the unpardonable sin of stopping the progress of India. When the Assembly was not in favour of a Royal Commission the conference should not have insisted upon its appointment. The *Hamdam* pays a tribute to the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant and remarks that any constitution which is not drawn up by India itself will ever fail to satisfy the people. The Round Table Conference and the Royal Commission are equally useless unless the rulers are sincerely prepared to bring about a radical change in the system of government. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the goal of the Nationalists and the Liberals being the same this division of national energies cannot be harmful to India and that prudence and mutual toleration demand that both the parties should support and help each other. The *Vartman* disapproves of the resolution passed in the National Conference urging the appointment of a Royal Commission to revise the Reforms Act and holds it to be inopportune, worthless and detrimental to the interests of the country. There was absolutely no need for it, says the paper, when the resolution about the Round Table Conference had already been passed in the Assembly. It has unnecessarily raised a new issue thereby, destroying the unanimity of the demand for a Round Table Conference. The *Aj* resents the decision of the National Conference to send a Liberal deputation to England in connection with the amendment of the Reforms Act and says that the Liberals should before deciding to send a deputation make sure whether any settlement which they may make in England will be acceptable to the country or not.

The Akali agitation.

The *Pioneer* regrets the attitude of the non-official members of the Assembly in not accepting the statements of responsible Government officials in connection with the firing at Jaito. The obvious determination of the disaffected section of political opinion in this country to use every effort to misrepresent the Government's attitude towards the Sikhs and to encourage the dissemination of the most mendacious stories of the events now giving cause for so much anxiety in the Punjab will not help the Sikh cause but it will certainly cause trouble for India. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regrets that a warning to the second *jatha* in terms of the first warning has been issued. It is impossible to tolerate the shooting of religiously-minded men. When a martial race, noted for their great service to the British *Raj* and the Empire, are

determined on the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha, the Government might and ought to bend. It considers it a great lack of political vision in the rulers that they should have no other reply, even after the shooting at Jaito, than a repetition of the old order in the old spirit in the face of the stern preparation of the second Akali advance on a religious purpose. The *Hamdam* apprehends that the hostile attitude adopted by the Government towards a purely religious movement of the Akalis will strengthen their zeal all the more and remarks that rifles and guns may well conquer a country but they are powerless to win the hearts of the people. In another article the same paper says that the tragedy at Jaito has created extraordinary enthusiasm and excitement among the Akalis and it is no easy task now to keep it under control unless the Government gives some practical proof of an expression of regret on its part. The *Desh Bhakta* of Meerut in a strongly worded article describes the Jaito affair as the harbinger of India's freedom. The *Medina* deplores the action of the State authorities and remarks that it is an epilogue of the tragic drama enacted at Jallianwala Bagh. It describes the shooting incident as a great demonstration of imperialism and militarism in which the rights of humanity have been trampled under foot. The *Hind Jadid* says that the Nabha authorities have acted in a barbarous and cowardly manner and that it was very ungrateful on the part of the Government to shed the blood of such a devoted and loyal people. The *Hindustani* asserts that the Government action amounts to a challenge to the Indians and that India can furnish no greater illustration of patriotism, selflessness, and strict adherence to the creed of non-violence as recently displayed by the Akalis. The *Al Khalil* says that the Akalis by their bravery and non-violence have enlisted the sympathy of the Indians of every shade of opinion. The *Zulqarnain*, on the other hand, avers that the Akalis aim at establishing their own government in the Punjab and holds it a good omen for the Musalmans that they are not inclined to support the Akalis. Qazi Abdul Latif in a signed article in the *Aftab* condemns the Akali movement as dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of the country and refuses to believe that the Akalis remained non-violent in the recent tragedy. He justifies the action taken by the Nabha authorities and remarks that under the pretence of going to Gurudwara the Akalis in reality wanted to make a raid on the State. The *Aj* remarks that the Jaito shooting is the revised edition of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. It shows that the spirit of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer is still alive among the British officials in India. Lord Reading has not only very ably maintained the reputation left behind by Lord Chelmsford but has added to it. The relatives of the dead and the souls of the wounded must be singing praises to the success of the Reforms and the utility of cooperation! In another article the same paper congratulates the bureaucratic administrator of Nabha on having earned the credit of interfering with the *Akhand Panth* by opening fire upon the Sikhs. It is not a new thing with the bureaucracy, says the paper, to itself perpetrate injustice and then open fire in the name of the maintenance of "law and order" upon those who protest against its injustice. Dr. Kitchlew and Principal Gidwani who had proceeded to the scene of occurrence were arrested in order that India may be prevented from knowing the account of this gruesome tragedy from the pen of an eye-witness. Here is an example of Lord Reading's justice, liberality and love of India! The *Desh Bhakta* condemns the firing on the Akali *jatha* proceeding to Jaito as a demoniacal act on the part of the Nabha authorities and remarks that for some years past it has become quite a common occurrence in India to fire on and kill innocent and helpless people. But now the people should no longer remain apathetic. We should be ready to help whole-heartedly those who are sacrificing their lives in the cause of the country otherwise the Indians will be swept out of existence altogether. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that if the reports regarding firing on the Akalis are true the bureaucracy should hang down its head in shame. Many people will be led to think that it is by such acts that the bureaucracy is driving a nail in its coffin. The *Vartman* remarks that the shooting at Jaito demonstrates that the rulers of India have bid good-bye to wisdom and prudence. It refers to the *communiqué* of the Government and says that it appears to be untrue and affords ample ground for suspicion. Several statements made therein seem to have been fabricated. Government will have to repent of its action in the end. In a subsequent article the paper remarks: It is clear from the situation in the Punjab that any halt in the Akalis' struggle at present will prove as retrograde a step as the Bardoli halt. Just as a re-awakening has not been caused in the country even now after the suspension of *satyagraha* at Bardoli it is quite probable that the suspension of *satyagraha* at Jaito may cause similar slackness and

indifference among the Akalis which it will not be easy to remove afterwards. The *Anand* also condemns the shooting at Jaito and asks the Government of India to act wisely and adopt measures for conciliating the Sikhs.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* emphasises the need of carrying on agitation in the villages so as to make every village a small republic. With regard to the kind of workers required for the purpose, the paper observes: We do not want demagogues to work in the villages but real and unostentatious workers. Nor do we want those who want to serve the country by vilifying the Government or by seeking the path of courting imprisonment. These days people have begun to trade upon jail life and unfortunately it has succeeded in making leaders of incapable and unprincipled persons. The greatness of a village worker lies in his constructive and not destructive work, in his devotion to duty and not in hooliganism. The *Swadesh* says that though the civilians claim to be the protectors of the Indian masses yet despite the crushing poverty of the latter which is responsible for disease, distress and high rate of mortality among them, they have taken no steps to remove it. They have not so far appointed even a commission to enquire into the question but instead got the Lee Commission appointed for the increase of their own pay. It is indeed a peculiar way of expressing solicitude for the interests of the masses. The *Nyaya* says that the country wants to advance forward, but the bureaucracy places obstacles at every step. When it fails in its diplomacy it opens the doors of the jails and uses rifles and machine-guns. It regards the Indian patriots as worse than thieves and dacoits and murderers and does not hesitate to condemn them to severest punishment.

LUCKNOW:
The 8th March, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 15th March, 1924.

Khilafat crisis.

WHILE the comments of the non-Muslim papers on the Khilafat crisis are marked with sympathy and caution, the Muslim press views the affair with unmixed grief and concern. The *Pioneer* says that the attitude of the Angora Turks towards the Khilafat furnishes conclusive proof that Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his followers who are in a majority in the Angora Assembly are imbued with the narrowest ideals of Turkish nationalism and are indifferent to the religious and political significance of the Khilafat which means so much to the Muslims elsewhere. It is clear that nothing short of a revolution and overthrow of Mustafa Kemal Pasha's Government could restore the Khilafat in Turkey and of this there seems little likelihood. The future of the Khalifa will depend on the action which may be taken by the Musalmans outside Turkey. But whatever action may be taken the Angora Assembly may be expected to hold aloof from it. Commenting on Mr. Muhammad Ali's statement the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the Maulana's speech on the new situation created by the recent action of the Turkish Government would rouse resentment against the Government of India because an opportunity was not given for the Indian view to be placed before the Angora leaders. It is also unfortunate that cruel censorship, to which the telegrams of the President of the Indian National Congress are subjected, should have resulted in a very important telegram not being despatched at the proper time. The speech of Muhammad Ali is thrilling with excitement suppressed but not suppressible. Turkey is bound again to be in the throes of a revolution, and while the sword of the brother is turned against brother, the European would have all his own way. The *Advocate* says that the Hindus who espoused the cause of the Khilafat under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi cannot but sympathise with their Musalman brethren at this critical juncture. What exactly is the course to be followed by the Muslims of India is yet too early to see. The *Aj* apprehends that the news of the effacement of Khilafat will create a sensation in the Muslim world and will cause a shock to the Musalmans. It sympathises with the Musalmans and advises them not to be led away by excitement to do anything indiscreet in the heat of the moment. The *Vartman*, on the other hand, asserts that the motive behind the action of the Indian Musalmans in trying to maintain the Khilafat institution is to realise in the near future their dream of the establishment of a large Muslim empire. The *Medina* says that the Turks have destroyed their house with their own hands and their spiritual greatness and religious prestige have ended with the abolition of the Khilafat. We can never agree with them that the Muslim public has no right to challenge their decision and interfere in this matter. The *Hamdam* does not regard the decision of the Assembly as binding on the Muslim world and urges the necessity of sending a deputation of Muslim politicians and Ulema to Muslim countries and of convening a conference to decide the question. The *Oudh Akhbar* is surprised at the hasty decision of a question which concerned the entire Muslim world and remarks that any active participation in this controversy by the Indian Musalmans is likely to create differences. Writing in a similar strain the *Haqiqat* regards the Khilafat as essential for pan-Islamism and exhorts the Indian Musalmans to elect some other dignified Muslim ruler for this office. In another article the same paper regrets that the decision of the Angora Assembly has driven the last nail in the coffin of the Khilafat movement in India and that it is calculated to nip in the bud the Muslim efforts for the emancipation of Jazirat-ul-Arab. A deputation of the Khilafat Committee should at once start for Angora, and after conferring with the Turks should decide the question in a way satisfactory to the Muslim world. The *Arya Varta* regards the divorce of politics from religion as essential for the political advancement of a country and advises the Indian Musalmans not to render their position still weak by taking any hasty step in this connection. The *Muraqq-i-Tasweer* of Fatehpur says that the Khilafat has been abolished at a very opportune time. The Indian Musalmans should now cease to take interest in this question and should no more send Indian money to Turkey. They should now devote themselves to the task of emancipating India. The *Al Khalil*

justifies the decision of the Angora Assembly remarking that under the present circumstances the presence of the Khalifa in Turkey was not compatible with a democracy. The *Advocate* says that it cannot be gainsaid that the abolition of the Khilafat institution is an ignominy and dishonour to the Musalmans of India who have during the last three years carried on the Khilafat movement with considerable zeal and self-sacrifice. The *Leader* opines that the confusion created can be easily solved by the Turks agreeing to revise the decision, and it seems to us that the best course for the Indian Khilafat leaders in the circumstances is to go on deputation to Turkey without any loss of time, after consulting, if necessary, the members of the Angora deputation in India.

The Labour Government.

The *Aj* notes with satisfaction that since the assumption of the offices of the Premier and the Foreign Secretary by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, a fresh life has already been infused into British foreign policy and much has been done to improve the European situation which had been badly muddled by the arrogant, short-sighted and self-willed Lord Curzon.

Constitutional advance.

The *Arya Varta* opines that the constitutional deadlock brought about in the Central Provinces Council represents a splendid victory of the *Swarajists* if in consequence of it the Government is forced to dissolve the Council and the Governor rules over the province according to his own sweet will. India wants full responsible government and cannot be satisfied with bogus Reforms. The *Haqiqat* has no faith in the stability of coalition of the *Swarajists* and Independents and advises the former to persist in their policy of obstruction which is sure to influence the Labour Government in the long run. The *Leader* commenting on the obstructionist policy says: If the truth is to be told the *Swarajists* have established nothing except their lack of consistent policy and courage to face the consequences of the policy of obstruction. If the policy of blind obstruction had been persisted in, it would beyond question have strengthened the hands of the opponents of Indian progress both in India and England, and correspondingly weakened the position of the friends of Indian aspirations.

Imperial budget.

The *Haqiqat* remarks that so far as Indian interests are concerned this year's budget is very satisfactory and the opposition of *Swarajist* members can never be successful in getting it rejected by the Assembly. Expressing its satisfaction at the budget the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that it deserves no opposition by the Assembly. It advises the *Swarajists* to refrain from obstruction if they want to escape the accusation that they are placing obstacles in the path of India's progress. The *Anand* remarks that though some efforts have been made to meet public wishes in the Imperial Budget, the concessions made are so few and small that they cannot satisfy the people. The *Vartman* says that the Imperial Budget has been framed by the Government to achieve its own political end and represents an attempt to throw dust into the eyes of the members of the Assembly. If the members of the Assembly have any manhood and patriotism their plain and clear duty is to reject this despicable budget, lock, stock and barrel. The *Anand* says that the enormous deficit in the revenue from the salt-tax last year shows that Government gained nothing beyond discredit in this deplorable matter and that the enhancement of the tax unquestionably reflects on the political sagacity of Lord Reading and the financial skill of Sir Basil Blackett. It urges that this palpable blunder should be set right this year.

Lord Olivier's statement.

The *Hamdard* says that the constitutional advance in India is possible only on the lines indicated by Lord Olivier and advises the leaders of the country to sink their differences and unite to frame a scheme acceptable to the Labour Government. It will never do to forfeit the sympathy of the Labour Government by obstructionist tactics in the councils or by accentuating Hindu-Muslim differences outside them. The *Pratap* holds that Lord Olivier's statement is an eye-opener to the Indians. Those who believed in the idealism of the Labour Party will now have to change their attitude. The *Vartman* thinks that the Secretary of State's statement is marked by a complete violation of the principles of the Labour Party. It has not only disappointed but also insulted the Indians. It is a typical illustration of socialistic diplomacy. The statement, however, will do good to India inasmuch as it will disillusion the Moderates and the Independents with the result that the hands of the *Swarajists* will be strengthened and they will be able to carry out successfully their policy of obstruction. The *Swadesh*, while admitting that the

statement is sympathetic, points out that the cooperation of *Swarajists* and Nationalists with Government has been sought therein only on the basis of mere words. Lord Olivier is badly mistaken if he thinks that Indians will any longer be taken in by them. The *Medina* resents the speech of Lord Olivier and sarcastically remarks that so far as public peace and tranquillity is concerned the British angels and saints are as good as *Satan* and *Haman*. If a list be prepared of all the promises made by Great Britain it would appear as the ravings of a madman and a grand demonstration of idiocracy. The time has now come when the victims of capitalism and militarism should unitedly rise and break asunder this spider's web. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the Labour Government is adopting the very best measures to solve the present complications and that nobody who has read the full speech of Lord Olivier can criticise the attitude of the Labour Government. The *Azad* remarks that the Secretary of State for India has tried to see every question from the Indian point of view. The Indians should value the sentiments expressed by him and encourage him in his good-will for India. The *Mansur* describes Lord Olivier's speech as sorely wounding the feelings of the Indians and remarks that they should expect nothing at the hands of any party in England. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* says that Lord Olivier's speech was not only contrary to the expectations of the Indians but has dashed to the grounds all the hopes of the Indians for emancipation. The *Al Khalil* observes that Lord Olivier's speech has disillusioned the Indians. He condemns the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi but supports the very Government who committed the cruel act.

The Akali agitation.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* resents the action of the Nabha authorities in refusing permission to Mrs. Gidwani to speak to her husband in her mother tongue and says that Principal Gidwani is a British subject, but he has no protection against the Nabha Jail Manual being forced upon him. These incidents will remain in the minds of the people and cannot be easily effaced. If there is statesmanship in the Government of India, it will strive to tackle the Akali problem not through the grapeshot at Jaito but by negotiations at Dehra Dun with a view to restore his kingdom back to Maharaja Ripudaman Singh and thus setting the British free to face the ills they are heir to from the Government of India Act instead of flying to those they know not of. In its Saturday issue the *Indian Daily Telegraph* congratulates all concerned for avoiding the shock of another tragedy at Jaito. Indian leaders, bred in the atmosphere of compromise, may be reminded that there can be compromise with the Akalis only if Maharaja Ripudaman Singh is restored to the throne of his fathers. "This is my house," said the Guru to Nabha, and that house can never be the house of Mr. William Johnstone. Commenting upon the Jaito tragedy the *Azad* avers that the shooting incident has all the more aggravated the grudge borne by the Sikhs. If a loyal community like the Sikhs has turned against Government the latter is entirely at fault. The *Haqiqat* says that the result of the struggle is doubtful and that there are indications of Government's suffering a disgraceful defeat in the end. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* condemns the repressive measures adopted by the Punjab Government against the Akalis and sarcastically remarks that the brutal treatment meted out to the Sikhs is the most fitting reward for the loyal services rendered by them. The *Abhyudaya* says that mere expression of sympathy with the Akalis in their sufferings on the part of the Congress cannot help them in their present distress. The only way of expressing genuine sympathy towards the Akalis is to help them directly with men and money. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* refutes the allegation made in the official *communiqué* that the *shahidi jatha* possessed weapons and the Akalis were the first to open fire at Jaito and remarks that one is led to believe that Government fabricated this falsehood in order to find an excuse for the calculated murder of the peace-loving and non-violent Akalis. The *Pratap* remarks: We can blame neither the *Nadir Shah* of Nabha nor Lord Reading whom Mr. Johnstone had seen only three days before the Jaito incident for the indiscriminate shooting of the Akalis. The responsibility for this cold-blooded murder of the Sikhs falls on the shoulders of those of us whose preachings incite the people to fight but whose conduct shows that while they can court suffering and pick up quarrels they cannot bring about national unity or organisation which is necessary for bringing their struggle to a happy conclusion and for averting the disaster which may befall the country consequent on their actions. The *Abhyudaya* writes: The Nabha authorities are undoubtedly guilty of shedding the blood of innocent British subjects. They also stand discredited for arresting and maltreating women. The repetition of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy at Jaito is the outcome of the

callousness and inhumanity ingrained in the authorities. The Government of India too cannot be absolved from responsibility for this tragedy. The *Bhavishaya* considers the official *communiqué* regarding the Jaito shooting affair as wholly misleading and full of misrepresentations. The Akalis who are pledged to non-violence had no weapons with them. Obviously the allegation that they opened fire first is baseless and has no foundations whatsoever. The Akalis never deviated from the path of non-violence. The *Swadesh* describes the Jaito incident as a repetition of the Jallianwala Bagh affair and says that it shows that the British bureaucracy in India attaches no more value to Indian lives than to turnips and radish. This is a second mean cowardly and reprehensible attack on the helpless and unarmed Indians pledged to non-violence. The responsibility for this bloodshed lies on the head of Lord Reading and Sir Malcolm Hailey who had been consulted before the tragedy was enacted. Despite the clamour and agitation for the last four years the bureaucracy has not changed its heart and has continued to exhibit brutality and callousness. The *Aj* supports the sending of fresh *jathas* to Jaito and thinks that Mahatma Gandhi's advice about the suspension of *satyagraha* is not based on a correct or up-to-date knowledge of affairs in Jaito.

Legislative Assembly.

Commenting on the split between the Independents and *Swarajists* the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Assembly becomes toy soldiers of Pandit Motilal Nehru again,—yesterday's obstruction was only a clever spring-work, that only emphasised mockery more. The scene that comes from the Assembly must make the *Swarajist* party look supremely ridiculous. The country now awaits the return of these political buffoons of the Legislature to undertake mass movements in the real country. Pandit Motilal Nehru seems to have lost all for a moment when he threw himself at Sir Hailey's feet for approval of his action. It disapproves of the statement of Pandit Motilal Nehru and says that the *Swarajist* Party have harmed the cause of and above all darkened the political reputation of Pandit Motilal Nehru if they continue to be aimless logs tossed about in political waters. The *Pioneer* says that the *Swarajist* leaders are uncomfortably aware of the fact that if owing to any extraordinary combination of circumstances the British left this country, the time would have arrived for them to make a hurried exit themselves. The rulers of India would have none of them. Commenting on the refusal of the grants in the Legislative Assembly the paper says: The speeches made sufficiently indicate the lack of a sense of responsibility characterising the *Swarajists*. There would be regret because the decision would appear to be a manifestation of unreason and resentment because it would constitute a check on the orderly and harmonious progress of India to responsible self-government.

The Congress.

Commenting on the Congress scheme for the creation of an independent secretariat the *Leader* says that it should be patent to the most unsophisticated that what Mr. Asaf Ali's scheme aims at is the establishment of a parallel government. There is at present absolutely no chance of its success and there is no need for us to deal with it seriously. But it indicates in what an unreal world some of our "leaders" live.

Restoration of Berar.

The *Kshattriya Mitra* says that if the Nizam had introduced responsible government into his existing territory his pledge to grant autonomy to Berar would have carried some weight. It doubts whether the inhabitants of Berar will ever agree to be ruled by the Nizam on account of his religious and communal bigotry. The *Gyan Shakti* urges the Viceroy not to consent to the restoration of Berar to the Nizam without consulting the people to be affected by the change. As the Hindu subjects of the Nizam are highly dissatisfied with him owing to his religious bigotry and his boycott of certain Hindu papers the Government of India will do well not even to consider the demand.

The Maharaja of Kashmir:

The *Kshattriya Mitra* says that the Kshattriya community is greatly excited over the rumours set afloat regarding the grant of the title of His Majesty to the Maharaj of Kashmir and the virtual transfer of his authority to a Council mostly composed of outsiders and asks the Kashmir Durbar and the Government of India to publish *communiqués* to contradict the rumours to reassure the public mind.

United Provinces Budget.

The *Hindi Kesari* disapproves of the United Provinces budget pointing out that the expenditure on survey, police buildings, and the Empire Exhibition is most lavish, while very little has been provided for the extension of the education. It urges that there is still much

room for retrenchment in other departments on the lines followed in the Revenue department. It inquires why the Secretariat staff is not reduced when two Ministers and two Executive Councillors have been added to the Government of the province. It remarks that lavish expenditure on unnecessary objects on the one hand and increase in taxation on the other only mean that the poor people are to be crushed.

Political propaganda.

The *Desh-Bhakta* protests against the criticism of the *Morning Post* regarding the indenting of some goods from Germany by the Government of India and the resolution of the Bombay Corporation in regard to the boycott of British goods and says that they are indicative of the black hearts of the Whites and also of the fact that Englishmen want to exploit India by all means both fair and foul and are never desirous of making it free. The *Morning Post* gets besides itself and dreams of leaving India at justifiable acts of Indians, but never utters a word against the atrocities perpetrated by the Whites on the Indians in the Colonies. Such a policy of the Whites leads one to suspect that they want to extirpate Indians like the aborigines of Australia and other countries and to take possession of their country for good. The demonical tragedy in Nabha shows that even the greatest Power in the world cannot succeed in its efforts to deprive Indians of their rights provided they stand united and are ready to sacrifice their lives unstintedly. The *Shakti* says that if the Liberals and the non-cooperators combine and present a united demand to Government it will be compelled to come to terms with them. It asks the leaders to take immediate steps to organise the country once again so as to infuse fresh enthusiasm into the people and make them renew their struggle with better results than in 1921. The *Dehati* charges the Government with responsibility for the murders committed by misguided patriots, for, after all, their activities are a direct consequence of the autocratic subjection imposed upon the country by it. It is only by the grant of *swaraj* that such murders can be put an end to. The political consciousness of the Indians has been stimulated and they can no longer be kept slaves by sword and machine-guns. The British statesmen should ponder over the consequences likely to accrue from trampling upon the rights of the people and besprinkling the soil of the country with their blood. If the British statesmen continue their present policy, and if the soil of India continues to be drenched with the blood of its own children, as has recently happened in the Punjab, the proclamation of the liberty of India will be made not by Britain but by the Indians themselves and the contents of which are already being written in history in the drops of their blood. Dwelling upon the Indianisation of the Army the *Arya Varta* critises the military policy of the Government and asks whether within the last two hundred years not a single Indian has been found fit for the post of Commander-in-Chief. Such would not have been the case if the Government had acted honestly. The *Najat* accuses Great Britain of exploiting India's wealth to satisfy her lust of territorial aggrandisement and remarks that the income derived by taxing the poor Indians is lavishly spent on the luxuries and comforts of high-paid English officials.

LUCKNOW:
The 15th March, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 12 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 22nd March, 1924.

Khilafat crisis.

THE Muslim press in general condemns the decision of the Nationalist Turks and with the exception of the *Mashriq* rejects the Sharif's claim to the Khilafat. The *Hamdam* argues that the question of the prestige of Islam is bound up with the question of Indian emancipation. The Indian Musalmans by courageously discharging their duties in respect of the Khilafat will not only revive the splendid traditions of Islam but will also ensure the freedom of their country. In another article the same paper commends the statement of Mr. Muhammad Ali to thinking Musalmans and resents the action of the Government in refusing passports to the members of the Khilafat deputation and detaining the telegram sent by the leaders to Mustapha Kemal Pasha and remarks that the Indian Musalmans are justified in suspecting that the enemies of the Turks have a hand in the abolition of the Khilafat. At another place the paper says that until the proposed Conference of Musalmans gives its decision the deposed Sultan, Abdul Majid, should be recognised the lawful Khalifa by the Indian Musalmans and that Sharif Husain is not a fit person to hold the sacred office of the Khalifa as he cannot be trusted to safeguard the prestige of Islam and protect the sacred places. The *Medina* says that the unstatesmanlike decision of the Angora Assembly has created chaos and confusion throughout the Muslim world, the practical proof of which has been furnished by the attitude of the Sharif. He does not deserve to become a Khalifa and the sacred office can be entrusted only to that Muslim Power which is free and independent in every sense. In another article the paper expresses its surprise at the indiscretion and lack of foresight displayed by Arabia, Egypt and Morroco in their scramble for the Khilafat. The *Haqiqat* takes to task Shaikh Mushir Husain Qidwai for advising the Musalmans to recognise Sharif Husain as their Khalifa and remarks that the Amir of Afghanistan is more suitable for the office. The *Al Khalil* characterises the action of the Nationalist Turks in turning out the members of the Ottoman dynasty in such a disgraceful manner as a great moral blunder and remarks that if Mustapha Kemal Pasha had any respect for Islam he would have willingly consented to assume the office of Khalifa. Deploring the hasty action of the Angora Assembly the *Al Balagh* and *Mansur* strongly refute the arguments of Ismet Pasha that the sympathy of the Indian Musalmans for the Turks was not the result of pan-Islamism but of the great power and prestige which the Turks enjoyed. The *Hind Jadid* sounds a discordant note and regards the decision of the Angora Assembly as based on prudence and foresight from political and religious considerations. It has disappointed the European conspirators and given an opportunity to the Muslim world to elect a Khalifa according to the democratic principles of Islam. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* advises the Khilafat Committees not to give the mills of Seth Chhotani to the Red Crescent deputation but to spend their sale proceeds on some important movement in India. The *Aligarh Gazette*, however, is of opinion that the Red Crescent deputation should not be made a victim of the Musalman's displeasure and that the Indian Musalmans should subscribe largeheartedly for a cause on which depends the honour and prestige of Islam. The *Hindustani* avers that if the Musalmans had even dreamt of the unjustifiable step taken by the Turks they would have confined their activities only to the achievement of *Swaraj*. The *Rahnuma* expresses its satisfaction at the steps taken by the Central Khilafat Committee in assuring the deposed Khalifa of the allegiance of the Indian Muslims and of the faith they still have in him. The *Iqdam* says that the Turks are justified in abolishing the office of Khalifa but their hasty decision without convening a conference of the Muslim world is calculated to deal a severe blow to the cause of pan-Islamism. The Hindu press, on the other hand, views with approval the abolition of the Khilafat as tending to strengthen the Turkish Republic as well as to decrease the extra territorial patriotism of the Indian Musalmans. The *Pratap* says that the abolition of the Khilafat should bring home to the Indian Musalmans the need of concentrating their attention on Indian affairs, seeing that Turkey or Arabia will never come to their help in the hour of need. The *Abhyudaya* points out that the Turks did the right thing in the interest of their republic and remarks that there are only two courses open to such of the Musalmans as are opposed to this action of the Turks.

The one is that if the Turks agree and Mustapha Kemal Pasha has no objection, the Musalmans may elect him as the Khalifa and the other is that either King Husain or Amir Feisul may be elected to this office. The *Gyan Shakti* says that the abolition of the Khilafat by the Turks in utter disregard of the wishes of Indian Musalmans must convince the latter that the infidel Hindu who did so much to help the Khilafat movement is much better than the Turks. The Muhammadans will do well yet to unite with the Hindus and work for the good of the country. The *Bhavishya* holds that the action of the Turks in abolishing the Khilafat will affect favourably the whole of Asia and particularly the Muslim countries. The *Anand* says that the abolition of the Khilafat should serve as an eye-opener to Indian Musalmans who should henceforward look upon India as their motherland and give up all extra-territorial patriotism. The slap administered to them by Kemal Pasha should convince them that the Turks do not care at all for them. The Khilafat Cmmittees should now be dissolved and all energies concentrated on the agitation for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Vartman* consoles the Indian Musalmans by pointing out that the office of the Khalifa has not been abolished; only it has no place in Turkey. The *Aj* opposes the election of the Sharif of Mecca and the Khedive of Egypt to the Caliphate on the ground that both of them are mere puppets in alien hands and have played false to their own co-religionists. It urges that in fact there should be no Khalifa at all in future, the present era being that of nationalism and not of autocracy. The *Independence* says that the school of independent thinkers to which the Young Turks belonged were Nationalists first and Musalmans afterwards and they never cared for the Khilafat, which they considered as no better than a medieval rag. And, therefore, small wonder that at the first opportunity they have deposed the autocrat of Turkey and dismissed the Khilafat. On the deposition of autocracy in Turkey, all friends of freedom and democracy will give their joyous greetings to Mustapha Kemal Pasha. On his dismissal of the Khilafat from Turkey opinion in and outside Turkey will of course be divided.

Help for the Moors.

Commenting upon the Spanish campaign in Morroco the *Hamdam* exhorts the Indian Musalmans to help the Moors who are struggling for liberty against a big European Power. The Turks are now powerful enough to look after their own affairs and those who were in favour of organising an "Angora Legion" should now offer their services and fight side by side with those who gave the first lesson of Muslim civilisation to Europe. It suggests that a medical mission should at once be sent to Morroco and the work of organising a "Morroco Legion" should be started.

Lord Olivier's statement.

The vernacular papers continue to express dissatisfaction on the statement of Lord Olivier. The *Desh Bhakta* says that whatever plausible arguments Lord Olivier may adduce to postpone the establishment of responsible government in India, it is certain, in view of the growing political awakening in the country that the more the Government indulges in repression or the Secretary of State in smooth and oily phrases the more rapidly India will march towards liberty. It is the autocracy of the bureaucracy, the paper asserts, and not the services of British statesmen and of British industrial and mercantile community which has brought about the present awakening in the country. The latter have only exploited the country and impoverished it. The *Kartavya* holds that Lord Olivier's statement has made it quite plain that no compromise can be effected between the Nationalists and the authorities, unless the latter are compelled to do so. It urges that all political parties should combine to retaliate against the insult offered to India by the rejection of the proposal for a round table conference. The *Prem* says that the Secretary of State's statement will surely serve to disillusion the Moderates and the Independents and that Britain let slip a golden opportunity to conciliate Indian public opinion. It urges that India should henceforward depend upon her own exertions alone for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Bharat Jiwan* sees a velvet gloved iron fist in Lord Olivier's statement and an attempt to cause dissensions between the *Swarajists* and Independents. It says that the Secretary of State's sweet words should serve to remind them that the basic principle of British statecraft is deception and trickery and urges them to continue to adhere to their joint policy and programme. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* regrets that the speech of the Secretary of State for India has disappointed and perturbed both the Liberals and the *Swarajists* and is calculated to aggravate the unrest in India. All political parties in India should now unitedly exert for convening a round table conference. The *Al Bureed* describes the

speech as disappointing to the Indians who had entertained high hopes from the Labour Government and remarks that even the Moderates cannot feel gratified at his speech.

Constitutional advance.

In a leading article headed "A Plea for constitutional advance" the *Leader* commends the views expressed by a writer in the *Round Table* magazine and says: It is probable that if the appointment of a Royal Commission had been announced the policy of obstruction in the Assembly would not have secured even the small majority of votes that it has. The Government does not seem as if it cared much whether the wreckers were able to command a majority or not because it has decided upon pursuing a determined policy of not yielding to coercion. But it cannot stand still. Either it must go back or come forward. No one can say which course it will follow, but statesmanship points out to the latter course alone as the right one to be followed. The *Swadhin* points out that if the Labour Government does nothing to satisfy the strong Indian public opinion in favour of further constitutional advance, which has already been flouted by the rejection of the proposal for a round table conference despite the willingness of Nationalists to follow constitutional methods, even the Liberals may be compelled to change their methods. The *Aj* remarks that Mr. Richard's statement in Parliament that the British Cabinet did not contemplate revising the Government of India Act before 1929 must open the eyes of the Liberals and the Independents and convince them that no party in England will deal justly by India unless it is compelled to do so by virtue of the superior strength of the Indians. It advises the Liberals and the Independents to accept non-cooperation, which is the only means of acquiring the required strength. The *Pioneer* characterises the obstructionist tactics of the *Swarajists* and Nationalists in the Legislatures as a set-back to the Reforms and points to the adverse impression produced on the British Parliament and the British Press and remarks that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's speeches show that he is equally alive to his obligations in this respect, and that he is the very last man to be misled or coerced by obstructionist tactics in granting a constitutional advance against his better judgment. That is the position with which the Indian politician who has recklessly played the wrecking game is sternly confronted.

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on the proceedings in the Council of State on the question of Indians abroad the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the debate is remarkable not for any new arguments advanced by either side, but by the extremist note that a Liberal leader like Mr. Sastri thought it necessary to sound: and also because of the sad moaning from two Indians placed in high position in the persons of Sir Narashimahesawar Sarma and Sir Muhammad Shafi. Of no two Indians could it have been said that they are more thoroughly out of touch with Indian sentiment on the subject than these trusted advisers of bureaucracy. The *Leader* regrets the statement made by Mr. Thomas on the Kenya problem and says that apparently the Colonial Secretary fails to understand that the Kenya question involves moral and political principles of the greatest import to the future of the Empire. It warns the Labour Government and says that never were statesmen in office faced by a graver responsibility to take right decisions informed by insight and foresight. Will they show that they are statesmen and not mere hand-to-mouth politicians living from day to day on rule-of-thumb practice?

Restoration of Berar.

The *Haqiqat* exhorts the people of Berar to follow the example of the people of Akola district and convene meetings expressing their desire of being transferred to the rule of the Nizam. It, however, regards it unnecessary to find out the wishes of the people as no such step was taken in the case of the people of Benares State. The *Anand Prachark* says that if the Nizam really loves his people he should first of all establish responsible government in his present territory and then make such promises to the people of Berar as he can hardly hope to fulfil. It now rests with the Indian Princes to support the cause of Indian emancipation by granting home rule to their people.

Imperial Budget.

In a leading article headed "Swarajists and Indian Budget" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the unpopularity of the Reforms and the budget alike is due to the fact that the former are a farce in the sense that they do not concede to Indians anything beyond a mere voice to criticise the Government's policy, while the latter is a hoax in the sense that the members of the Assembly and the Council have no voice, much less a choice, in its framing. Commenting on the rejection of the Finance Bill the *Leader* says that the method chosen by Pandit Madan

Mohan Malaviya and the present system of Government to obtain a really responsible government is calculated to defeat its own end. But neither logic nor consistency nor regard for consequences seems to be the strong point of the moving spirits of the party and it committed another mistake of much greater magnitude in rejecting the Finance Bill. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya enunciated a policy of blind obstruction when he declared that he could not support taxation either now or in the near future until the Government of India Act was revised. The *Pioneer* says that in rejecting the Finance Bill the heroic majority of 60 persuaded themselves that they were once more establishing some indefinite principle and making a notable "gesture" to the world. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the effect on the country of the rejection of the Finance Bill would be a consciousness of their own superiority in unceremoniously spurning what Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya called sham and fraud. It asserts that India would not desist speaking out her mind and showing her hand simply because Parliament might be displeased, or Premier MacDonald has gone back on his words regarding India and has asserted that Parliament would not be coerced by obstruction. The Indian nation too would not be coerced by any angry gesture from Parliament. The Government have to shun the sham and the fraud, and go back to undiluted autocracy again. And if it falls into the lot of the Labour Government to do this India would have known the worst: "Never expect anything from the British nation." The *Bharat Jiwan* urges that the salt tax should be brought back to its old level and that reductions should also be made in provincial contributions, the resultant deficit to be made good by substantial cuts in the military budget, which can easily be effected by partial substitution of cheaper Indian troops in place of the costly British troops. It further urges that the increased postal rates which cause hardship to poorer classes and loss to traders should also be reduced, while imports of steel and iron more heavily taxed and the existing duty on foreign gold retained. The *Aj* disapproves of the change in the attitude of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in respect of the budget grants and remarks that although it is not possible for the *Swarajists* to carry on obstruction without the help of the Independents, yet they should refuse all grants consistently with their pledges to the voters.

The Weekly Mazdoor says that the debate on the Railway Budget in the Assembly should open the eyes of all the Union workers in all the railways in India and Burma to see that their main duty is to post the real facts to the Assembly members to overcome the jugglery of the railway officials and their kith and kin in power to protect them at the cost of the Indians.

The Legislative Assembly.

The *Vartman* disapproves of the wavering attitude displayed by some Independent members of the Nationalist party in the matter of creating obstruction in the Assembly and remarks that the Independents have been allured by the siren-song of Lord Olivier and that in his statement they see a dream of the dawn of a millenium in India. If this illusion is not dispelled soon the obstructionist tactics might never see the light of the day. The *Aj* says that the *Swarajists* have had enough of tall talk and it is time they took to action. Threats of obstruction will not do; they will have to resort to obstruction. Every member of the *Swaraj* and the Independent parties should oppose each and every item of the budget until all political prisoners are released and effect is given to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's amendment.

The Swaraj Party.

Commenting on the split between the *Swaraj* party and the Independents in the Legislative Assembly the *Advocate* says: Sandwiched between the criticisms of the Moderates on the one hand and the die-hard no-changers on the other the lot of the *Swarajists* is anything but enviable. The paper does not believe that there has been any climb down on the part of the *Swarajists*. It was, on the contrary, a straightforward explanation of the tactics which the *Swarajists* have been forced to adopt in the peculiar circumstances of the case. The policy adopted by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru is at once wise and courageous and has already yielded results which will ere long be justified in the eyes of the people at large. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is gratified that the *Swarajists'* steam roller has begun to grind down the Bengal Budget. The *Swarajists* have taught Minister Haq good manners: he made a handsome apology: the *Swarajists* are not merely wrecking engines for they also elevate those who come in touch with them. The *Haqiqat* advises the *Swarajists* not to change their programme whether the Independents support them or not and remarks that they will incur public displeasure if they give up their policy of obstruction in the Assembly. In another

article the same paper suspects the *Swarajists* of leaning towards a policy of cooperation with the Government. It advises Pandit Moti Lal not to sacrifice the principles of his party for the sake of coalition as it will lower the *Swarajists* in the estimation of the public and strengthen the position of Government.

The Akali agitation.

The *Desh Bhakta* maintains that although the Akalis had remained non-violent they were fired upon unjustifiably and treated very cruelly. It alleges that according to one report some of the wounded Akalis were burnt alive, yet Lord Curzon holds that Akalis have not been sufficiently repressed. It welcomes further repression as it will tend to stir up the blood of the Indians, remove the lethargy holding sway over them and make them devise measures for their liberation. The *Prem* contends that the disobedience of the unjust order of the Nabha authorities does not at all establish the necessity for opening fire on the Akalis and tries to make out that the official *communiqué* is full of misrepresentation and misstatements. It remarks that the Nabha authorities may primarily be to blame for this terrible and inhumane bloodshed, yet the Government of India cannot be absolved from responsibility for it. It urges the Akalis not to relax their struggle or else they will commit a blunder worse than the Bardoli halt. The *Kartavya* points out that the public cannot believe the official *communiqué* which contained many baseless and unsupported allegations. If the advance of the Akalis was to be stopped they could be arrested but there was no need at all for opening fire on them. Surely the bloodshed at Jaito is the outcome of the shortsightedness, cruelty and inhumanity of the Nabha authorities, but the Government of India too is responsible for it, as the Administrator of Nabha is one of its own officers and has acted in consultation with it. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* remarks: What a fine example of British justice it is that while the Government upheld the sentence of death passed on Gopi Nath Saha for murdering an Englishman by mistake, despite the appeal for mercy made by his mother, it patted on the back of Mr. Johnston who ordered the peace-loving and non-violent Akalis to be scorched by bullets! Did not Mr. Johnston deserve worse punishment than hanging for perpetrating the heinous crime of murdering the Akalis? The Jaito incident is a repetition of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The *Independence* says that the Nabha question cannot rest where it does today notwithstanding the ruling of the Assembly and the visible embarrassment of the Governor-designate of the Punjab. An India-wide agitation must be started thereby illustrating that the maligned *Swarajists* and the Congress care as much for the Indian Princes and their liberties and rights even as they care for the indefeasible privileges of the people. The Nabha question must be made a national issue. Even as the partition of Bengal was annulled by the pressure of public opinion, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh would not have to "rot" at Dehra Dun for long.

Benares municipality.

Commenting on the correspondence between the Commissioner of the Benares division and the municipal board regarding the suppression of the municipality, the *Leader* says that it is astonishing in the present era when the country is demanding the establishment of full responsible government suggestions should be made for the suppression of a municipal board on such wholly reactionary grounds. It suggests that the board should be given more time before a final adverse judgment is passed on it. It certainly deserves generous financial assistance to enable it to clear off in whole or in part liabilities created without regard to sound finance by its predecessors under official auspices. The decision should be left with the rate-payers who are primarily concerned in the municipal administration.

The U. P. Council.

The *Aj* condemns the refusal of permission to Pandit Yajna Narayan Upadhya to speak in Hindi in the U. P. Council and says that in fact India exists for the officials and not the officials for India, otherwise the few English officials could well learn Hindustani without requiring the whole country to learn English.

The Muslim Waqf Act.

The *Hamdam* remarks that the new Act, while granting no power of interference to the Government, has given facility to the public for controlling their religious endowments and tying the hands of the dishonest trustees in misappropriating the national property. The objection regarding the expenses of audit has some weight but the *Ulema* will do well to ponder over the question and inform the Government and the public of their decision. A correspondent writing to the same paper supports the memorial submitted by the Allahabad people and advises the Musalmans not

to take any such step as may be calculated to invite Government interference. He suggests that the best way of doing away with the dishonest trustees is to establish a department attached to the Muslim League to decide the cases of dishonesty.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* remarks that if Indians want to liberate their country, to break the chains of slavery and to attain a position of equality among the nations of the world, they should fix complete independence as the goal of the Congress and devote themselves wholeheartedly to its attainment. The *Desh-Bhakta* draws upon the Nizam's letter to the Viceroy for the restoration of Berar to show how deceitfully the English acquired India and how the British Government overpowered by self-interest has always played false even to its friends. It remarks that the British Government which could not keep itself to the path of rectitude at the very outset cannot be expected to deal justly by India. The *Bharat Jiwan* has a contributed article in which the writer puts in a strong plea for the organisation of cultivators to improve their existing deplorable lot and to utilise it in carrying the no-tax campaign to a successful end in case it is undertaken by the Congress in future. In another article in the same paper Babu Sampurnanand of Benares says that Indians want revolution and not evolution and that whatever the Prime Minister might say to the contrary it is only to unconstitutional agitation that England yields.

LUCKNOW:
The 22nd March, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

MAILS BRANCH
22 MAR 1924
INDIA OFFICE

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 13 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 29th March, 1924.

Khilafat crisis.

THE Khilafat question continues to engage the attention of the Press. The *Leader* opines that the chances of the Muslims of the world coming to an agreement on the Khilafat question and electing one common Khalifa are remote. The same paper publishes a contributed article by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan who justifies the decision of the Angora Assembly in abolishing the office of Khilafat and remarks that it is difficult to withhold sympathy from the Turks in their earnest efforts to give their nation a chance for self-development and self-expression. He warns the Indian Musalmans as to the European propaganda which is naturally directed against Ghazi Mustafa Kemal and his Government. The new spirit and movement cannot be agreeable to the late opponents of Turkey who will not fail to exploit the deposed Khalifa in order to excite Muslim feeling against the Turks, and thus to isolate them for their own purposes. Khan Bahadur Azizuddin Ahmad writing in the *Pioneer* says: Let the Indian Muhammadans realise that the Khalifa now dethroned was not a descendant of the Great Prophet. King Husain of Mecca is such a descendant and it would only be an act of justice if he is recognised as a Khalifa. He is the custodian of the holy places and as such should receive our whole-hearted support. In recognising him as Khalifa, Khilafat would be restored to its original home. No other candidate is more legitimate than King Husain. The *Satyagrah* holds that the abolition of Khilafat cannot help influencing the Muslims in other countries. It is bound to bring our fellow-countrymen to their senses, to stop separate propaganda and communal quarrels and join others who are working for the uplift of their mother-country whole-heartedly. The *Haqiqat* takes to task Sheikh Mushir Husain Qidwai for supporting Sharif Husain's claim to Khilafat and thereby putting Islam to disgrace in the eyes of others. The Sharif is looked upon with hatred and contempt throughout the Muslim world and it will be sheer shortsightedness to make him a Khalifa. The *Al Bashir* says that the hasty decision of the Angora Assembly and the treatment meted out to the Khalifa betray a feeling of vindictiveness on the part of the Nationalist Turks and there is every apprehension that the abolition of the Khilafat will alienate the sympathies of the Indian Musalmans. In another article the same paper remarks that it will be quite contrary to the injunctions of Islam if the Musalmans grudge help to the Red Crescent deputation simply because the Turks have abolished the Khilafat. The Indian Musalmans can never realise the expediency which compelled the Turks to take such a drastic step. The *Al Bureed* avers that the decision of the Angora Assembly has given rise to intense indignation and consternation throughout the Muslim world and remarks that the deposed Khalifa should not resign the office of Khilafat until the Muslim world arrives at a final decision. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* regards the Sharif's claim to Khilafat as premature and hopes that the Turks will soon realise their fatal mistake and reinstate the Khalifa. The *Al Khalil* asserts that Sharif Husain lacks personal qualities necessary for a Khalifa and remarks that King Faud of Egypt has a preferential claim to the office if he succeeds in freeing himself from British influence. In another article the same paper expresses apprehension that the proposed conference of the Muslim world will not be able to solve the question of Khilafat in a way acceptable to all the Musalmans. The *Mashriq* advises the Musalmans to acknowledge Sharif Husain as their Khalifa and remarks that the Khilafat has ever been the cause of discord and dissensions among the Musalmans, and that if it had been a useful institution the Turks would not have abolished it. The *Tabligh* describes the decision of the Angora Assembly as contrary to the dictates of morality, justice and religion and remarks that it leads the Musalmans towards a grave danger and that there is every apprehension of a civil war breaking out in Turkey. The *Anand Pracharak* justifies the action taken by the Angora Assembly and challenges the right of the Indian Musalmans to impose their will upon Turkey. It asks if even now the Indian Musalmans will not realise that their interests are bound up with India, that the Turks cannot come to their aid in the hour of need and that it is mother India which has a first

claim upon their attention. The *Vartman* warns the Indian Musalmans against the attempts of the *Statesman* and of certain double-dealing Britishers of the type of Lord Curzon to set them against Kemal Pasha in connection with the abolition of Khilafat. It points out that Kemal Pasha took the momentous step only in the interest of the future of Turkey and the Muslim world and that it is a great blunder to call him an enemy of Islam. It urges that if the Indian Musalmans entertain any suspicion about his motives they should send a deputation of religious divines and political experts to confer with him and then decide upon the course of action to be followed by them. The *Aj* ridicules the claim put forward in the manifesto issued by the Khilafat Committee and the Jammait-ul-Ulema in reply to the telegraphic message of Kemal Pasha, that the Musalmans of the world have a right to interfere in the affairs of Turkey and impose upon her the duty of protecting the Khilafat and remarks that the Indian Musalmans should realise that their obduracy will tear to shreds the Islamic unity, the preservation of which is the very object of the Khilafat movement.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: India would read with hushed voices and beating heart the threat that Gandhi has administered to South Africa and through South Africa to England, that India may go out of the Empire if justice and fair play be denied to Indians in South Africa.

Lord Olivier's statement.

The *Swadhin* opines that Lord Olivier's statement is a peculiar medley of sympathy and ignorance. His remarks on the Akali agitation show that he has been completely duped by the bureaucracy. His recognition of the unjustifiability of the enhanced salt-tax is however an adequate proof of his sympathy with the poorer classes. The *Sewak* remarks that the Secretary of State's statement has dashed to the ground all the hopes of India and should serve as the last warning to Indians that it is in India itself that their arena of struggle lies and that they will have to break the last chain of slavery with their own hands. The *Utsah* says that Lord Olivier's rejection of the proposals for a round table conference and the appointment of a Royal Commission will prove beneficial to the country inasmuch as it will lead the Indians to re-concentrate their energies on the non-cooperation movement and make the Moderates return to the Congress fold.

Constitutional advance.

Commenting on Lord Curzon's recent speech in the House of Lords on constitutional advance in India the *Leader* says that it represents a complete denial of the right of self-determination on which a section of Indian politicians has been laying so much stress. Indeed, the whole speech of Lord Curzon shows that he is completely out of touch with the forces that are at work in this country. The acceptance of the extremely cautious and reactionary policy advocated by him can only lead to disaster. The *Independence* says: We have reason to believe that Simla-Delhi are today more powerful than Whitehall or Downing Street in the matter of further Reforms. We make this statement on the very best authority. We may also say that Sir Malcolm Hailey who is generally suspected to be a reactionary in Indian circles is not opposed to but is as firm about an immediate further advance of the Reforms even as he is firm on the maintenance of law and order. God grant both the Government and our leaders courage and vision to meet each other half-way setting at rest suspicions of overwrought Englishmen, that we want to turn them out "bag and baggage" and of pessimistic Indians that they want to keep us down with the "Junker's jack-boot." The *Pioneer* says: A more serious question is, where would India be if the British connection were severed, or at least where would the politicians be who expend their energies in baiting the existing Government and Government officials?

Imperial Budget.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* holds that the action of the Council of State in playing the willing tool of the bureaucracy in carrying out the mandate of the Government for unanimously passing the recommended Finance Bill will scarcely call for any remarks in the country: it will not affect the political situation by even a ripple. It is valueless. The *Independence* describes the rejection of the Finance Bill by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly as "a climax in the all too brief history of the Reforms and also of British rule in India" and remarks that if this spirit of *esprit de corps* was carried into the country in a vigorous campaign, the Nationalists would achieve what the no-changers, *Swarajists* and all have at heart and arrest the growing demoralisation of a people made weak and tame by time and fate. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

and the other Pandit of Allahabad have admirably succeeded in keeping the Nationalist party intact and uniting all the members in throwing out the Finance Bill. By so doing the Legislative Assembly has put the Government on their own responsibility to find money to continue the administration. In indecent haste the Government reintroduced the amended Bill in the Assembly only to be subjected to the same determined treatment. The *Surya* ascribes the rejection of the demands for grants on the first two days in the Legislative Assembly to the obduracy of the Government itself and remarks that it is no good submitting the budget to the Legislative Assembly when the suggestions of its members are not only altogether ignored but even resented, as is evident from the Commander-in-Chief's speech on the Military budget. The *Oudh Akhbar* describes the rejection of the Finance Bill by the Assembly as a splendid victory of the Nationalists and as an inevitable result of the attitude adopted by the Government towards the demand for a round table conference, which forced the *Swarajists* to adopt a policy of obstruction. Government should at once turn its attention to the present situation in India or it will have to make preparations for its premature departure. The *Hamdam* regards the re-introduction of the budget in the Assembly as a great insult to the members who had once given their decision. In view of the procedure adopted by the Viceroy no sane Indian can have any doubt that the Reforms are a mere farce and fraud and that it will amount to a victory of the *Swarajists*, if the present Government of India Act is repealed and the Councils are dissolved.

The Angora deputation.

Commenting on the refusal of passports to the Angora deputation the *Pioneer* writes that it is difficult to accept without reserve the suggestion that the deputation is entirely religious in character, when two prominent Hindu politicians, who have been distinguished by their hostility to the Government of India, are included in its personnel. A passport carried with it the request of His Majesty's Government that the administration of the country in which it is used will give every assistance and help to its holder. No reasonable man can expect the British Government to commit themselves in that respect on behalf of Indian subjects who have shown themselves hostile to British rule. Further, it says that it does not believe, however, that the mass of responsible Muhammadan opinion in this country will endorse the view that the case of Indian Musalmans can best be advocated by the Ali brothers and their politically-minded associates. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: The revelations of the Home Member on what can only be described as the passport scandal will be read with dismay by the public who are now face to face with a new engine of political repression. The Government of India claim the right to keep back any representative Muslim from going to Angora on the ground of his political opinions. Pan-Islamism in India must wait at the ante-chamber of the Home Member of the Government of India to get a passport before supporting the Khilafat. This is the latest evidence of the hidden hand to thwart the aims and aspirations of political and religious champions in India, outside India.

Legislative Assembly.

The *Pioneer* says that the decision of the Legislative Assembly regarding the immediate repeal of the Bengal Regulation III clearly indicates a refusal to give support to Indian officials who are doing their duty in the face of anarchical terrorism, the extent of which can only be appreciated by those who are well acquainted with Bengal's sinister reputation on that account. The *Hamdam* has no hope that the Government will act upon the resolution passed by the Assembly for repealing the repressive laws and remarks that the way in which the national demands are at present being ignored and the united voice of the nation is not allowed to assert itself is sure to create feelings of unrest and disappointment in the country giving rise to revolutionary conspiracies. The *Leader* remarks that the unedifying spectacle presented in Delhi during these two months by the fourteen Liberal members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State should be the last of its kind.

The Bengal Legislative Council.

The *Leader* says that Lord Lytton acted rightly in explaining to the Bengal Legislative Council his own constitutional powers with regard to the reserve and transferred departments of the Government and in informing it as to what he can do in connection with both these departments in case the entire budget was thrown out, as threatened by the *Swarajists* and their henchmen in the Council. There is no better way of inculcating a sense of responsibility among the electorates than by making them reap the consequences of the action of their representatives. The Government would place itself entirely in the wrong if the suggestion of the *Englishman* to

amend the Government of India Act so as to give to the Governor in the transferred departments the power of certification which he possesses in the reserved departments is accepted. If the electors are of opinion that Government should do nothing for education, sanitation, industries, etc., why should it undertake responsibilities in these beneficial directions and open itself to the charge of trying to consolidate its position by discharging the duties of a civilised Government, and also of acting autocratically? The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The Bengal Ministry is shattered to the winds. It is a case of merciless application of the surgeon's knife. It would be a sad confession, indeed, of utter bankruptcy of political vision and far-seeing statesmanship if the reply to this extreme gesture of popular mistrust and contempt for the "sham and the fraud" of the Reforms should be the quiet transfer of the ministerial departments to the reserved half and running the show as if nothing had happened.

The United Provinces Council.

Commenting on Lieut. Shaikh Shahid Husain's explanation regarding the attitude of the Taluqdars in connection with the rejection of the Land Revenue and Settlement grant in the Provincial Council the *Pioneer* says: We cannot say that we are greatly impressed by this explanation which seems to make a distinction without a difference. If the Taluqdars desired to press on the Government certain criticisms of the settlement scheme their obvious course was to move a nominal reduction, and if it had been carried their protest would have been quite as effective as that actually made. The *Leader* does not approve of the vote carried in the United Provinces Legislative Council against the Local Government's demand for a grant under the head of Land Revenue—Survey and Settlement. If the grant is not restored by certification, says the paper, the effect of the Council's vote will be to bring to a dead stop all work, in progress and pending, in connection with the re-settlement of districts, without regard to the merits of cases and even when the result of re-settlement may be a reduction of assessment. The vote under criticism has not rendered easier the task of those who want to see land revenue included in transferred subjects. The *Independence* reports the rejection of Court-Fee and Motor Taxation Bill in a bold head line as "*Swarajists'* victory in the United Provinces Council."

The Swaraj party.

Commenting on the abandonment of obstructive programme in the Legislative Assembly, the *Independence* remarks: If the country had returned the *Swarajists* in large numbers, the entire programme of obstructive non-cooperation from within could have been put into operation. The public should not hastily misjudge the *Swarajists* who are making the best of a bad situation. In view of the absence of capable *Swarajist* leaders in the Provincial Legislatures the *Haqiqat* remarks that the activities of the *Swarajists* in the Assembly cannot be productive of much useful and effective results. It advises the *Swarajists* to make preparations for launching a more vigorous opposition in the Assembly and the local Councils during the coming July session. In another article the same paper says that if *Swarajists* concentrate their full energy on the "Reserved subjects," their difficulties will be removed to a great extent and there will be greater chances of their success. The *Aj* ascribes the sudden suspension of obstructionist tactics in the Assembly to the inability of the members of the Independent party as a whole and also of a few members of the *Swaraj* party itself to give countenance to a policy of an aggressive character and refutes the idea that the supension of obstruction is the outcome of an understanding between Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and the Government. The *Vartman* says that the dramatic somersault committed by the Independent members of the Assembly by refusing to carry on obstruction after they had successfully practised it for two days has resulted in the suspension of obstruction by the *Swarajists* and in the consequent break-up of the Nationalist party. It remarks that the *Swarajists* are mistaken in still supplicating the Independent members to support them. They should now realise their position and leave the Councils to do more effective work outside them. The *Kartavya* urges that now that the obstructionist tactics in the Legislative Assembly have had to be given up in consequence of differences in the Nationalist party, the *Swarajists* will do well to leave the Assembly and devote themselves to the fulfilment of the constructive programme. The *Anand* points out that Pandit Moti Lal's abandonment of obstructionist tactics in the Assembly despite the pledges given to the voters at the election time represents a somersault characteristically peculiar to the politics of the *Swaraj* party. It urges that since the *Swarajists* can henceforward do nothing beyond imitating the Liberals, they will do well to merge themselves in the Liberal party and carry out its programme. The *Aj* opines that one thousand and one deputations to England would not have produced that effect on the British

public which has been done by the activities of the *Swarajists* in the Councils and remarks that whether the *Swarajists* can justify their existence or not they have by their activities brought home to the people that the only means of compelling the British to pay heed to their grievances and aspirations is to carry on agitation vigorously in India itself.

The Muslim League.

The *Aj* is opposed to the revival of the Muslim League and remarks that it is a great mistake on the part of a staunch Nationalist like Mr. Jinnah to suppose that a separate political organisation of the Musalmans is essential for the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. It apprehends that the revival of the Muslim League will cause such political dissensions as can only be removed by General Dyer.

The Frontier Enquiry Committee.

The *Pioneer* says that the report of the Frontier Enquiry Committee must be regarded as indicating the difficulty of prescribing for one part of India axioms and doctrines considered unimpeachable in another. Both the majority and minority reports unconsciously contribute to this achievement. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: The report reads more like an academic controversy between two schools of thought. The conclusion of the majority and the minority are almost diametrically opposite. As for the opinion of the public, there can be no two questions: the opinion of India is the opinion of the minority report of Mr. Ranga Chari and Mr. Samarth, although Muslim opinion is likely to be divided.

The Akali agitation.

The *Independence* asks: Will it not be extremely advisable alike for "reasons of State" and for the maintenance of "law and order" and for the pacification of the Sikhs who have contributed much towards the upkeep of British rule in India to settle the Nabha question by restoring the Maharaja? Criticising the strong measures adopted by the Government against the Akalis the *Al Khalil* says that the Government has now been forced to yield and to come to an understanding with the very Parbhandak Committee which was once declared unlawful. This shows that perseverence and sacrifices have far-reaching effects and that undue repression and obstinacy always lead to discomfiture. The *Pratap* opines that considering the callousness with which Mr. Johnston took so many lives it is more than brutal to say, as has been done by the investigating official, that it was natural for him to open fire. A greater lie than this was never told before that the Akalis were the first to open fire. The findings of the investigating official do not come on us as a surprise. The very appointment of a Civilian to investigate into the Jaito shooting affair had filled us with misgivings. The *Utsah* writes: The arrest of Dr. Kitchlu and Mr. Gidwani and the refusal of Government to allow a debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Jaito incident show that Government wanted to conceal its guilt. Government is filling the cup of its sins. May this cup overflow soon so that the sinners may taste the fruits of their misdeeds. The *Surya* holds that the Government will ultimately have to yield to the Akalis in their religious struggle and urges that it will therefore do well to concede the demands which it will be forced to yield after all. Such an action on its part will save its own prestige and prevent the spread of unrest in the country. The *Vartman* publishes a message alleged to have been sent by "Raja" Mahendra Pratap to the Akalis, in the course of which he says: "It is the duty of those who are still living to follow the example of the martyrs who were killed at Jaito, so that no one may charge us with cowardliness. Heroes know not fear or retreat. Our struggle has now become a question of life and death. Whatever may happen, it will be a matter for deep shame to beat a retreat now. You must not think that while I ask others to sacrifice their lives I myself fear death. I am always prepared to die and if you stand on your legs I shall at once be in your midst and shall face the enemy."

Civil disobedience.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* infers from Mahatma Gandhi's advice to the Akalis to suspend the despatch of fresh *jathas* to Jaito that there will be no civil disobedience or no-tax compaign yet—unless somewhere any critical situation should arise, as in Tanjore, for instance, where spontaneous combustion has taken place.

Improvement Trusts.

The *Leader* says: We shall congratulate the Government, in particular the Hon. Minister in charge, if they take the bold and wise decision not to bring to an abrupt and regrettable end the unfinished work of the Trusts. We may reluctantly reconcile ourselves, though not without strong protest and opposition, to a short-sighted and timid

decision to yield to clever manoeuvring by interested opponents of the men who preside over the Trusts. But of the present confused thinking, of the lack of courage, of consistency and of a constructive policy, we have not one good word to say and we doubt if anybody can have.

The Benares municipality.

The *Aj* draws the attention of the citizens of Benares to the proposed supercession of their municipal board and urges them to take measures to preserve their civic liberties, however restricted though they may be. They should take increased interest in municipal affairs to help the board to effect improvement and to protect it as far as possible from official interference. The *Vaitman* remarks that the Commissioner's proposal to suspend the Benares municipal board constitutes an insulting attack on the rights of the citizens of Benares and is opposed to the democratic ideas and principles of the time and urges the inhabitants of Benares to start a vigorous agitation for the protection of their just rights.

Political propaganda.

The *Hamdam* does not believe that India can attain liberty by cooperating with the English. It remarks that cooperation with the British means to cooperate with them in political crimes, in strengthening the military organisation of the Government, in sending the national workers to jail and in filling the pockets of the bloody General Dyer. The germs of injustice have entered the present system of Government and as long as they are not removed cooperation with it amounts to cooperation with injustice. The British statesmen will do well even now to change their angle of vision and leaving aside ideas of Imperialism remove the legitimate grievances of the people. The *Hind-i-Jadid* in a strongly worded article says that as a punishment for our misdeeds a hard-hearted, selfish and shameless nation is ruling over us, which does not tolerate the freedom of any other nation except its own though it is styled as the greatest champion of liberty. It exhorts the Indians to rise up, put on *khaddar* uniform and enlist themselves in the peaceful army of the Congress and to remember that India will be free only on the day when no British made goods are found in the Indian markets. The *Holi* festival has been seized upon by some Hindu papers to compare the present times in India with the days of King Hiranya Kashyap and to urge that Indians should have recourse to *satyagraha* like Prahlad to get rid of their miseries. The *Bhavishya* points out that at present the same despotism, pride of power, injustice, oppression and irresponsibility prevail in the country as were witnessed during Hiranya Kashyap's reign. It refers to the victory of Prahlad over Hiranya Kashyap, his father, and asks Indians to undergo like Prahlad all sorts of hardships and suffering for their emancipation. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the message which the *Holi* brings for us is that for the attainment of our ideal, for the victory of our principles and for the protection of truth we should cheerfully welcome and undergo even the most terrible sufferings and tortures. The *Holi* also impresses upon us the truth that even a small boy, if he is truthful, firm, determined, courageous and is possessed of soul force, can make the mightiest sovereign bow before him. The *Prem* says that the *Holi* festival is observed throughout the length and breadth of India even in the present degenerated times in holy memory of the victory of Prahlad over his tyrannical father and King, Hiranya Kashyap, by means of *satyagraha* and to teach the world the lesson of self-help and equality, to make autocratic rulers respect public opinion and to convey a message to the people to pursue the right path. The *Aj* disagrees with those Nationalist leaders who urge that the *Holi* must not be observed at the present time, which is more suited to mourning than rejoicing and remarks: Though it is true that never before did India witness such terrible, oppressive and humiliating days, yet it will never do to cry and mourn. We must be cheerful even at the time of mourning. The observance of the *Holi* festival will infuse enthusiasm into the people which is so urgently required. A correspondent writing in the *Shakti* says that the facility with which Lord Reading has been accommodating himself to the ever-changing Government in Britain shows how Englishmen can change even their principles to serve the interests of their country, while the Indians fight shy even of the cause of *swaraj* and freedom.

LUCKNOW:
The 29th March, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

NOTICE.

OWING to the move of the Secretariat offices to Naini Tal, there will be no issue of the Press Note for the week ending the 12th April, 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 5th April, 1924.

Khilafat crisis.

THE Khilafat question continues to agitate the Muslim press, which is generally opposed to the Sharif's claim to the Khilafat. Maulana Abdul Bari's message to the Arab people has accentuated the bitterness of feelings against the Sharif and several papers have charged the Maulana with inconsistency and fickle-mindedness. The *Medina* accuses the Maulana of showing inconsistency in congratulating the Arabs on the one hand and laying stress on the necessity of an Islamic Conference on the other. It describes the Maulana as an unscrupulous champion of Sharif Husain and warns the Indian Musalmans to be on their guard against Sharif Husain's propaganda. In another article the same paper suggests that the Conference of the Muslim world should be convened at Delhi as India is the only Muslim country which has not yet espoused the cause of any candidate for the office and remarks that if King Fuad of Egypt accepts the office of Khilafat, the question will become all the more complicated and then it will be simply absurd to convene any such Conference. A correspondent writing to the *Al Khalil* takes Maulana Abdul Bari severely to task for espousing the cause of Sharif Husain and justifies the decision of the Angora Assembly in abolishing the Khilafat. He remarks that the question of Khilafat has at last assumed an aspect for which the enemies of Islam have been trying for the last 25 years and for which they had taken Sharif Husain on their side. Those who believe in the Khilafat of Sharif Husain are the enemies of Islam and are in fact trying to take part in the war which will be fought between the Sharif and the nationalist Turks in future. The *Haqiqat* says that the grievances of the Turks are genuine and they are justified in abolishing the Khilafat which was ever a source of great trouble to them. It has no hope that the Turks will revise their decision even if the deputation headed by the Ali brothers succeeds in reaching Angora. The *Hamdard* deplores the present scramble for Khilafat in Arabia and Egypt, which is likely to create dissensions among the Musalmans and remarks that in view of the attitude of other Muslim countries it is impossible for the Islamic Conference to come to any particular decision to suit the Muslim world. The *Hindustani Times* takes exception to the views expressed by Maulana Muhammad Ali at Aligarh regarding the abolition of Khilafat and remarks that he has sown the seeds of discord and animosity among the Indian Musalmans and the Turks. It is against sending any deputation to Angora and advises the Indian Musalmans to devote their energies to their internal organisation within India. In another article the same paper condemns Khilafat Conference held at Calcutta and remarks that the Indian Musalmans will be ruined by blindly following Maulana Muhammad Ali as on the one hand they will alienate the sympathy of the Muslim world and on the other incur the hostility of the English. Qazi Wahid Uddin of Satrik, district Bara Banki, in a signed article to the *Hamdam* justifies Maulana Abdul Bari's action from the religious and moral point of view in congratulating the Arabs on electing Sharif Husain as their Khalifa. He remarks that the Sharif is an independent ruler and has a preferential right to the office. The *Najat* says that Great Britain desires Sharif Husain's election to the Khilafat for the purpose of furthering its policy of exploitation in the East. During the Great War no Muslim ruler so much injured the cause of Islam as did the treacherous Sharif and his past misdeeds never entitle him to the office. The *Aj* remarks that by trying to place the burden of the protection of Khilafat on the shoulders of unwilling Turkey the Indian Musalmans are weakening the power of Islam. Such an action on their part instead of uniting the Musalmans of various countries will only create estrangement and dissensions among them. The same paper in another article says that the Indian Musalmans should now give up their extra-territorial patriotism and their dream of a pan-Islamic Empire and should make common cause with other Indian communities in the attainment of India's freedom.

Muslim deputation to Angora.

The *Medina* is dissatisfied with the attitude of Government in the Assembly on the question of passports and remarks that the members of the Assembly will be well advised to direct the attention of the Labour Ministry to this matter. The *Hamdam* says that the

officers of the Medical department in Bengal are discharged, as reported, not only will these men be forced to seek employment in an already overcrowded market, but the people of Bengal will have been deprived of the beneficent services of these officers. The electorate will thus be in a position to realise more clearly the extent to which the welfare of the people of India has been compromised as a result of *Swarajists'* activities in the Councils. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that evidently the plan of the bureaucracy is to starve the nation-building departments and to say that they are starving because the *Swarajists* have thrown out the budget.

The Reforms.

The *Al Bashir* says that the *Sawarjists* have exposed the futility of the Reforms and it will be a blessing to India if the present Reforms are withdrawn as soon as possible. The country has gained nothing through them except increased expenditure and taxes and the time is now gone when the Indians could be coaxed with such toys. The *Haqiqat* observes that the *Swarajists* have to a great extent achieved success in the preliminary stages of their scheme. In view of the obstinate attitude of the Government the policy of the *Swarajists* can hardly be expected to undergo a change. The Government will be well devised to realise its mistake at once and not to put the patience of the Indians to further test by trampling upon their aspirations. The *Oudh Akhbar* regards the Reforms as quite useless and unprofitable and remarks that it will be blindness to think that they can bring about the political salvation of the country in spite of seeing the injurious character of the present system of Government. The *Al Khalil* says that the authorities in India and England have now begun to show signs of yielding to the demands of the Indians and that India can attain salvation through the exertions of the *Swarajists* alone. The *Anand* says that the situation created by the *Swarajists* in the Central Provinces goes to establish that the assertions of the opponents of Reforms belittling their importance are quite baseless. It further remarks that the *Swarajists* are entirely mistaken if they think that their wrecking or obstructionist tactics will compel the Britishers into surrendering all their powers to them in utter disregard of their own interests.

The Akali agitation.

The *Oudh Akhbar* ascribes the present enthusiasm amongst the Sikhs to the repressive policy of the Government in connection with the Gurudwaras and advises the Government to adopt practical measures to allay the unrest prevailing among them. The *Iqdam* avers that the Akalis will doggedly and firmly continue their struggle until the demands of *Khalsaji* are satisfied.

Release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

The *Hamdam* expresses its gratification at the reduction of the term of imprisonment of Maulana Hasrat and remarks that every minute of his continued imprisonment is painful to the people who are longing to see the Maulana released to devote himself once more in guiding them in their national affairs. The *Vartman* says that the resolutions regarding the release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani in the Legislative Assembly and the Bombay Council bespeak the universality of feeling in favour of the Maulana's release and that if the Bombay Government has any regard for public opinion it should release him at once.

Extortion in Almora.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* referring to enquiries in Kali Kumaun says: It is indeed very gratifying to learn that the official enquiry under the supervision of a responsible senior Tahsildar left nothing to be desired. The open and regular enquiry conducted by the Tahsildar is an event of unparalleled significance to the mountaineer's mind. This demonstration of British justice will besides breaking the stronghold of non-cooperation in Kumaun, once again restore the peasant to a loyal frame of mind to pursue the even tenour of his life with contented happiness.

Political propaganda.

The *Medina* says that the oppressed "black" people of India have now realised that the British Empire is not kindly disposed towards them and wants to keep them under perpetual subjugation and slavery. The British people cannot bear the sight of the poor Indians being prosperous. They want to exact something more from the scanty pockets of the Indians and to add to their own comfort and luxuries by imposing additional burden on them. In another article the same paper says that every Indian patriot is now keenly desirous of liberating India and the discovery of bomb-making factory at Calcutta, the Bolshevik case at Cawnpore and the Council wrecking activities of the *Swarajists* are in fact the different ways in which India's desire for liberty is being manifested. The Government can very well keep the persons under confinement but is powerless to suppress the ideas of liberty and freedom.

The *Bhavishya* writes: The *Holi* festival is not meant for slaves for they have no right to participate in festivals. If they do so they are fit to remain slaves for ever. It is the blood-stained *Holi* with what they are concerned at present. They had hardly forgotten the *Holi* of the Punjab (Jallianwala Bagh) when the Nabha authorities presented another *Holi* at Jaito. It is such *Holi* that they will have to observe repeatedly. Why then should they be so keen on observing their traditional *Holi* festival. The *Pratap* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in which he says that he has a genuine hatred for bloodshed but for the prevention of more bloodshed he considers it to be indispensable that the idea of true heroism should not be lost sight of, and that while there should be some people to preach mercy, there should be also others who should meet the enemy's violence by violence. The *Hind-i-Jadid* warns the Government to realise the dangers of the present situation and not to incur further humiliation by exerting itself in the ludicrous and impossible task of stemming the tide of liberty. There is still time for Government to secure the cooperation of the Indians, but we know that our advice will be a cry in the wilderness as the peoples who rely too much on material force are doomed to destruction.

LUCKNOW:
The 5th April, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the fortnight ending the 19th April, 1924.

The Indian debate in Parliament.

THE *Leader* styles the debate in the House of Commons on Lord Curzon's motion as inconsequential. It asserts that the statement of Mr. Richards will cause great resentment among the *Swarajists* and remarks with satisfaction that the *Swarajists* will be excluded from consultation in respect of further Reforms. They cannot consistently with their policy complain if they are not consulted in the evolution of the present constitution. It should be clear to the *Swarajists* that their tactics have failed and that the best course for them is to accept the Reforms with as good grace as possible and concentrate their effort on improving them. If responsible and influential statesmen are properly approached by a deputation of Indian leaders it should not be very difficult to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission a few months hence. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the result of the debate in the Commons does not improve the complicated situation in which the people find themselves. The only moral in Viscount Curzon's motion is that the *Swarajists* have succeeded in spreading alarm in the Conservative circles. The *Independence* says that Mr. Richards' speech clearly showed the desire to meet, parley with and placate the *Swarajists*. The debate has cleared the political sky. Time is not yet for Labour to move definitely, but that good time can be precipitated by action in India. If Gandhi joins the *Swarajists* and a front of steel opposes the "steel frame," the sun of *swaraj* will rise to greet India one pleasant morning. In its Saturday's issue the paper says that the futile debate in the House of Commons and the evasive speech of Mr. Richards once again brings home that India's salvation lies in the hands of Indians themselves. In a signed article Mr. Ranga Iyer says that Mr. Richards' is the best speech that India has read for some years.

The Lausanne treaty.

Commenting on the ratification of the Lausanne treaty the *Pioneer* says that Turkey has fared far better than she has deserved. The harmony of Great Britain's future relations with Turkey will depend on the manner in which the Turkish Government and the Turkish people respond to the British Premier's friendly and courteous appeal. The *Leader* says that of all the nations defeated in the last Great War Turkey has come out best. In the new era in the history of humanity which we believe has been ushered in since the conclusion of the war the almost miraculous recovery of its national independence by Turkey marks the first serious set-back the West has received in its policy of moulding the destinies of the entire East and the beginning of a divine process which in course of time may enable Asia once more to play a proud part in the spiritual and moral advancement of the world. Its people are throbbing with new life and passing through the agony of a re-birth. While the future is shrouded in mystery, it is full of hope, for the depressed and the downtrodden are proclaiming that they shall suffer wrong no more.

The Khilafat.

The *Hamdam* says that Great Britain may not be concerned directly with the abolition of the Khilafat but the party in power at present in Turkey has surely been influenced by the attitude of the enemies of Islam in this matter. The nationalist Turks have anticipated the feelings of the political parties in England and by abolishing the Khilafat they have directly assured them that they do not aim at territorial aggrandisement but want to live in peace and freedom in their own country. A correspondent writing to the same paper from Mecca describes Sharif Husain's Khilafat as the commencement of a great intrigue and exhorts the Musalmans to condemn and protest against his Khilafat. The *Mashriq* remarks that the dangerous step taken by the Turks is sure to excite the feelings of the people of Mosul against them and the public opinion being opposed to Turkey the question of Mosul will not be decided according to the wishes of the Turks. The *Haqiqat* in a communicated article justifies the decision of the Angora Assembly in abolishing the Khilafat which had ever proved prejudicial to the

interests of the Turks. The Indian Musalmans as a matter of fact do not require any Khalifa at all as they are unable to carry out his orders. No self-respecting Musalman can help condemning Sharif Husain as a traitor to Islam and expressing his feelings of bitter hatred against him. The *Mansur* in a contributed article remarks that the Musalmans will have no objection to accept Sharif Husain as their Khalifa if he atones for his past misdeeds, extricates himself from the yoke of British slavery and abstains from taking a subsidy from Great Britain.

Muslim deputation to Angora.

The *Al Khalil* regards the refusal of the Government to furnish passports to the deputation as an interference in the Khilafat question. By placing obstacles in the way of the deputation the Government is indirectly espousing the cause of Sharif Husain and hence any act of the Indian Government which tends to prevent the departure of the deputation is viewed by the Indian Musalmans with suspicion and indignation. The *Najat* asserts that the attitude adopted by the Government in the matter of passports is a clear indication of the fact that the Government wants to add to the difficulties and troubles of the Musalmans. It does not like to see the settlement of the Khilafat question and wants the Musalmans to remain disorganised so that there may be no fear of the bogey of pan-Islamism. The *Hamdam* says that the Government by refusing to grant passports to the deputation is aggravating Muslim discontent and is naturally strengthening suspicions against itself that it had a hand in the abolition of the Khilafat. The *Sewak* says that the refusal of passports to the members of the Muslim deputation to Angora is tantamount to interference in religious matters. If the Government does not consider some of the members of this deputation to be its subjects it should also forgo the right of taxing them.

Indians in the Colonies.

Mr. Duncan's speech on the Class Areas Bill has been severely criticised. The *Leader* says that it only serves to bring into prominent relief the sinister import of the latest measure devised by the Union Government to throttle Indians in South Africa. The whole history of the treatment accorded to Indians points to the implacable resolve of the Whites to get rid of Indians by fair or foul means but it must be obvious to all that the Union Government's policy is hardly calculated to avoid 'friction.' It can only prepetuate a sense of deep humiliation and injustice among the Indian community which cannot make for happy relations between the two races in South Africa. The Boer spirit is a grave danger to the Empire and if India today has to coolly pocket the insult of a Class Areas Bill, things will not remain the same as they are for all time to come. In another article headed "A broken pledge" the paper says that the action of the Union Government constitutes a glaring breach of a distinct pledge given by General Smuts to Mr. Gandhi. Referring to the statement of Mr. Duncan that there was no intention to ruin the Indian community, the paper asks: Who will attach any value to these disavowals in the face of the deliberate and persistent anti-Indian campaign of which there has been growing evidence on all sides? No amount of camouflage will hide the reality. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Mr. Duncan's speech shows the extent of the Minister's capacity in twisting facts.

Satyagraha at Vaikam.

The *Independence* welcomes the *satyagraha* campaign at Vaikam and says that if the Government of the Maharaja persists in the foolish course of pandering to priest-craft, we are afraid he will be asking for increased trouble. In another article the paper says that the Maharaja's Government is really giving new life to non-co-operation. The *Leader* says: If the Travancore Government yields to this novel though not unfamiliar form of non-violent warfare, and allows the untouchables to use freely the prohibited road, it would not necessarily mean the removal of their untouchability, for in northern India the movements of the untouchable classes are nowhere restricted, and yet their untouchability remains unaffected.

The Swaraj party.

The *Leader* in a long article says that the *Swarajists'* policy in the Assembly during the last session has made the task of the bureaucracy actually easier than it would have been if discriminating opposition had been offered. Blind obstruction in the Councils, whatever other unknown virtues it may possess, has not the merit of giving the maximum of trouble to the official benches. The *Swarajists* have made the Government fearless, for it has nothing more to fear. It asserts that the failure of ill-considered political movements and tactics has led to a great deal of demoralisation, and even the leaders of the advanced wing are impressed with the complexity of the situation which has been largely created by their own policy.

It advises them to revert to the old policy of the Congress and thus render practically unnecessary the existence of a separate Liberal party which was organised in the interests of the country to keep up the banner of the old Congress. Referring to the action taken by the Bengal Government in consequence of the refusal of supplies, the paper says that if the officers who are to be discharged and their dependants curse the Bengal *Swarajists* for depriving them of their bread and throwing them on the streets and are unable to appreciate the patriotic nature of the *Swarajist* policy, they cannot be blamed for their lack of public spirits. After the almost cataclysmic fate that is going to overtake the thousand and odd Indians in the Bengal civil service, cannot the European public servants cite the incident as partly justifying their apprehensions about the security of their tenure under a popular Government in India and their demand for a greater measure of protection than they have at present? In another place the paper says that the wrecking tactics have fallen absolutely flat. They have in the Central Provinces actually resulted in a distinct set-back and threaten one in Bengal too. The *Independence* continues to support the policy of obstruction and says: The Liberals had their price and they were cheaply purchased. The *Swarajists* too have their price and they are willing to be bought! But are the Government prepared to pay the price? The price is nothing else and nothing less than self-government. The market in which the *Swaraj* party could be bought is the Round Table Conference. The *Bharat Jiwan* points out that the *Swarajists* have done nothing wrong in following obstructionist tactics in the Councils. They have thereby only exposed the autocracy of the bureaucracy and proved the Reforms to be a farce and fraud. In another article the same paper holds that the first session of the Legislative Assembly has not gone in vain and that it has fully brought home to the Government that unless it meets the wishes and aspirations of the people it will continue to face obstruction on the part of the *Swarajists*. In yet another article the paper says that the passage of the Finance Bill in the Council of State shows how its members are mere puppets in the hands of the Government and what value they attach to liberty. Commenting upon the *Swarajists'* opposition to the budget the *Haqiqat* apprehends that if the transferred departments are abolished a general misery will prevail throughout the country on account of unemployment and the *Swaraj* party will incur popular hatred. The Government will carry on anti-*Swaraj* propaganda by enlisting these unemployed persons as volunteers. The *Swaraj* party must revise its policy otherwise its efforts of wrecking the Reforms will not only prove futile but also harmful to its own future interests.

No-tax campaign.

The *Shakti* remarks that the Council activities of the *Swarajists* can bear fruit only when they in concert with the Congress launch out a no-tax campaign. This will be no unconstitutional action on their part, but they should take every precaution that the people are not thereby led into violence. The *Abhyudaya* says that what the *Swarajists* have achieved in the Legislative Assembly will go in vain if they do not now carry on an agitation outside the Assembly and the Councils and persuade the people to announce in unequivocal language that they cannot support any taxation so long as they are not conceded the right to control expenditure. If the country is unfit today to resort to civil disobedience it will have to do so tomorrow and it will be a waste of time not to make preparations for what must inevitably take place sooner or later.

Boycott of British goods.

The *Aj* remarks that in view of the obstacles which our British rulers are placing in the attainment of *swaraj* and the unjust repression which they are practising upon us we must hold it to be our supreme duty to boycott British goods.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Independence* says: Our Muslim friends can surely profess pan-Islam without at the same time its clashing with the agitation for *swaraj*. In fact *swaraj* will make the Muslim nations of Asia safe and contented. The *Vartman* remarks that the extra-territorial patriotism and pan-Islamic dreams of Indian Musalmans have always been an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the attainment of Indian *swaraj* and that they are calculated in no inconsiderable measure to prolong the term of India's slavery.

Cawnpore riot.

The *Pioneer* supports the action of the authorities and says that the official statement will strike the unprejudiced reader as a plain unvarnished record of facts. The order to fire, which was given by an Indian magistrate, was only decided upon with manifest

reluctance after the mob had started throwing stones and brickbats and had got thoroughly out of hand. The *Independence* uses alarming headlines, such as "Brutal charge on unarmed mill-hands," "Firing without justification," "Dead bodies burnt in boilers." The official version read with the non-official version, reads like a far-fetched justification of a grave action which, we sincerely hope, the authorities would be able to justify before the bar of public opinion. The reference to the rumour of dead bodies thrown in the boiler and the attempt to arrest the wounded in the hospital would ring in the ears of India for long. The Cawnpore police, in the thick of Bolshevik atmosphere, seem to have lost all sense of proportion and imagined in the brickbats of a few hundreds the determined action of cold-blooded Communists. When the echoes spread throughout India of the happenings at Cawnpore, the reputation of this province would be as much stinking, unless the Government take strong action, as the land of Dyers and Frank Johnstons. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is inclined to believe the non-official version and urges upon Government the necessity of instituting an independent enquiry. The *Leader* points out certain discrepancies between the official and non-official version of the Cawnpore riot and says that real facts can be ascertained by a searching enquiry. The *Indian World* says: The tragedy was a mock heroic tragedy for which the whole blame lies with the local authorities who seem to have had no backbone to stand in patience a dispute which has little to do with politics and yet has to be quelled by a sort of martial heroism. The sight of a big crowd with a clouded mind regarding terms of their engagements upset the mental equilibrium of the Superintendent and the City Magistrate who took to a short cut to a settlement. Such men deserve to be pensioned off at once, as it is such men who are responsible for bringing about much misunderstanding and bad blood in the country. And above all the Collector totally shirked the responsibility and hid himself under a bush in order to avoid any direct hand in the matter. What shall we say of him? The vernacular press in general has strongly condemned the firing at Cawnpore and questions the justification to have recourse to firearms. The *Aj* holds the mill manager morally responsible for the casualties among the labourers and remarks: The District Magistrate eloquently praises the peaceful attitude of the police in his *communiqué*. If the free use of canes and batons, the trampling of labourers by horsemen and the shooting of the unarmed strikers can be described as the peaceful attitude or the "coolness" of the police, we wonder what else can be described as an aggressive attitude on its part. The *Vartman* says that the massacre of the poor labourers of the Cawnpore Cotton Mills forcibly reminds us once again of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and that it was apparently organised to crush the growing awakening among the Cawnpore labourers. The *communiqué* of the District Magistrate, like all official *communiqués*, is a piece of grotesque partiality and has been issued with a view to justify firing. The accounts of the tragedy furnished by Congress leaders and other eye-witnesses, however, conclusively prove that the firing upon the labourers was quite unjustifiable and unnecessary. The *Pratap* writes: There was no need on the part of the police to enact a drama of terrible brutality when as a result of blank firing the crowd was already dispersing. This heartlessness of the police reminds us of Dyer and Smith and makes our blood boil. The Cawnpore firing is an eloquent commentary on the effect given to Mr. Ranga Chariar's resolution in the Assembly regarding resort to firing. The *Arya Mitra* holds that there was no justification for firing. If the labourers had got excited, surely there were other methods to pacify them. The labourers were neither armed nor organised and hence they could easily be dealt with without having recourse to firing. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that a perusal of both the official and the non-official versions of the Cotton Mills tragedy makes it clear that firing upon the labourers was not indispensable. "We find that the order for opening fire has become as easy and necessary in the eyes of the authorities as *chhota hazri*." One Satya Bhakta writing to the *Aj* says that the Cotton Mills tragedy and the massacre of the poor labourers is a link in the chain of the Bolshevik movement, whether the labourers through their ignorance may realise its significance or not. The *Haqiqat* deplores the bloodshed at Cawnpore and remarks that such incidents are calculated to increase the public hatred against the Government. A committee commanding the confidence of the public and specially of the labourers, should soon be appointed to enquire into the matter. The *Oudh Akhbar* is indignant at the incident and says that in view of the brutal oppressions perpetrated by the police upon the mill-hands it cannot be said that the police protects the life and property of the people. The facts disclosed do not justify the firing and such incidents are in reality the root-cause of hatred

and dissatisfaction against the British Government. In another article the same paper says that firing should only be permitted against robbers, dacoits and rebels and not against honest labourers. The *Azad* remarks that it was impolitic on the part of the mill-hands to show so much obstinacy in the matter of bonus and this obstinacy becomes more objectionable when viewed in the light of the fact that no profits had accrued to the Cotton Mills this year. It is difficult to judge whether the order for firing was justifiable or otherwise, but it is certainly to be regretted that the Government on such occasions has recourse to no other alternative but firing.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* remarks that the rapid spread of the Bolshevik movement from Europe to Asia has falsified the prophecies of the French and English Socialist leaders that being unsuited to the present times Bolshevism would die a natural death. The paper expresses the conviction that Bolshevism is a terrible weapon which through the dictatorship of the proletariat first of all ruins the capitalists.

Political propaganda.

Deploring the present lull and slackness in the non-cooperation movement the *Hamdam* advises Mr. Gandhi to inculcate a spirit of toleration and forbearance amongst the workers and remarks that it was only want of discipline and organisation which brought about the failure of the movement. The *Zulqarnain*, on the other hand, takes exception to the views expressed by the *Hamdam* and remarks that the failure of the movement was due to the lack of education among the masses. They are incapable of adopting *satyagraha* or understanding its principles and under such circumstances the goal of *swaraj* is still far off. The *Hindustani Times* describes the *swaraj* movement as harmful to the Musalmans unless they are strong enough to safeguard their own interests. To obtain *swaraj* the Hindus have on the one hand pitched the Musalmans against the Government to weaken the foundations of the English rule and on the other hand they are eliminating them from all departments of life so that on the attainment of *swaraj* the Hindus may have undivided sway over India. The *Vartman*, while it does not disapprove of non-violent methods, thinks that armed revolutions also can be effected in a peaceful manner and cites the instances of the recent revolutions in Greece and Persia in support of its contention.

NAINI TAL:
The 19th April, 1924.

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Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL.] No. 16 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 26th April, 1924.

The Indian debate in Parliament.

THE Indian debate in the House of Commons has aroused little enthusiasm in the press. The *Pioneer* is satisfied that Mr. Richards' speech made it plain that there must be a generous attempt to work the existing Constitution before the question of any further advance could be considered. According to the paper there is no substantial support in the British Parliament at present for an immediate Royal Commission, still less for the Round Table Conference favoured by the *Swarajists*, or, indeed, for anything beyond the Government of India's inquiry into the actual working of the Act. The sole effect of the *Swarajist* policy of persistent and intensive obstruction has been to raise serious doubts in the minds of reasonable men in the British Parliament whether the Indian Legislatures are really fitted to exercise the responsibilities already entrusted to them. Without the cooperation of Indians progress is impossible and a set-back is inevitable. The *Swarajists* in their insensate resolve to intimidate the Labour Government in granting full Dominion status at once have done incalculable harm to the country's interests. They have effectively brought home to the British Parliament the danger of any further constitutional advance for some time to come. According to the *Advocate* the Labour Government has succeeded in secreting its trump card for the present. The paper sees in the Under Secretary's speech no cause to be pessimistic. However much the Moderates may revile the policy of the *Swarajists*, it is evident that the *Swarajist* policy has told, and told in a wonderful manner. It does not depend upon the good grace of the British Parliament for the salvation of India. The destiny of India wholly depends upon her own people. The *Aj* remarks that the debate on Viscount Curzon's motion in the House of Commons confirms the conviction that even the Labour Government, particularly the present one, will not deal justly by India of its own free will and also indisputably proves that Mr. MacDonald's Ministry will carry on the administration of India with the help of the Imperialistic Conservative members of the Parliament. It, however, points out that the day is not far off when as a result of the non-cooperation movement the bureaucracy will be compelled to yield to public opinion. The *Medina* says that the *Swarajists'* activities have perturbed political circles in England. It is possible that the united strength of the Labour and Liberal members may break a few links of India's chain of subjugation and slavery and appease the Indians by granting them further Reforms. The *Hamdam* is gratified that Great Britain has been influenced by the present situation in India and views with deep concern the strained relations between the representatives of the people and Government. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the debate initiated by Viscount Curzon was influenced by the activities of the *Swarajists* who have overawed the British statesmen. The Indian Liberals can never say that the *Swarajists* have failed in their protests.

The Lausanne Treaty.

The *Aj* approves of the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty and regards it as indicative of the restoration of friendly relations between Britain and Turkey. In this connection the paper asks the British statesmen to cultivate harmonious relations with Asiatic nations in the interest of the British Empire, for with the growth of political consciousness the Indian public will not readily take up arms against any Asiatic nation.

The British Empire Exhibition.

The *Pioneer* characterises the Empire Exhibition as a pageant of Imperial production and resources. It can serve as a common meeting ground for the representatives of all the multitudinous races included in the Commonwealth of British nations, where they gain a fuller knowledge of each other and of the whole of which they form a part. Referring to Reuter's report that Indian passengers who arrived in Liverpool were not able to reach the Exhibition in time, the *Independence* says: India not being happy in her freedom and power as the Dominions, must

naturally be rather late in the Empire show. "Better late than never"—but let not "too late" be writ on England's dealing with the jewel in the Crown. The *Leader* hopes that the Indian Court will be an eye-opener to many who looked down upon India and Indians and make them appreciate all the better India's aspirations for freedom, so that she may have ampler opportunities of rising to her full stature and giving expression to her national genius in more exquisite works of art. The *Oudh Akhbar* observes that visitors to the Empire Exhibition will know how easy it is to bring India's status as an industrial and manufacturing country to the level of the world's best countries.

The Khilafat.

The *Khilafat* question continues to agitate the Muslim press. The *Najat* reprints from a Berut paper the secret correspondence between the Sharif and Sir Arthur MacMahon during the war in which the latter is alleged to have written:—"I want to assert it once again that King George V was much pleased to hear that the Islamic Khilafat has once more come back in the hands of a pure Arab who is a descendant of the Prophet." The *Medina* reproduces from the *Al Akhbar* of Egypt a communicated article on the Khilafat in which it is stated: Sharif Husain's sons have forced their ignorant Arab subjects to accept their father as their Khalifa. Being deceived by the Englishmen they took advantage of the opportunity and raised the banner of revolt against the Khilafat and thereby dealt a severe blow to their Muslim brethren. Sharif Husain's claim to Khilafat is absurd and the decision of the Angora Assembly does in no way affect the allegiance of the Muslim world to the deposed Khalifa until the question is finally decided. The *Anand Pracharak* remarks that the abolition of the Khilafat and the humiliation and disgrace heaped upon the deposed Khalifa by the nationalist Turks have proved that all the allegations brought by the Khilafatists against the British statesmen were groundless and unjust. The Musalmans would have surely proclaimed a *jehad* if any non-Muslim Power had disgraced and humiliated the Khalifa in this way. The *Aligarh Gazette* says that it is the duty of the Khilafat Committees to give monetary help to the deposed Khalifa and his family. The *Hind-e-Jadid* says that the Musalmans can never accept the Khilafat of the treacherous Sharif who has sold his faith and religion to the European Powers and who still after proclaiming himself a Khalifa relies on the support of these Powers. The *Al Bureed* asserts that the Sharif's Khilafat will result in creating dissensions and disunity among the Musalmans and the Muslim world will become a prey to the intrigues of the enemies of Islam.

Muslim deputation to Angora.

The *Aligarh Gazette* is astounded at the inclusion of the non-Muslim element in the Angora deputation and advises the Government to stick to its decision regarding the passports as the participation of any non-Muslim in the affairs of the Khilafat is tantamount to gross absurdity.

Satyagraha at Vaikom.

The *Haqiqat* strongly protests against the action of the Travancore authorities and regards it as tyrannical and unjust to restrict the untouchables to certain fixed roads in the city and remarks: With what face can we demand *swaraj* on the plea of equality, liberty and democracy unless such ugly blots on Indian civilisation are washed off. The *Arya Varta* exhorts the public to raise men and money to keep up the *satyagraha* campaign and carry it to a successful end according to the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi. The *Bhavishya* remarks that by the prohibition of the use of public roads by non-caste Hindus the Travancore State is not only casting a blot on Hinduism but also on humanity at large. The *Aj* says that the country attaches the same importance to the Vaikom affair as it does to the Akali *satyagraha* and watches it with equally great eagerness. It is incomprehensible why the authorities should interfere in this social matter when the people have every right to decide all social questions.

The Liberal Conference.

While the *Leader* has been filling its columns with the proceedings of the Liberal Conference at Allahabad other papers do not appear to have taken any serious interest or to have lent their support to the resolutions passed in the Conference. The *Pioneer* does not see anything new in the presidential address and says that the audience were merely regaled with a reiteration of arguments and dissertations that must by this have become stale by familiarity. The chief interest for most people will centre in the President's trenchant attack on the obstructionist tactics of the *Swarajists*, and in his plaintive insistence on the immediate necessity for the

appointment of the Statutory Commission. The *Leader* congratulates the President of the Liberal Conference on his "very able" and comprehensive address and is confident that he will be called upon to serve his province and his country in still higher positions in the years to come. The paper is in agreement with the President in nearly everything he said and wants to emphasise the President's urgent plea for further constitutional advance without avoidable delay. Referring to the speeches of the Liberal leaders the paper says: All these speeches together with the masterly delivery of the President make out for an immediate and substanial constitutional advance, a case so strong that we would like to have a reasoned and informed reply from the opponents of Reforms instead of the usual merely superficial, fallacious and prejudiced harangues and homilies that we get. The Conference was on the whole a creditable success. It has done valuable public service and we offer our congratulations to every one from the President downwards who contributed to that success. The *Advocate* remarks that the presidential address was on the whole a well-considered and sober pronouncement and remarkably free from attacks on the *Swarajists* and non-cooperators in general. The paper does not agree that the policy of Liberals in deserting the Congress was a wise one or that the decision of the *Swarajists* to enter the Council with a view to end or mend the Reforms can in any way prove that the policy of the Liberals was right. It is impossible to appreciate the unpatriotic action of the Liberals in seceding from the Congress on account of differences of opinion. The *Independence* styles the Liberal members of the Conference as "political babies" and says: The speech of the President is "weighty," which in a sense is true, judging from the thick paper on which it is printed and the 57 pages it occupies, weighty indeed for an audience of 128, exaggerated into "a Conference." It is not an original thought, no life or light, no lead; not even one bold phrase stands out of the address. The most pathetic part of the speech is when he imagines that the Liberal principles would "vindicate" themselves. God forbid any such calamity! Liberal vindication will be annihilation of the national cause. But that its provincial President should entertain them even after the rude shaking they have received, shows that Liberal conceit has not been knocked down. Vanity! thy name is the Liberal League! The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the most important part of the address is the President's criticism of the *Swarajists*. It ascribes the defeat of the Liberals at the poll partly to the tremendous sacrifices undergone by the *Swarajists* and partly to the Liberal record which was one of burning incense at the bureaucratic altar which only incensed the deity to a policy of increasing coercion. If truth be told the Liberals have fallen by their own deeds and they cannot rise by vilification of the *Swarajists*. Mr. Srivastava's address lacks purpose or initiative. It does not give a lead to the Liberals to move abreast with the currents and movements in the country. It imagines that Fate will once again float the Liberals to fame and power. Never was there a more futile pronouncement. According to the *Hamdam* the United Provinces Liberal Conference has served no useful purpose beyond giving its contemporary, the *Leader*, an opportunity of filling its columns with bold headlines. The address of the President evokes only hostile feelings towards the Liberal party. The truth is that moderation is now dead and that the last elections gave the verdict that the Liberals were no more wanted. The defeat of the Liberals was not due to the vilification, as asserted by the President, but to their having co-operated with an alien bureaucracy in the imprisonment of the popular leaders and the enforcement of repressive laws. They shook hands stained with Jallianwala Bagh blood. The *Aj* remarks that the presidential address of the Liberal Conference is a vivid reflection of the mendicant mentality of the Liberals. It is full of inconsistencies and betrays self-diffidence and dependence upon others. That the Liberal policy is infallible, irreplaceable and indispensable is the burden of the address. It proposes no new programme and its only object is to support the Liberal policy and unsparingly criticise every other political programme.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Al Bashir* deplores the *Arya Samajist* activities to vilify Maulana Muhammad Ali and frustrate the efforts at Hindu-Muslim unity and remarks that such things have opened the eyes of even the greatest Muslim nationalists who are now realising that the existence of the Arya Samaj leaders and their organisation is greatly injurious to the interests of their country. The *Aligarh Gazette* resents the interest taken by Mr. Gandhi in the propagation of Hindi and remarks that as Hindi is the first question which has caused so much difference between the

Hindus and the Musalmans, it is proved that so far as the Muslim sentiments are concerned Mr. Gandhi has not returned a wiser man from jail. The *Hamdam*, on the other hand, asserts that the boldness and candour displayed by Mr. Gandhi in expressing his views regarding the delicate question of Hindu-Muslim unity is alone responsible for the popularity enjoyed by him among the Muslim public which is ever ready to undergo any sacrifice for Mr. Gandhi. In another article the paper advises Mahatma Gandhi to take steps for securing the immediate stoppage of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements which are in fact political moves in the garb of social reform.

The Akali agitation.

Commenting on the arrests of *jathas* at Jaito the *Pioneer* says: Were not the whole course of this preposterous agitation so serious in its unsettling effects on the ignorant mass of the population, such proceedings would of themselves dissolve the movement in a cloud of ridicule? But so marked is the capacity of the revolutionary agitator for depriving his dupes of all pretensions to a sense of humour, that it may be doubted whether rebuffs of this kind will damp his ardour or even permanently discredit him. The *Hamdam* says that the Sikh representatives view with suspicion the intentions of the Government and regard the measures adopted for removing their grievances as quite insufficient. The Punjab Government is showing utter lack of statesmanship and foresight in this affair. The silent curses of thousands of destitute Sikh families, whose bread-winners are in jail, cannot but leave the Government unaffected.

Restoration of Berar.

The *Abhyudaya* says that even if it is admitted that the occupation of Berar by the Government of India was a piece of highhandedness, it is incomprehensible what right the Nizam has to demand its restoration and the Government of India to concede the demand. Are the people of Berar sheep and goats that one Government should sell them or make a gift of them to another? Being human beings it is their birthright that their opinion should be given the first place in arriving at a decision in the matter.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

The *Medina* strongly protests against the hardships and restrictions imposed upon Hasrat Mohani in spite of the Bombay Government's order to treat him as a special prisoner and remarks that it is foolish on the part of the Government to think that by oppressing him it will compel him to apologise. The *Al Khalil* condemns the action of the Bombay Government and remarks that the announcement regarding the treatment of the Maulana as 'a special prisoner' was a sheer falsehood. Writing in a similar strain the *Al Bureed* demands the immediate release of the Maulana to allay the dissatisfaction prevailing among the public and advises the Bombay Government to take notice of the reprehensible action of the Jail Superintendent in imposing hardships and restrictions upon the Maulana.

Muslim Waqf Act.

Mr. Zafar Husain Bilgrami in a signed letter to the *Hamdam* says that the Musalmans of Agra, Etawah, Farrukhabad and Bijnor regard the enforcement of the Muslim Waqf Act as contrary to the wishes of the endowers and against the tenets of Islam. It is calculated to create great unrest in these Provinces and the Government will be well advised to consider the question thoroughly before taking any step. The *Zulqarnain*, which supports the Act, asserts that the trustees of a big Waqf at Allahabad have appointed paid agents to secure the signatures of ignorant Musalmans to the memorial and to organise an opposition to the enforcement of the Act so that the authorities may be influenced by such an unreal agitation.

Cawnpore riot.

Objecting to the use of firearms against the mill-hands the *Al Bashir* lays stress upon the necessity of giving them moral training and remarks that if no attempt is made to ameliorate their condition then the time is not far when they will be the first to imbibe Bolshevik ideas and carry them amongst the agricultural classes. The *Mazdur* of Cawnpore says that if the police had simply stood guard at the Cotton Mills and allowed the labourers to remain seated within the compound no serious consequences would have followed. But the mounted police trampled upon them, provoked them by freely using canes and batons and shot them like beasts on the pretext that they threw stones. It asks as to who is responsible for their massacre and whether Government will do justice by inflicting the severest punishment on their murderers. The *Kartavya* points out that in the official *communiqué* regarding the firing in the Cawnpore Cotton Mills

an attempt has been made to conceal the facts. If the police authorities had been so minded there would have been no bloodshed at all. They did not care for the lives of mill-hands, otherwise they would not have fired above the waist. It is absolutely necessary that a satisfactory explanation should be forthcoming to account for the working of the boilers till midnight if the rumours regarding the disposal of dead bodies by their means are to be contradicted. It is to be hoped that mill-hands will take a lesson from the firing incidents at Cawnpore and Bombay and realise that they cannot prevail against brute force unless they organise themselves into a strong body. The *Desh-Bhakta* writes: At one time even robbers and dacoits considered it unjustifiable to fire upon unarmed people, but now it has come to be the main principle of the bureaucracy to side with the capitalists and to fire upon helpless people, if it serves its own ends. It has become easier now to open fire on the weak and helpless people than to cut turnips and radish to pieces. The strikers were not to blame at all. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* remarks that so long as the officials are not made responsible to the people for their actions and so long as the steel-frame of an alien bureaucracy is there to pat them on the back, such incidents as the Cotton Mill firing will continue to occur. It is the repetition of such incidents which will open the eyes of such of our brethren as are easily led away by the Government's deluding policy.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* remarks that the statement of the head of the Russian delegation at the British Bolshevik Conference is pregnant with solid truth and true Bolshevik spirit. It shows clearly that as long as Britain does not confer freedom on India and other dependent countries there can be no lasting political understanding between Russia and Britian. The *Aj* opines that it is impossible that the British Government will be able to effect any lasting peace with the Soviet Government without accepting in part the Bolshevik principles. The *Mazdur* of Cawnpore publishes a poem invoking Lenin to descend from heaven into India to save the poor cultivators and to overthrow the existing bureaucratic system of Government by means of a peaceful, bloodless and non-violent revolution. Referring to the Bolshevik case at Cawnpore the same paper says that it is altogether impossible for the bureaucracy to suppress Bolshevism. If the arrogant bureaucracy does not give up its absurd ways it shall soon have to shed tears of blood at its misdeeds. Yet in another article the same paper describes the rich as dacoits who suck the blood of the poor and asks them to wake up for their end is near with the awakening of the cultivators and labourers and the rapid spread of Socialism. It says that not only in Europe but in the home of every cultivator and labourer in India children are being reared as future Lenins. There will be an upheaval soon and the end of capitalism and despotism is close by.

Political propaganda.

The *Leader* says: The nationalist movement in India is in essence a protest against the economic exploitation of the country and the system of racial domination that has been, established for facilitating it and it is therefore a reproach and not a credit to British rule A new bi-weekly in Hindi, entitled *Mazdur*, has been started at Cawnpore, which aspires to be a Socialist organ and is an open advocate of the propagation of Bolshevism in India. In announcing its policy the paper says: The *Mazdur* has come into the battlefield. It will raise the battle-cry of Socialism, fearlessly wage a war for the destruction of capitalism and despotism and try to hoist the flag of Socialism in every home of India. In an article headed "There will be revolution within twenty-four hours" the paper welcomes revolution as the sole hope of the poor and to free them from the tyrannical hold of the rich. It says: O Revolution come on, come on without delay. But you should place your bloodstained clothes and arms at the feet of Mahatma Gandhi and come dressed in a white robe. . . . The world will soon witness the day when there will be a revolution within twenty-four hours. In yet another article the same paper describes how labourers in Russia and Germany and England have secured victory against their tyrannical oppressors and tells them that if they were to withdraw their cooperation from the Army which totally depends upon their support, revolution can become a mere plaything for them and all destructive brute force can come to naught. The *Bharat Jiwan* in the course of an invocation to Lord Ram on the occasion of the *Ram Naumi* festival says: Having deluded you O Lord, the foreigners are besmearing your dear country, India, with blood. India loves you because you destroyed Ravan. O destroyer of the wicked! Once more show your wrath. Once more take up arms and behead cruel demons.

Once more make India free of its burden. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* remarks that the recrudescence of the bomb-cult and the appearance of Bolshevism in India are the outcome of the repressive policy of the Government. It is the irresponsible underlings of the bureaucracy who are creating a dangerous situation in the country. The present bureaucracy itself is responsible for creating an atmosphere of violence in the country by destroying the non-violent and peaceful Gandhian atmosphere. The *Vartman* expresses the conviction that Indians have no right to demand *swaraj* until they have cultivated a martial spirit along with the spirit of non-violence.

NAINI TAL:
The 26th April, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 17 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 3rd May, 1924.

The British Budget.

According to the *Pioneer*, the first budget of the Labour Government contains no surprises and no sensations. The financial position disclosed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a remarkable tribute to the reproductive power of the British people and to the patience of the tax-payer under the heavy burden which has been laid upon his shoulders. The budget is essentially a free-trade budget. The *Leader* says that the Labour Government's budget is a free-trade and a poor man's budget. The Government deserves to be warmly congratulated on producing a poor man's budget without sacrificing the principles of sound finance. In commenting upon the substantial reductions in taxation, the paper sorrowfully remarks: In India there has been no corresponding relief from taxation, although the people of this country, owing to their extreme poverty, are far less able to bear a heavy incidence of taxation than those of England. With regard to Mr. Snowden's remarks about Imperial preference, the paper says that the announcement of policy will come as a disappointment to some of the Dominions, but so far as India is concerned it will be welcome.

The Labour Government.

The *Haqiqat* regrets that so soon after coming into power the Labour Government has begun to ignore its programme and promises and warns it that credit once lost cannot be regained by a policy of mere coaxing. The *Najat* remarks that the Labour Government has sacrificed all its promises to appease its opponents and that the Indians have only disappointment and failure awaiting them if they still rely on others. Commenting on the statement made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party, that Indians should trust the Labour Government, the *Aj* remarks that India is prepared to trust the Labour Government, but where is the room for trust? Even during the régime of the Labour Government Indians are being indiscriminately arrested, Indian labourers were shot down at Bombay and Cawnpore and at Jaito fire was opened upon unarmed Indians. How can Indians trust the Labour Government when the bureaucracy is getting more and more irresponsible every day.

The Khilafat.

The *Al Bashir* says that at a time when the Angora Assembly has cancelled even the small pension given to the Khalifa and while he is living in exile as a beggar, it is a matter of great shame for the Indian Musalmans to content themselves with a mere recital of the Khalifa's name in Friday sermons. If they have any sense of shame left in them, the Muṣalmans of India and the Khilafat Committee should defray the expenses of their Khalifa. Protesting against Sharif Husain's claim to the Khilafat the *Medina* remarks: Islam is as much indebted for its downfall to its enemies as to its own friends. If Christianity produced Gladstone, Lloyd George, Curzon, Balfour and Churchill to annihilate Islam then there were enemies even within the house of Islam itself who were equally responsible for its destruction. The *Haqiqat* reproduces from the *Aman Afghan* of Afghanistan an article stating that the Turks by their short-sighted action have antagonised the Muslim world for which they will have to repent for ever. They should revise their decision at the Islamic Conference, restore the Khilafat and save the Muslim world from misery and disruption. The *Hamdam* says that if the Musalmans were organised the Government would not have dared to refuse passports to the deputation. The abolition of Khilafat will prove a blessing to us if it results in creating a determination among the Musalmans to organise themselves.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Leader* justifies the non-payment of poll-tax by Mr. Joshi in Mombasa and says: Were the policy of the Local Government helpful, the Indians would probably not have taken to non-payment of one of the taxes as they have done. But instead of aiding in bringing about reconciliation and harmony and making a genuine attempt to adjust the political relations and interests of the two communities, what the

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Local Government under successive Governors has done is to constitute itself the champion of European interests. It is the despair of ever-expecting justice at the hands of the Local Government that has led Indians to take this extreme step to vindicate their position as equal subjects of His Majesty. Protesting against the Class Areas Bill the *Medina* remarks that the white settlers cannot tolerate to see the progress of the Indians who are punished and segregated from the white population for the simple fault of their claiming equality. When they could not oppose Indians by just and equitable means they began to impose restrictions upon them. The *Hamdam* writes: We are not allowed to pass our days peacefully within "our own Empire." We are oppressed and humiliated in the Colonies but we receive the kicks silently like slaves. If we shed tears, heave sighs and raise protests we are branded as agitators and brewers of racial hatred and are confined in jails.

The British Empire Exhibition.

Referring to the comments of the extremist press, the *Pioneer* says: The refusal to recognise that the Exhibition has enabled India to give a wonderful advertisement of her resources, industries and crafts, is particularly perverse at a time when the encouragement of Indian industries is so specially urged upon the Government. The *Aj* asserts that India has no part in the British Empire Exhibition, although nominally a few representatives from India who are virtually the representatives of the British Government in India have joined it. How can India find a place in the Exhibition when she is a slave of the Empire? At the very outset the Exhibition was opened by the singing of the national song. Britain may rule the waves and make others slaves, but why should it be declared that the British Empire is a League of various nations on the basis of equality and fraternity? We should recognise our true position and refrain from making our slavery look more humiliating by participation in such functions as the British Empire Exhibition.

Muslim deputation to Angora.

The *Hamdam* resents the restrictions imposed by the Government which in its opinion amount to a refusal to grant passports and remarks that Great Britain is bent upon bringing about the disintegration and dismemberment of Islam. The *Medina* describes the Government action as a clear interference in religious matters and remarks that Great Britain which has always a hand in all the unrest and excitement created in the Muslim world, will be responsible for the difficulties which the Muslim world will face in future, and the dangerous consequences of refusing to grant passports will be attributed to the Government of India. The *Mashriq* is, on the other hand, gratified that Government by refusing to grant passports to the deputation has done a great favour to the Musalmans as lakhs of rupees would have been wasted on the journey. The *Aligarh Gazette* asserts that the deputation has in view some secret object harmful to India. The people should be thankful to Government that by refusing to grant passports it has to a certain extent saved India from a colossal conspiracy which the enemies of Islam were hatching. The *Aj* says that it is a gross injustice to refuse passports to the Angora deputation. By keeping the right of granting or refusing passports in its own hands the Government has in a way imprisoned all Indians within the country. No condemnation of this atrocity on the part of the Government can be too severe.

Constitutional advance.

The *Pioneer* says: If the achievements of the Legislatures during the past three years are cautiously examined it will be seen that the Reforms have not failed where they have been worked in the spirit in which they were devised. Were a Royal Commission now appointed the data upon which it would have to work would be scanty, the little available being calculated to demolish rather than to strengthen the claims put forward by Liberals and *Swarajists* alike. The real remedy lies in a favourable examination and reconsideration of their attitude by the representatives of the limited electorates in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. They must not shirk the issue, but facing it squarely they must realise that the failure of the Reforms, if it ultimately comes to be an admitted and accepted fact, means their own failure as exponents of India's ability to proceed to democratic self-government. The *Advocate* says: The *Swarajists* offered not only to clear up misunderstandings but even to co-operate in a round table conference, but the Government has disdainfully recoiled from the idea of grasping the proferred hand. If misunderstandings still exist the *Swarajists* are not to blame.

The *Aj* condemns the memorandum submitted by the European Association of Calcutta to the Secretary of State for India protesting against the grant of further Reforms to India and remarks that whatever the Association might say or in whatever light it might explain the position to the Secretary of State, the Indian public is certainly not satisfied with the bureaucracy. It is as clear as daylight that Indians want *swaraj* and their efforts to attain it will ever continue. The *Vartman* says that the memorandum is full of mean and unfounded attacks against the *Swaraj* party and its leader Mr. C. R. Das. The wrath of the European Association is concentrated on the *Swaraj* party but it should know that not only Mr. C. R. Das and other *Swarajist* leaders but every Indian nationalist is at present a votary of revolution and freedom. Indians have begun to recognise the truth that no nation ever won freedom without revolution. The *Shakti* points out that the demand of the *Swarajists* for a round table conference was rejected simply because the Moderates opposed it and presented a separate demand for a Royal Commission and urges that all political parties should sink their differences and combine to present a united demand and make all possible sacrifices for liberty; otherwise the attainment of *swaraj* is impossible.

Satyagraha at Vaikom.

The *Leader* disapproves the tactics adopted by non-cooperators at Vaikom and says: Their method is in essence the method of coercion, of compulsion and of force, and is calculated to stiffen and not weaken opposition. It is anti-democratic, because it seeks to achieve its object not by persuasion, nor by education, but by the display of a spirit of intolerance and domination. The *Pioneer* also disapproves of the attitude of the passive resisters and says: What is wanted is "a change of heart" among the caste Hindus, and a great deal of solid educative work will have to be undertaken before this can be brought about and inveterate prejudice sanctified under the cloak of religion be swept away by the influx of progressive and democratic ideas. The *Advocate* says that the sympathy of all India is with the *satyagrahis* and hopes that the Travancore Durbar as well as the caste Hindus of Vaikom will see the justice of the claim and allow the use of the public road in question to the suppressed classes also. The *Oudh Akhbar* resents the *Pioneer's* attempt to make the State authorities to stick to their present policy and hopes that the latter will not ignore a universal principle of humanity under the influence of the unlawful threats of an obstinate class. The *Arya Mitra* urges that every thinking Indian should express full sympathy with the *satyagraha* of the untouchables at Vaikom and that the Arya Samajists in particular should support it and condemn the interference of the authorities in the matter.

The Tariff Board Report.

The *Pioneer* says that the proposals of the Tariff Board would definitely commit the Government and the Legislature, so far as the steel industry is concerned, to a policy of protection for an indefinite period. Their proposals mean that the needs or claims of the producers alone are to be taken into consideration at the end of the triennial period; the consumers' interests, no matter how seriously they may be affected by the tariff, will be regarded as of secondary importance and will probably be ignored as conflicting with the pledge of continuity of policy which it is proposed to give to the manufacturer. If India were a genuine democracy in which the masses had the same political power and the same political intelligence as they have in Great Britain it is safe to assume that protection would stand as little chance of acceptance in the one country as in the other. The *Leader* says that the report is a very ably written document and bears evidence of the great care and thought bestowed on the thorough examination of the complicated question in a spirit of impartiality not unmixed with caution. The Tariff Board has done its duty and it is hoped that there will be no further delay in embodying the recommendations of the Board in a Tariff Bill which would be passed during the next session of the Indian Legislature. One of the major causes of the growing distrust between the Government and the people is the impression that in matters of industrial development the former is more or less an agent of British industrialists and capitalists and that under the existing system the economic emancipation of the country is impossible. Considering the rich deposits of iron-ore in the country, the paper hopes that the adequate protection of the steel industry will in a short time lead to the establishment of more firms of the magnitude of Tata's. According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, caution appears to be the watchword of the Tariff Board recommendations, which the paper considers are not extravagant. If Simla does not go as

far as the Tariff Board, public disappointment will be acute. The *Independence* says: Without a tariff wall, the Tata steel undertaking will fall to the ground and the hand of the clock of industrial development set back by 20 years at least. But the collapse of the Tata industrial enterprise will give another opportunity to the patriotic agitators to place before the public the industrial policy of the Government which cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. It urges that effect should be given to the recommendations of the Tariff Board. That is the least that the Government can do as a penance for their past policy and panacea for future troubles. The *Hamdam* expresses its satisfaction that the Government is desirous of protecting the steel industry and hopes that not merely the Tata Company will be patronised but smaller capitalists will also be given a chance. It suggests that protective tariff should be levied on textiles also so that the poor weavers of the country may be able to reap adequately the fruits of their labour.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Hindustan Times* asserts that owing to the present weak position of the Musalmans in India the premature advent of *swaraj* will militate against the interests of Musalmans and jeopardise their national existence and that even a partial withdrawal of the British influence at this juncture would prove a serious menace to India's future prosperity. The *Kartavya* opines that the Hindu public will not accept the mandate of Mahatma Gandhi if he will ask it to favour the Muhammadans at its own expense at the proposed Hindu-Muslim Conference. Unless the Muhammadans change their heart and give precedence to national interests the struggle for *swaraj* cannot be pushed forward. The *Arya Mitra* urges that in deliberating upon the Hindu-Muslim problem the conference should attach the same importance to Hindu religious sentiments as to those of the Muhammadans, that no pact should be framed permitting cow-slaughter or stopping music in temples; that the decisions of the Congress should be so practicable as to be acceptable to the masses and that the Hindu *sangathan* movement should by no means be stopped.

The Akali agitation.

The *Oudh Akhbar* approves the appointment of Sir William Birdwood as the president of the Committee and remarks that the Sikh community will be well advised to send its best representatives to ensure a satisfactory law for the management of their *Gurdwaras*. The *Haqiqat* advises the Government to give up its policy of ruthless repression so that the fire of unrest and agitation prevailing in the country for years may be quenched and the people may live in peace. The *Aj* points out that the statement of an impartial individual like Mr. Zimand on the firing on the first Shahidi *jatha* clearly exposes the falsity of the Government *communiqués* on the subject. It may be noted that Mr. Zimand had previously stated on oath to the District Magistrate of Lahore all the facts that now appear in his statement and yet his evidence was ignored and all blame was thrown at the *jatha* and the murderers were eloquently praised.

Muslim Waqf Act.

Mirza Irfan Ali Beg writing to the *Agra Akhbar* says that the Musalmans of Agra desire the enforcement of Waqf Act in these provinces as it will save the trustees from unnecessary suspicions entertained against them and will cause the endowments to be managed properly. The *Hind Jadid* of Jaunpur exhorts the people of its district to raise a strong voice in favour of the enforcement of the Waqf Act in these provinces. The *Hamdam* has received a *fatwa* of Maulana Abdul Kafi of Madrasa Subhania, Allahabad, in which the proposed Waqf Act has been declared contrary to religion.

"Raja" Mahendra Pratap.

The *Tohfa-i-Hind* publishes a letter of "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in which he writes:—"The British Government through my relations conveyed to me the message that if I wanted to come back to India the Viceroy would grant me a pardon. But I cannot leave the work unfinished though I may die in the attempt. If I am arrested I shall die the death of Christ. I am at war with the English as long as they are in India and it is impossible for me to live under such a cruel Government." The *Masur* reproduces another letter from the *Pratap* in which it is remarked:—Kabul is the arena of conflict among Russia, England and Muslim countries. Already in the last month the English politics had to suffer discomfiture and the Afghan and Russian ideals triumphed.

The Begum of Bhopal.

The *Arya Mitra* says that the recent order of the Begum of Bhopal penalising renegation from Islam by three years' rigorous imprisonment and fine is a direct negation of religious liberty in the Bhopal State and asks whether the Muhammadans will raise

their voice of protest against such an improper, unnecessary and mischevious order specially when they are so susceptible of religious intervention on the part of the Hindu princes.

Labourers and kisans.

The *Mazdur* publishes an article headed "An open challenge to Lord Reading on behalf of labourers" in which the Viceroy is reminded that although he made loud professions of dealing justice to Indians at the time of his advent into India he indulged in repression as much as his predecessor. With the coming of the Labour Government into power it was expected that justice will be done to Indian labourers but instead they are being made victims of bullets. If the labourers are given their rights as early as possible they will have to be killed in thousands of places and yet it will be impossible to withhold their rights. The *Bhavishya* says that the existing system of government is no good when the *kisans* suffer innumerable miseries. If the *kisans* were educated and knew their interests foreign traders and such of the Indian traders as play the traitor to their country would not have been able to export grain, which is the staple food of the country, to foreign countries and India would not have become impoverished. The paper exhorts young men to visit the villages and educate and awaken the *kisans*. The *Haldhar* says that the bureaucracy which is run by the earnings of the peasants tries to devour them, and if they heave a sigh machine-guns are levelled at them, fire is opened, unarmed persons are killed and finally they alone are held guilty and sent to jails to grind at the wheel by the Government which is called their *Ma bap*. For the emancipation of *kisans* and for the redress of their grievances it is necessary to free India from foreign domination.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* asserts that the victory of the Bolsheviks in the year 1917 has proclaimed to the entire world that the labourers have full "legal" right to destroy the capitalistic governments by swords and revolvers and to realise themselves full compensation for their labour. Every labourer whether he has heard the name of Bolshevism or not has on his lips nothing but the bitterest words for the rich and the severest abuses for the Government. This is the self-originating plague of Bolshevism which is firmly spreading to all the four directions and the sixteen corners of the world.

Cawnpore riot.

The *Pioneer* says that the report issued by the District Magistrate of Cawnpore on the circumstances attending the riot at Cawnpore Cotton Mills will strike any unbiassed reader as a singularly lucid and comprehensive document. The *Independence* without commenting on the report asks if it would not have been better if instead of a purely official enquiry a mixed committee of officials and non-officials had gone into the unfortunate question. The *Advocate* calls it a white-washing report and says: The public has had so many instances of this kind that it seemed a foregone conclusion that the official report would justify the police firing *in toto*. One can read between the lines of the report the eagerness on the part of the District Magistrate to justify the action of the police in opening fire. The paper hopes that in the interests of the fair name of the Government Sir William Marris will not allow the matter to rest where it is, but will take further steps to make police officials in similar circumstances more considerate of the lives of poor unarmed men. The *Indian World* of Cawnpore says: Prominent headlines appear in different papers about the murder of a British Corporal by two Egyptian natives and sensation is felt in every British heart. But when inopportune shooting was the cause of the murder of a few innocent lives at Cawnpore the other day, matters seem to have been hushed up without much ado. Men who were responsible for the crime are reigning gloriously on their respective *gaddis* and we doubt not are preparing themselves for another flight of their murderous fancy. What a contrast! The *Hamdard* justifies the action taken by the authorities and requests the District Magistrate to institute an official enquiry to find out how far the police had transgressed the limit. The Government should not only release the arrested millhands but should also persuade the employer to re-employ them. The *Azad* asserts that the British India Corporation is morally bound to render adequate relief to the families of the persons killed and wounded in the disturbance and requests the Government to release the arrested persons at once.

Political propaganda.

In a lengthy article the *Hind-i-Jadid* compares the British rule with that of Ravan and the Ali brothers with Rama and Lachhman who saved the world from the tyrannies

of Ravan. The *Aj* is against foreign propaganda, remarking that no nation of the world is free of imperialism and that it is impossible that America or France or Japan can influence England to confer freedom on India when they themselves are committing atrocities upon and perpetuating the slavery of their dependent countries. One Mahtab Singh Varma writing in the *Desh-Bhakta* says:—"If I had the least authority in the world to have so much power that I could kill tyrants, I would have felt no hesitation in killing first of all those tyrannical brethren of my own who oppress their own countrymen, but unfortunately I have neither and hence keep quiet consoling my conscience." The *Aj* remarks that the repeated firing on Indians by the bureaucracy shows that it attaches no value to the lives of Indians and has no other means of ruling India than bullets and that Indians too have no fear of bullets, guns and cannons in asserting their rights. It is also indicative of the growing weakness of the bureaucracy. Both the growing weakness of the bureaucracy and the assertion of their rights by Indians are happy signs for the country. The *Vartman* says that in no other part of the world (except India) we may find such people as will give twenty-five crores of rupees annually to the Government to help it in its military administration when their average income per head is barely thirty rupees. It is from this money that machine-guns are purchased with which they are shot down as at Jallianwala Bagh and again it is from this money that General Dyer, the man who shot them, receives his pension.

A new weekly in Hindi entitled *Haldhar* has been started at Etawah to awaken the *kisans* and prepare them for a revolution which will be accomplished through non-violent *satyagraha* of a mass character. Its main objects are to spread political education among villagers, and make them fearless *satyagrahi* citizens, to remove untouchability and strengthen the Hindu-Muslim unity, to teach the cultivators the best way of exercising their franchise and to promote their interest in the Congress.

NAINI TAL:
The 3rd May, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 18 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 10th May, 1924.

The Indian debate in Parliament.

THE *Abhyudaya* remarks that the recent debate in the House of Commons has exposed the bureaucracy in its nakedness and has conclusively proved that during the régime of the Labour Party also the policy of England towards India will be the same as has been advocated from time to time by Viscount Curzon, Lord Peel, Earl Winterton and Sir Malcolm Hailey. It seems to be a settled fact that it is Simla and not Whitehall which is deciding the policy to be followed in regard to India.

The Khilafat.

The *Haqiqat* opines that despite all his propaganda Musalmans will not recognise Sharif Husain as the Khalifa unless he makes proper atonement for his past misdeeds and thoroughly removes the suspicions which the Musalmans entertain against him. The paper expresses surprise that the Jammait-ul-Ulema has not yet convened any conference to decide the question and has not given any lead to the Indian Musalmans. The *Medina* refutes the claims of Sharif Husain to the Khilafat and says that he is not only a slave himself but an agent of Britain for enslaving the whole of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. Imam Yehia and the Sultan of Najd will commit a great political blunder if they leave him alone. If the internal politics of Arabia are in a disturbed condition the Khilafat of the Sharif cannot be successful even in Arabia itself despite any support from Britain. The same paper apprehends that the conference of the Muslim world to be held in Cairo to decide the future of the Khilafat will never be allowed to discharge its religious duties and obligations unhampered. It is idle to expect that the Musalmans who were not allowed to proceed to Angora will be permitted to take part in the Cairo conference. It describes the refusal of passports to the Angora deputation as a clear interference in religious matters and says that no Musalman can tolerate such repression. The *Dilchasp* takes the Turks to task for ignoring all the services rendered to them by Indian Musalmans and emphasises that they have never shown any sympathy with the Muslims of India and other countries. Neither have they done any service to Islam. They themselves are responsible for their downfall.

Anglo-Iraq Treaty.

The *Mansur* infers from the reports received that the enlightened and educated people of Iraq are opposed to the Anglo-Iraq agreement. The people of Iraq must have realised by now that all the hopes of freedom offered to them by Britain were false. Britain wanted to transfer them from the control of Turkey to its own slavery. Now that it has succeeded in its designs it tramples down the national sentiments of the people, but the spirit of freedom awakened among them cannot be suppressed. The *Al Bashir* opines that Britain will support Sharif Husain in case a tribal warfare breaks out in Arabia. It warns the Arabs against civil strife which will only weaken them and strengthen the enemies of Islam and their hold on the Jazirat-ul-Arab. It points out that so long as Sharif Husain and his dynasty continue in power, the Arabs who have not known peace and tranquillity since the withdrawal of the Turkish control can never be liberated.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Satyagraha* remarks: If the Indians are not welcome to the purse-proud and power-blind Europeans, let us devote our attention to Asia. It is therefore a very good move of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore to pay a friendly visit to China. Both China and Japan and India have a good deal in common and have a great future before them. Every near approachment and understanding between the people of these countries will help the future development of the world on the ideals of the East. The *Medina* prays for the success of the campaign of non-payment of poll-tax started by the Indians of Kenya and says that so long as the curse of slavery lies on India justice cannot be expected for her.

3 JUN. 19[illegible]
INDIA OFFI[illegible]

Constitutional advance.

Commenting on the administration of the Municipalities in Bengal the *Pioneer* remarks: The municipal boards are now entirely in the hands of Indians, and many of them have a majority of non-cooperators. Yet they have become a bye-word for inefficiency. Presumably the self-same causes would operate in the Provincial and Imperial Legislatures if complete *swaraj* were attained. The case for an immediate constitutional advance is certainly not strengthened by the results of municipal *swaraj* which are only too patent to all who have the misfortune to live under its jurisdiction. The *Leader* disapproves of the veil of secrecy over the Government of India inquiry into the deficiencies of the Government of India Act and asks: Why should the Government of India conduct their own inquiry in secret and why should the *personnel* be exclusively official? Do the Government of India fondly believe that the presence on the committee of two Indian members of the Executive Council constitutes a true or an adequate representation of Indian opinion? Two or three non-official Indians ought certainly to be put on the committee in order that it may be taken seriously by the public and that it may accomplish useful work. It also suggests that one *Swarajist* leader should be invited to serve on the committee. The paper concludes the article in the following words: Even a self-sufficient bureaucracy, satisfied with its own conceit, can afford to avoid the superfluous mistake of wantonly increasing distrust and discontent. The *Najat* says that the memorandum of the European Association of Calcutta to the Secretary of State misinterprets the present situation in India and thereby amounts to an open treachery of the Europeans against the Indians. The *Swadesh* ridicules the arguments urged by the European Association of Calcutta against further Reforms in India and remarks that the country wants *swaraj* and that it will not rest without attaining it despite any amount of interested clamour on the part of Europeans. It sarcastically remarks that the Europeans are surely the representatives of the mute Indian masses, when their only aim in life appears to be self-indulgence and the vilification of the *Swarajists*.

Satyagraha at Vaikom.

In a leading article the *Pioneer* opines that the collapse of the movement at Vaikom seems to be only a question of time and says the only practical result of this bloody agitation hitherto has been to intensify the feeling of caste Hindus in southern India against any concessions to those whom they regard as scarcely within the pale of humanity. Much patient and arduous educational work will be necessary before the pride of the Hindu Pharisee, who daily thanks his gods that he is not as those degraded untouchables, can be overthrown. The *Hamdam* expresses satisfaction that the Travancore State authorities are not perpetrating such atrocities on the *Satyagrahis* as are the lot of political prisoners in the British India and that as a result of such sympathetic treatment the *satyagraha* campaign is going on peacefully. The paper takes Swami Shraddhanand to task for not participating in the campaign despite his pledge to devote the rest of his life to uplifting the untouchables.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Najat* condemns the Hindu *sangathan* movement as harmful to Hindu-Muslim unity and says that if the Hindu leaders will not put a stop to this organisation, other communities will adopt counter-measures with the result that the struggle for national freedom will be pushed back and the country will be confronted with a danger the mere sight of which will be worse than death. The *Hamdard* expresses disagreement with the views of its contemporary the *Hamdam* that the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements should be abandoned as interfering with Hindu-Muslim unity and points out that the Hindus are in every way justified to propagate their religion and strengthen their community just as the Muhammadans are at liberty to exercise similar rights.

The Tariff Board report.

The *Medina* hopes that the report of the Tariff Board will be accepted and India will get an opportunity to work up its industrial resources successfully. It thinks that for some time the Indians will be confronted with difficulties, but ultimately they will have a well established steel industry in the country and will be freed from the clutches of foreigners. The *Garhwali* approves of the recommendations of the Tariff Board and expresses the hope that the Government accept and give effect to them.

Restoration of Berar.

One Mr. Sakhawat Husain writing in the *Hamdam* justifies the demand of the Nizam for the restoration of Berar and condemns the Congress Committee of Berar for protesting against it. He urges that in order to counteract the effect of such an action some eminent Congress leader should express his views on the question in a responsible manner.

The Liberal Conference.

The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the small attendance at the United Provinces Liberal Conference shows what confidence of the Indian public the Liberals enjoy. The presidential address and almost all the speeches that were made on that occasion were marred by mendicant mentality and by unjustifiable attacks on the *Swarajists* or the non-cooperators. It is, however, satisfactory to note that the President urged the immediate revision of the Reforms. The *Hamdard* opines that there was nothing new and suggestive in the presidential address at the Liberal Conference which only echoed the oft-repeated views of the Liberal leaders. It, however, pays a tribute to the Liberal policy and holds the attacks of the President against the council activities of the *Swarajists* to be justifiable.

The Swarajists and Liberals.

The *Leader* remarks: It is a pity that, thanks to the *Swarajists*, the Legislative Council now knows only a Sita Ram without his brave zealous colleagues of the old Council, and instead, is filled with ignorant men, indifferent men, inexperienced men, and perverse men. In another article the paper deplores the lack of earnest workers among the Liberals and asks the leaders of the Liberal Party how any political party anywhere in the world can hope to prosper if some of the men at the top, who expect to be recognised and followed, are to be so fatally apathetic as Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad and some other Indian Liberal leaders notoriously are. If no one of them will do anything active, if none of them gives practical proof that he realises that the conditions of public life and public work have enormously changed since its younger days and that political dilettantism is in these strenuous times only an euphemism for political suicide, why then the party is doomed and not all the statesmanship of its leaders will save it from ruin. The *Kartavya* says that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's encouraging words to Indians at the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party are the outcome of the *Swarajists'* activities in the Assembly and the Central Provinces Council. It asks the *Swarajists* to prepare the people to refuse the payment of the taxes which have been rejected in the Assembly if they want to accelerate the attainment of *swaraj*.

Bolshevism.

The *Mazdoor* remarks that the recognition of the Soviet Government by England after so many efforts to bring about its destruction and the convening of the British Bolshevik conference in London for the restoration of friendly relations between the two Powers, are equivalent to licking the expectorated saliva. The *Haldhar* insinuates that the condition of the British Premier that the Soviet Government should not carry on seditious propaganda in the British Empire mainly referred to India and remarks that sedition in India does not owe its origin to any outside propaganda. The present unrest in India is the result of the deprivation of the wealth and the rights of the Indians by the bureaucracy. As long as the aspirations of Indians are not met, any treaty with the Soviet Government will not be of any material help to Britain. The *Vartman* remarks that there is nothing appalling in the principles of Bolshevism. The inhabitants of every country may call themselves Bolsheviks and propagate the Bolshevik doctrines. It is not necessary that the establishment of a Bolshevik system of Government should involve bloodshed. Those who want to deprive the labourers of these rights of citizenship even in the present era of democracy are but respectable-looking burglars. In another article the same paper describes Bolshevism as a quiet and a peaceful organisation and remarks that its principles are so noble and grand that the best Parliamentary or Republican States appear to be a poor apology for Government as compared with it. In yet another article the same paper holds that the capitalistic Governments are themselves compelling the labourers to adopt Bolshevism and says that the labourers have begun to worship Bolshevism in order to destroy the inequality that exists between them.

Mr. C. R. Das' election.

The *Aj* remarks that to those who knew the official attitude in regard to Mr. C. R. Das' election to the Bengal Council it was a foregone conclusion that this election would be set aside by the election Commissioners. But the decision of the Commissioners in itself is not so important as is the fact that the date for the bye-election has been fixed late in June. The diplomatic move underlying it is that Mr. C. R. Das

may not be able to oppose the supplementary budget grants which will come before the Council in May. But it has to be seen how far the bureaucracy of Bengal succeeds in its designs.

The Cawnpore riot.

The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that contrary to all expectations attempts have been made in the lengthy report of the District Magistrate to justify the action of the police and the Magistrate. It refuses to believe the assertion made in the report that the strikers were helped by Bolshevik agents. The report will not satisfy the public, as it is based on the evidence of unreliable witnesses to the exclusion of that of influential persons of the city. The *Mazdoor* considers it a false hope to expect that justice will be done in the matter of the Cotton Mills firing incident. If Government wants to ascertain true facts and to do justice it should, suggests the paper, remove all the officials and men concerned in the massacre and order an impartial enquiry into the matter.

Political propaganda.

One Thakur Chandan Singh writing in the *Satyagraha* (Dehra Dun) says: India is situated between the Devil and the deep sea. Between the heavy mills of her own depravity and incapacity below and of crushing foreign exploitation above, the hopes of our children and of our posterity seem lost in despair. Anarchy with independence is sometimes preferable to peace with ruin. Life without liberty and livelihood is no better than death. What is the lot of us, men and women of India? Crawling orders and gradual extinction at home and blood-curdling humiliations and indignities all the world over. The *Najat* publishes a contributed article which says:—The establishment of (friendly) relations between England and Russia will prove harmful to the internal affairs of India. Britain will become strong enough to suppress all our movements and difficulties will arise in the attainment of *swaraj*. Britain will have no opponent left in Europe and will be able to move its white forces easily against India. Britain will come to realise the value of India's friendship, if on the contrary any other Power in alliance with Russia challenges it in Asia. The *Aj* ridicules the idea of some of the Indian politicians that a complete Indianisation of services would mean *swaraj* and remarks that as long as the real power is in the hands of aliens we cannot have *swaraj* even if each and every post in the public services is held by the Indians. On the other hand such an arrangement will tighten rather than loosen the fetters of India's dependence because by it the bureaucracy will get so many Indians as slaves to torture their own brethren. Under an Indian Republic we have *swaraj* even if all the officials in the public services are aliens and under the British bureaucratic system of administration we have dependence even if all those officials are Indians. In another article the same paper remarks that perhaps no other country in the world than India has greater need to bear in mind the just principle of Mr. Hitler, the popular German leader, that "disloyalty to Government or the violation of its laws is no offence but treachery to country is a heinous crime." Those who are fond of ruling others or those who think it their duty to bow their heads to Government may see in Mr. Hitler's principle a gunpowder magazine of sedition and violence but to those whose sole concern is to do good to their country it is a wholesome homily on their duties. The *Bhavishya* remarks that the lack of political education and organisation among the *kisans* who constitute two-thirds of the Indian population is the main obstacle in the way of the attainment of *swaraj*. If the *kisans* are strongly organised and political education is spread among them the attainment of freedom will be greatly accelerated because the *kisans* are the pillars of the Indian nation. The *Desh-Bhakta* says that thousands of non-cooperators in India believe in non-violent non-cooperation as a policy. They are votaries of non-violence, but hold bloodshed as indispensable for the liberation of the country. They realise that if non-violent non-cooperation secures them their desired object—*swaraj*, it is no good having resort to the last reprehensible resource of bloodshed. The day is still far off when they will have to decide whether they choose the sword or the Parliament for their emancipation. In another article the same paper writes:—The lap of the most holy motherland is blessed only when its children cheerfully sacrifice their dear lives and thereby attain true salvation. Do those who suck the blood of helpless children (of the motherland) by oppressing them enjoy a peaceful sleep? Those ungrateful people who interfere with the liberty of a country are like treacherous demons.

NAINI TAL:
The 10th May, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 19 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 17th May, 1924.

The Khilafat.

KHWAJA BASHIR AHMAD KHAN writing in the *Hamdam* challenges the authority of the Indian Musalmans to criticise and condemn the decision of the Angora Assembly and remarks that the Indian Musalmans on account of their slavish mentality and ignorance cannot realise the simple fact that by opposing the Turks they are doing no service to Islam. The delicacy and the importance of the questions do not admit of even the slightest protest being raised against the Turks. The Musalmans of India who never acknowledged Sultan Abdul Majid Khan as their Khalifa and who helped Great Britain against Turkey in destroying the institution of Khilafat have no right now to condemn the action of the Turks. Referring to the Sharif's proclamation at the time of his entry into the Great War the *Haqiqat* remarks: This rebellious action of the Sharif at a time when the Musalmans were sacrificing their lives to preserve the prestige of Islam was extremely reprehensible. His revolt against the Turkish Empire was unpardonable as at the time it was the duty of every true believer to ignore the defects and shortcomings of the Turks and to oppose their enemies to the best of his might.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Pioneer* is hopeful of good results from the labours of the Colonies Committee and regrets the efforts of some Indian journals to deprecate the *personnel* of the committee, but it hopes that such an attitude would not deter the committee from giving their whole-hearted attention to the problems with which they have to deal. It is by negotiation and consultation rather than by rhetorical press and platform campaigns that India can consolidate her position. On the other hand, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Those who cherish the belief that the Indian Colonies Committee, which has been sent to England at the expense of the Indian tax-payer, will be able to bring about any real betterment in the status and treatment of Indians in South Africa or Kenya, will, we are afraid before long, be sadly disillusioned. It believes that the colour bar will remain in spite of all efforts to make concessions and hopes that a self-governing India and the advancement in education of the African will in time destroy all barriers based on selfish and illogical pretensions.

Constitutional advance.

The *Leader* quotes extensively from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's book "The Government of India" and urges the acceleration of Reforms in order to establish self-government in India. It is not satisfied that the bureaucracy has given the Reforms the support they deserved and asserts that everything possible was done to dilute Mr. Montagu's generous conception with Tory and bureaucratic reluctance, jealousy and suspicion. And after Mr. Montagu himself was martyred, the spirit in which it is done has also undergone a material deterioration and a "niggling frame of mind" has been inscribed on the portals of Government Houses and Secretariats. In a sense and in a way, Government have been engaged since 1922 in explaining away the promises and wriggling out of the commitments of 1921. For proof of this no one need travel beyond the United Provinces. The spirit of administration is what it was: haughty and aloof, exclusive and suspicious, autocratic and bureaucratic. Far from the Government and the people regarding each other more, they trust each other less. There can be but one end to all this: Self-government. To deny it is impossible. Therefore, to delay it is unwise. To that end ought all wise men to work, and every obstacle must be swept away. Referring to the Reforms Inquiry the paper insists that this first stage of the inquiry should be merged in the second that is indicated in a recent announcement. Forthwith the scope of the committee should be extended so as to comprehend the whole subject of amendment of the rules so as to effectuate all the advance that is possible under the present Act and further to indicate the nature of and the extent to which the committee are prepared to recommend a revision of the constitution by an amendment of the Act itself. It goes without saying that the constitution of the committee itself should be reformed so as to bring in a strong element of competent and representative non-official Indians. The *Pioneer* says: Those who are clamouring for an immediate

constitutional advance towards the ultimate goal of complete self-government in the Provincial and Central Governments would do well to pause awhile and consider the actual results of self-government in a field in which it has been already attained. Commenting on the Albert Hall speech of Mr. Baldwin the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: There is nothing to choose between the views expressed in this and that of the notorious 'steel frame' speech of Mr. Lloyd George, except that the latter being a Liberal showed a less vein of reactionary spirit. Whatever it is, we can only say that any reactionary spirit under the specious mask of incapacity of India will only serve to complicate the situation still further. It urges that India should immediately be placed on the safe road to Dominion status. And unless some forward step is taken without further delay in right earnest it is afraid the Government may find it too difficult to restore the confidence that has been almost lost. Let us sincerely hope that England will not create such a situation here as she did in Ireland by her obstinacy. Commenting upon the Committee of Inquiry into the Government of India Act the *Hamdam* remarks that those who have closely studied Lord Reading's régime and the mentality of the officials at Simla can well understand the nature of the committee and anticipate the value and importance of its recommendations. The Government of India Act as amended by official committees will as well fail in commanding popularity as did the Act itself. In another article the same paper criticising the speech of Mr. F. F. James at the meeting of the European Association remarks that the Government has no power to guarantee the retention of a sufficient number of Europeans in the public services. The Ministers of Government may brag ever so much but no nation can rule another for long when once the feeling of self-respect has been aroused in the latter. The *Oudh Akhbar* is dissatisfied at the secrecy enveloping the Reforms Inquiry and regrets that the committee is only a departmental one and is absolutely devoid of non-official element. The Indian public can never be satisfied with the result of such inquiry. The *Haqiqat* is at a loss to understand the policy of the Government and the utility of holding the sessions of the committee *in camera*. It has little hope of any improvement being effected in the Government of India Act and remarks that as long as there is a lack of harmony and unity among the different sections of politicians and communities in India the period of ten years fixed by the Government to revise the Reforms should be regarded as unalterable.

Vaikom Satyagraha.

The *Hamdam* characterises the treatment meted out to the "untouchables" as the greatest insult to humanity and a great stigma on Indian civilisation and exhorts the people not to slacken their efforts in uplifting the untouchables.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Hindustan Times* advises the Muslim *Swarajist* leaders to devote themselves to the protection and propagation of Islam otherwise the Musalmans will regard them as the enemies of Islam and refuse to acknowledge them as their leaders. The *Arya Varta* hopes that Mr. Gandhi while expressing his views on the Hindu-Muslim relations will abstain from making remarks against the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements which are likely to injure the interests of the Hindus. It advises both the communities to follow a give and take policy and be prepared for sacrifice in the common cause. The *Mashriq* remarks that the continual outbreak of Hindu-Muslim disturbances in the United Provinces is a disparaging commentary on the dignity and administration of the Local Government and the utter silence of the members of the Council shows that they are deaf and blind to these events. It suggests the appointment of a committee of influential Hindus and Musalmans in each district under the District Magistrate to take precautionary measures against the activities of mischief-mongers. The *Arya Mitra* appeals to Mahatma Gandhi to pay heed to the atrocities of the "Muslimshahi" on the Hindus at various places and asks whether the Hindus are born to be trampled down and thrashed by others. Is it not astounding that the Hindus should not be allowed in their own country to parade in public streets with music on the occasion of their festivals? *Swaraj* will be of no use if Hindus become extinct as a result of Muslim aggression. Hindu-Muslim unity is a misnomer if under its cover Hindus are oppressed and not allowed to assert themselves. Mahatma Gandhi should in the name of justice espouse the cause of the Hindus and prove their saviour. The *Pratap* holds that a spirit of hostility and retaliation has crept into the Hindu organisation movements and urges the Hindu Mahasabha to remove it, remarking that if it makes excuses in this connection it will be guilty of treachery to the country.

The Tariff Board Report.

The *Pioneer* says that in case a Select Committee is appointed to consider the Bill designed to give effect to the recommendations of the Tariff Board it will be the duty of the committee to consider whether the object which the Tariff Board had in mind could not be attained by some other device less open to criticism. Referring to the coming discussion of the Tariff Bill in the next session of the Legislative Assembly the *Pioneer* says: This was inevitable, for ever since the debate on the Fiscal Commission's report, the Government have shown that they have decided to put themselves in the hands of the vocal minority which is urging protection on the country out of blind political animosity without considering or regarding the political effects of such a course on the bulk of the population. The *Swadhin* fully approves of the recommendations of the Tariff Board regarding the protection of the Indian steel industry and urges that they should be carried out even if India has to make some sacrifices for it.

Restoration of Berar.

A correspondent writing to the *Hamdam* describes the protest of the Berar people against the restoration as an act of gross disloyalty, as in reality they are the subjects of the Nizam, and remarks that only certain disaffected and interested persons are engineering such protests. The *Zulqarnain* advises the Nizam to start a counter-propaganda so that the people of Berar may not be misled against him.

The Swaraj party.

The *Leader* continues to oppose the *Swarajists* and says: The *Swarajists* of today were the blatant non-cooperators of yesterday. The *Mahratta* boasts that the bureaucracy has been hit hard by the *Swarajists*, that it is feeling humiliated and defeated and that there are signs that it is going to surrender. But if the *Swarajist* policy has made the bureaucracy feel that the very foundations of their Government are crumbling, why has a sudden change been quietly introduced into it as evidenced by the notices of resolutions which the *Swarajist* members of the Assembly are reported to have given. If there is any set of politicians whose principles and policies are more evasive, uncertain and unreliable than those of any other party, it is the *Swarajists*, who have been constantly shifting their ground, and no one knows where they are going to stop. The *Kartavya* is dissatisfied with the continuance of the *Swarajists'* existing programme. In no other province than the Central Provinces can the obstructionist party be carried out successfully. It is altogether inconsistent that while the *Swarajists* rejected the budget in the Legislative Assembly, they do not call upon tax-payers to refuse payment of taxes. So long as the constructive programme is not fulfilled on the one hand and the *satyagraha* campaign is not launched out on the other *swaraj* cannot be attained.

The British Empire Exhibition.

The *Zulqarnain* hopes that India will reap immense economic benefits through the Exhibition as lakhs of people will see the industrial products of the country. The *Hindustani*, on the other hand, remarks that other countries will take India to be rich, rob it by turn, prey all the more upon the Indian people, who already do not get even stale food, and trample them down completely. The *Hindi Kesri* says that the British Empire Exhibition may well serve to display the power, greatness and expansion of the British people but cannot be a demonstration of the mutual love and affection of the various parts of the British Commonwealth. As India has boycotted the Exhibition it will only emphasise the difference between the whites and the blacks and their respective positions as the rulers and the ruled.

Maharaja of Kashmir and the Musalmans.

The *Hamdam* resents the remarks of the Maharaja that he is not in favour of creating special facilities for any particular community and that the Musalmans should learn to rely upon themselves. It remarks that the Maharaja of Kashmir should know that if the Musalmans desire to be helped in the matter of education and services they do not beg alms from the treasury of another nation but want that the taxes which have been paid from the hard-earned money of 90 per cent. of the Musalmans should be utilised for their good.

The Begum of Bhopal.

The *Kartavya* opines that the new order of the Begum of Bhopal penalising renegation from Islam is a most unjust and reprehensible one and represents the height of communal prejudice. Her Highness should realise the consequences if a similar order were to be passed by Hindu princes and she will do well to cancel this order immediately. The *Arya Varta* protests against the rumoured order of the Bhopal State

for prosecuting any one who renounces Islam and remarks that such actions all the more widen the gulf between the two communities. It exhorts the Muslim leaders to resent such an order and try and have it withdrawn.

Akali agitation.

The *Chhattri* says that the growing audacity of the Akalis is due to the leniency on the part of the Government. The result of releasing the *jathas* after arresting them is that they again renew their nefarious activities. The *Mashriq* justifies the action taken by the Nabha authorities and remarks that they exercised extreme forbearance and opened fire in self-defence. It advises the Government to act with firmness and quell the ever-increasing rebellion of the Akalis. The *Kartavya* urges that in view of the assertions of Mr. Zimand, Dr. Kitchlu and the Congress Committee that the Akali *jatha* had no arms excepting the *kirpan* and that the crowd accompanying it did not attack the State force, the British authorities should either prosecute those who are alleged to be aggressors or the Administrator of Nabha who opened fire on the innocent Akalis. The *Aj* says that the appointment of a committee to settle the Akali question is a mere lip-sympathy on the part of the Governor of the Punjab. Not even one thousand and one such committees can settle the Akali question unless all the Akali leaders are released, the Gurdwara Committee is allowed to carry on its activities as before and the Nabha question is satisfactorily solved.

Civil disobedience.

The *Aj* remarks that if we can remove the poverty of this country and inculcate among the masses the spirit of liberty we shall be able to organise the people and launch a campaign of mass civil disobedience or a no-tax campaign against this mighty and irresponsible Government. It is not possible to carry on civil disobedience successfully without preparing the people for it.

Non-cooperation.

In a series of articles headed the "Message of Non-cooperation" the *Independence* contrasts the respective merits of obtaining freedom by violent and non-violent means and prefers the goal of non-cooperation as suited to the genius of the East. India is evolving a political philosophy of non-violent national efforts. It is a philosophy which once formulated is bound to revolutionise world-thought. It is based on the temperament and the culture of the East. The East unlike the West has ever tried to quench and subdue the brute in man and not to develop and worship it. Therefore the worship of the brute force as implied in the organised imperialistic militarism of the West is foreign to Eastern culture. And India has undertaken to demonstrate to the world that the real evolution of humanity does not lie in aping the brute and even surpassing it in its violent and selfish tendencies, but that it lies in the subordination of these tendencies to the higher human instincts. The paper points out that a great danger lies in the likelihood of India losing her self-control. Violence begets violence and the austerest moral discipline comes to naught when once the blood is up. The enemies of India may take advantage of her moral resolve and visit her with the severest physical inflictions. These inflictions may provoke her into a violent retort and thus demoralise and destroy altogether her non-violent national campaign. If the violence of repression will be so great as to goad India into a breaking away from all her intellectual leadership then that violence may bring along with it its own Nemesis. It may prove a shorter though a less human cut to India's national goal. In the course of an article headed "How Hungary wrought her freedom" the *Independence* says: The Hungarian movement is pregnant with morals for India. Our Dases and Gandhis are India's Deakes. And under their banner India's freedom is assured.

Cawnpore riot.

The *Haqiqat* asserts that the armed police was not justified in firing upon the labourers besieged inside the compound of the Mill after the crowd of mill-hands was dispersed. It further remarks that the public can never be satisfied with the one-sided report of the Magistrate and suggests that a fresh enquiry should be held.

Forest administration in Kumaun.

The *Shakti* says that though the bureaucracy promised on the occasion of the coolie *utar* agitation and the last elections to open the forests yet now it appears that this pledge was only made by the deceitful bureaucracy to trick the people inasmuch as proposals seem to be afoot to stop even the sale of firewood by villagers. It is nothing but utter disregard of public opinion to do so when the three

members of Kumaun in the Provincial Council have urged for the abolition of the Kumaun circle. The Kumaunese should wake up and make a firm determination to secure their rights in the forests.

Municipal administration in the United Provinces.

Commenting on the Government resolution on municipal administration the *Pioneer* says that municipal administration has become a bye-word for inefficiency. Unless a radical change in the methods of municipal administration is forthcoming in the immediate future, the inefficiency of municipal administration is likely to prove a serious obstacle to India's constitutional progress. Referring to the financial condition of the municipalities the *Leader* asks: Are the municipalities not to receive even educational grants for meeting a part of their recurring expenditure on education? The Government derives a large amount of income from excise duties levied within municipal limits. Are not the people of the towns entitled to a portion of the receipts from this source? It thinks that the emphatic and unqualified statement of Government with regard to financial help requires modification. Speaking of the achievements of the last boards the paper asks: But what about the record of the Government of India and the Local Govèrnment? Did they not produce bankruptcy budgets and was not the record of the Government of India characterised by the present Finance Member as resembling a rake's progress? The *Indian Daily Telegraph* advises the municipal boards to undertake action in regard to water-supply and drainage at least from the sanitary and hygienic point of view. Unless considerable headway is made without further delay of improving public health the matter will go from bad to worse.

Political propaganda.

The *Leader* says: One of the greatest objections of Indians against the existing system of Government is that it involves a ruinous drain upon India's moral and material resources. The Government and its henchmen in the press have been denying that it involves any drain but have, on the other hand, been emphasising the great and untold benefits the system has conferred upon the country and advertising the growing prosperity of India under British rule. The *Haldhar* accuses the British Government of observing racial discrimination and urges that in order to remove this humiliating evil the Indians should devote themselves to the attainment of freedom. The *Vartman* remarks that liberty and *swaraj* have always been attained by physical prowess and never by mendicancy and speechification. The British will never leave India and the Indians should follow the straight and tried path of getting rid of them. The same paper says that the acquittal of C. J. Walker at Poona, who was charged with having murdered an Indian villager, is no new thing. We have always been witnessing such British justice. This farce of British rule cannot deceive us for long. The *Shakti* points out that so far as politics is concerned there is no untouchable class, and if there is one, it is formed by traitors to the country whether they be Rajas, Khan Bahadurs or Rai Bahadurs. It is only too true, as has been declared by the German leader, Hitler, that disloyalty or violation of law is no crime, but that treachery to country is the greatest sin. For the purpose of strengthening nationalism it is the cultivators and the labourers who will have to be educated and organised and a crusade will have to be started against the heresy which condemns any particular class of people as outcasts. India will progress only when its people despite their mutual differences present a united front to the external enemy. The *Aj* refers to the shooting of Indian labourers in British Guiana and remarks:—It is a truism to assert that the lives of Indians have no value. Whether at home or abroad they are made victims of the bullets of the whites who shoot them down like quails and partridges. What to say of the British Dominions when in their own home fire is opened on them on trifling grounds. The *Desh Bhakta* in a strongly-worded article criticises the policy adopted by Great Britain in India and asserts that prior to the British rule the Indian villagers were not so poor and sickly and that they passed their lives very comfortably.

NAINI TAL:
The 17th May, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 20 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 24th May, 1924.

European situation.

THE *Medina* remarks that owing to the nationalist party coming into power in the new elections in Germany, the reparation question has again become complicated and acute, and if the situation continues to remain critical the time is not far when the European Powers will again be embroiled in another terrible war.

The Khilafat.

The *Muslim University Gazette* says that the European Powers are now trying to take advantage of the present uneasiness and anxiety prevailing among the Musalmans and setting up their own nominees for the Khilafat. Writing in a similar strain the *Medina* asks the diplomats of Europe to bear in mind the clear injunctions of Islam that if there are two Khalifas in the Muslim world, one of them must be beheaded. The *Haqiqat* publishes a letter by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in which it is remarked:—Islamic Khilafat in fact means Islamic 'State.' The President of the Turkish Assembly is in reality the Khalifa of the Musalmans and as long as Türkey is independent and proclaims itself to be a Muslim State the seat of the Khilafat is also there. The *Hamdam* exhorts the members of the Khilafat Committee to make adequate arrangements for the allowance of the late Khalifa Abdul Majid, and remarks that any scheme for this purpose will meet the approval of the Muslim public whose expression of their confidence in the late Khalifa would greatly influence the Turkish Republic.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Independence* writes: We frankly confess our inability to appreciate the whining and petulant tone with which many of our people have been accustomed to complain of the treatment which our countrymen receive at the hands of the white residents of the different Colonies and Dominions of the Empire. National self-respect would demand either complete reticence or manly opposition to these indignities. But what is the good of whining that we are treated as "Pariahs in the Empire." Even the "pariah" has his self-respect. In describing the unhealthy condition under which Indian immigrants live in British Guiana the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: No wonder that immigration which causes such an amount of suffering and degradation should be higly unpopular among their countrymen in India. The question now is whether this should not altogether be stopped.

Constitutional advance.

Commenting on the report on the administration of Bengal the *Pioneer* says: The inability of the Indian Legislatures to utilise and develop the powers already within their reach is, indeed, a significant commentary on the absurdity of the vociferous clamour which is being indulged in on all sides for a further immediate constitutional advance. It will be time enough for the British Parliament to consider the desirability of a constitutional advance when it can be shown that the Indian Legislatures fully realise and utilise their existing powers. The *Leader* says: Under the system of diarchy the Governor is vested with too much power and unless he is prepared to cooperate with the Ministers and to recognise the principle of joint responsibility and joint deliberation, the Legislature cannot either determine the character of the executive or control the general lines of its policy. Besides, the Legislature has no control over the services. This is one of the vital defects of the dyarchical system and it is no use overlooking it. The Governor must be reduced to the position of a constitutional head of the Government and the services brought under popular control before the Legislature can fully wield the influence and the power which it does under democratic constitution. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the Indians have no clear ideas about the political advancement of the country and much will depend upon the attitude of the upper classes and the way in which they utilise the powers already in their hands. There can be no doubt that the franchise is so high that it is only the rich that can hope to represent the people. The aristocrats thus have an easy opportunity of being the political leaders of the country, but their thorough identification of their interests with the bureaucracy as against the necessary and beneficial measures on behalf of their people has gradually led to the shifting of the political centre of gravity to

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the other classes. The gradual progress towards self-government will find them stranded, bereft of political power and influence. The *Leader* commenting upon the recent *communiqué* on the Reforms Inquiry says that the *communiqué* is a typical secretariat product. It asks why have not the Government of India gone one step farther and published the text of the letter to Local Governments? Past experience, going back to the Curzon Universities Commission of 1920, bids us beware of eyewash committees formally to register conclusions previously reached. There is one sovereign remedy to allay suspicions if they are unfounded or merely morbid. That remedy is publicity. We would equally urge the prompt publication of Local Governments' despatches as soon as they are received at Simla. Our last word to the Government of India is that if the whole of this affair continues to be shrouded in mystery, as if it were either an unsavoury divorce scandal or a delicate diplomatic negotiation, no knowing Indian can think that they are serious about this business on which they are ostentatiously engaged. The *Pioneer* also finds it difficult to understand why there has been such delay in explaining the exact nature of the first committee's inquiry and says that no great harm would have been done by the publication of the terms of reference which do not appear on the surface to have deserved the mysterious character given to them in certain papers of a highly suspicious frame of mind. The *Medina* has no faith in the Reforms Committee and remarks that the pressure of the Swarajist members alone can be effective in securing the necessary instalments of responsible government from the British Cabinet. Commenting upon the terms of reference of the Reforms Committee the *Hamdam* remarks: The only object of the committee is to take precautionary measures against the difficulties which the Government has to face on account of the majority of the nationalists in the Council. The *Hindustani* describes the Reforms Committee as sham and remarks that where there is no Congress leader or responsible Hindu or Musalman on the committee the Englishmen are sure to give their arbitrary decision. A correspondent writing to the *Zulqarnain* remarks that the Reforms introduced by the British Government are by no means a sham. They provide ample scope for gaining administrative experience. We should take advantage of what we have and prepare ourselves for the next stage. *Swaraj* can never be achieved through the methods adopted by the Swarajists. The *Oudh Akhbar* advises the Government to accept the demand for a Round Table Conference on the condition that no consideration will be paid therein to the question of immediate constitutional advance, only the question of time for granting full responsible government to India will be discussed. The *Garhwali* says that the Reforms Committee consisting as it does of all official members can do no good to the people. It will only accentuate the disappointment of the people and thereby lead to further vigorous agitation. The Indian leaders should take advantage of the Labour party being in power and agitate in England itself for further constitutional advance. The *Swadhin* is utterly dissatisfied with the *personnel* of the Reforms Committee and says that its recommendations cannot inspire public confidence. If the Viceroy could not include non-officials in the committee he should have at least appointed one or two Ministers.

Vaikom Satyagraha.

The *Tabligh* says that the movement deserves the support of every truth and justice-loving person as it has been started to safeguard and protect the primary rights of humanity. The Muslim proselytising associations should particularly turn their attention towards this and rise equal to the duties imposed upon them by their religion in inculcating upon the depressed classes the ideas of freedom, equality and brotherhood as enjoined by Islam. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* characterises the order of the Travancore State as not only contrary to the injunctions of the *Vedas* and *Shastras* but also as an insult to humanity. It means that a Hindu State is openly directing the Hindu nation to embrace Christianity or Islam as in that case alone they will be allowed to pass on the prohibited roads.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Bir Hindu* resents the letter addressed to Mahatma Gandhi by Hasan Nizami advising him to embrace Islam and describes the proselytising propaganda of the Musalmans as an absurd mania and sarcastically remarks that the only benefit which a Hindu can draw from the friendship of the Musalmans is to lose his *dharma*. We are at a loss to understand why the Musalmans are so much incensed at the *Shuddhi* movement when they themselves indulge in such activities. The *Bhavishya* asserts that the Musalmans are largely responsible for the communal disturbances as they want to exercise at the present time those privileges which they did not enjoy under their own rule. It holds that any number of national pacts will not

bring about the desired unity between the Hindus and Musalmans which can be established only through the strong organisation of the Hindus. The *Abhyudaya* says that in all the Hindu-Muslim disturbances the Musalmans are generally the aggressors. They always take the offensive in plunder and violence. It is because they have life in them. The Hindus are the sufferers because they are weak and cowardly and fear death. It is the Musalman leaders who sowed the communal dissension and are therefore responsible for the Hindu-Muslim disturbances. Referring to the looting of Hindu shops at Jaunpur the *Vartman* remarks that at the present time the condition of the Hindus is such that they can be counted neither among the living nor among the dead. The proper course for them is to move forward or become extinct. If the Hindus want to continue their existence they should raise civic guards and the entire Hindu population should help them. If they fail to do so they will continue to be thrashed and plundered.

Muslim organisation.

The *Medina* lays stress upon the necessity of reorganising the Muslim League to solve the internal political problems of the Indian Musalmans and remarks that the construction of the national structure along with the untiring efforts for the achievement of *swaraj* is the one essential duty of the Indian Musalmans. The *Haqiqat* approves the scheme for the organisation of the Musalmans as chalked out by Dr. Kitchlu and hopes that this important question will be thoroughly considered at the next session of the Muslim League. The *Hamdam* pays a tribute to the unselfish patriotism and colossal sacrifices of Dr. Kitchlu and hopes that his scheme will not remain on paper only but will guide the Musalmans on the right path at this most critical time. The *Aj* is opposed to the revival of the Muslim League and remarks that the Congress can achieve the object for which it is sought to revive a defunct body. The well-wishers of India's nationalism should support the cause of the Congress and do away with all other institutions instead of adding to their numbers.

Restoration of Berar.

Commenting upon the letter of Rai Bahadur Babu Shankar Dayal, M.L.C., regarding the restoration of Berar, the *Haqiqat* regrets that the views of sensible and justice-loving Hindus are not given adequate publicity, otherwise the British Government would learn that there is a sufficient number of such Hindus in India who heartily support the demand of the Nizam. The *Naiyar-i-Azam* resents the attitude of the Hindu press towards the restoration of Berar and remarks that their comments are not based on good faith. They cannot bear to see the progress and prosperity of a Muslim State and are unmindful of the feelings of hatred which their writings are likely to create among the Musalmans. In another article the same paper says that as long as Berar is under British influence it is impossible to ascertain the true sentiments of the Berar people and that in fact the Government is not prepared to allow the Native States to take the initiative in granting Home Rule to India.

Demolition of mosques at Bharatpur.

The Muslim press in general condemns the action of the Maharaja of Bharatpur in demolishing the mosques and exhorts the Government to intervene in the matter. The *Zulqarnain* asks the Government if it is waiting for any particular agitation on the part of the Musalmans and remarks that it is the duty of the Government to take notice of it before the Musalmans start convening meetings and knocking at the doors of the Government. The silence maintained by the Government is contrary to the British spirit of toleration. The *Haqiqat* regrets that in this unhappy country there still exist such condemnable persons who on account of their religious bigotry are demolishing the foundation of unity. A correspondent writing to the *Hamdam* says that the injunctions of the religion in this matter are clear and if nothing is done the Musalmans will be obliged to resort to retaliatory measures to the best of their might. The *Tabligh* remarks that the extreme religious bigotry and hard-heartedness of the Maharaja of Bharatpur will certainly succeed in filling to the brim the cup of the Musalmans' patience. By means of the Princes' Protection Act the Government wants to safeguard the rights of the Indian Rulers, but the Government is also the protector of the religious rights and the personal property of the people of the States and should not remain silent. The *Al Bureed* says that the Musalmans are noted for sacrificing their lives for their religion and that if nothing is done to prevent the mischief, the matter will go out of control and there is every apprehension that the Bharatpur State will become the scene of disturbances.

The Begum of Bhopal.

Referring to the order of the Begum of Bhopal the *Muslim University Gazette* remarks that it is a purely Islamic question and that the non-Muslims are not justified in complaining about it. The Begum of Bhopal is noted for her religious toleration and it is sheer short-sightedness to vilify the State by putting forward fictitious grievances. The *Medina* supports the order of the Begum and remarks that it is the duty of every civilised Government to save its subjects from the poisonous effects of the change of religion. The *Awaz* in a strongly-worded article describes the Begum as the younger sister of Aurangzeb and remarks that she has been attacked with religious frenzy. It appeals to Lord Reading to send her to some hospital to undergo mental treatment.

Akali agitation.

The *Haqiqat* says that after a bitter experience of one and a half years the Punjab Government has been with difficulty made to believe that it is a hard task to suppress the Akalis and that the continuance of the struggle instead of being useful will prove injurious to its interests. The *Agra Akhbar*, on the other hand, asserts that the Akalis by their unlawful and oppressive actions have greatly harassed the authorities, the Hindus and the Musalmans. They have brought the charge of firing against the Nabha authorities simply to strengthen their agitation. The statement of Mr. Zimand, the American correspondent, is far from truth and no just-minded person can help describing it as ridiculous and one-sided. The *Kartavya* says that if the Punjab Government will effect a compromise with the Akalis it will not only save itself from a serious trouble but will deserve the gratitude of the whole country. If the Punjab Government will only set aside its false pride it will find no difficulty in solving the Akali problem.

The Reforms.

The *Swadhin* says that since the toy of Reforms has been given to Indians the cost of administration has greatly increased without any corresponding gain to the people. The expenditure on various committees and commissions since the Reforms has been a mere waste inasmuch as no effect has so far been given to their recommendations.

Civil disobedience.

The *Vartman* writes: Can any Indian believe that England which is selling its honour and principles for the sake of imperialism will ever confer such freedom on India as will cause economic or political injury to itself. Why then should the Indians be so patient? We cannot do for a moment without freedom. *Satyagraha* is the most suitable weapon for its attainment. Let the Indians get up and win freedom at the cost of their lives.

Proposed legislation.

The *Kartavya* condemns Dr. Gour's Bill in the Legislative Assembly raising the age of consent to 14 years as wholly opposed to the Hindu religion and exhorts the Hindus to oppose it vigorously. It warns the Government also against accepting the Bill and urges that it should prohibit even the introduction of such measures in the Assembly. The *Hind-i-Kesari* is opposed to the Leave of Absence Bill and says that if passed it will add to the financial burdens of India. In view of this the retrenchment policy of the Government is a mere farce. The high officials for whose good this Bill is being passed are provided all possible facilities at the cost of lakhs of rupees for the preservation of their health and if they cannot do without leave, they had better retire permanently. The *Abhyudaya* urges the *kisans* of the Agra province to carry on a vigorous agitation to get the defects in the Agra Tenancy Act removed.

Mr. Gandhi.

The *Abhyudaya* says that by requesting Mahatma Gandhi to become a Musalman Maulana Hasan Nizami has insulted the Mahatma's intelligence, if not the Mahatma himself. We do not know what is the motive behind the Maulana's request and how could he venture to make such an impudent request. The *Kartavya* opines that the Maulana's letter is full of meanness, impudence, hypocrisy and diplomacy and represents a reprehensible attempt to destroy the cosmopolitan character of the Mahatma's personality. It is a characteristic of Islam that such bad ideas originate in the minds of Muslim leaders.

The Universities' Conference.

Commenting on the Viceroy's speech at the Universities' Conference the *Pioneer* says: It was an invigorating idea of the functions of a University that Lord Reading held up before his audience for their contemplation. It particularly appreciates His

Excellency's expression, 'extend the Empire of Reason in India until it is coterminous with the Empire of India itself' because in India sentiment is predominant: reason is at a discount. The claims of sentiment are too strong for the claims of reason. It hopes the Universities' Conference at Simla will devise a satisfactory solution. But the odds are that sentimentality, allied to prejudice, will be too strong for them, and that the popular predilection for a cheap and worthless degree and for easy examinations will continue to militate against any attempt to transform the Indian University degree into a reliable hall-mark of learning and culture. The *Leader* styles the Viceroy's address as eloquent and says: Much can be achieved by combined effort and by the pursuit of right ideals, but we are afraid that unless Government is prepared to spend more on education, substantial results cannot be achieved. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the inaugural address of Lord Reading is well worth the occasion. When some of the English universities fall short of the standard it is unnecessary to say anything of Indian universities, poor imitators of the West. Thus any stigma cast on the universities in India is an insult directed towards the West. Anyhow the condition of Indian universities is far from satisfactory and it would take a number of years to attain to that idealistic perfection and several Newmans will have to be born here.

The Swaraj party.

The *Leader* continues to attack the methods of the Swaraj party. In a leading article headed "Quick change artists," it says that the Swaraj party is a shifting entity. So many times have they changed since the inception of their party after they raised the banner of revolt against the Gandhian policy at Gaya, that one may well ask whether they have any principles at all or whether they only live from hand to mouth, trusting to the hourly changes of the political weathercock to supply them with both principles and policies. The *Advocate* replying to the article says that the *Leader* has never missed any opportunity to attack the non-co-operation movement, but its arguments and criticisms have been mostly puerile and devoid of the logic of commonsense. In another article the *Advocate* says that the Swarajists have, purely by means of a constitutional method, brought about a situation in which the bureaucracy cannot but move forward towards devolution of its powers to the people of India. It advises the Labour Government in England to take courage into both hands and listen to the advice of the national leaders of India rather than to that of the irresponsible and die-hard bureaucracy.

Forest administration in Kumaun.

The *Shakti* asserts that the forest policy of the Government is indeed a very peculiar one seeing that while one day villagers are allowed to sell firewood from forests the other day it is declared to be a punishable crime. It urges that if the forests belong to the people they should be administered by themselves and not by fat-salaried officials. The forests should be for the people and not the people for them. The forest officials oppress the people even more than *patwaris* and *peshkars*. The forests may well be preserved but not at the expense of human beings.

Political propaganda.

In a leading article headed "The British Trusteeship" the *Leader* remarks: Reason, justice and commonsense, let alone the principles of liberty and self-determination, urgently require that the existing extremely unsatisfactory and irritating system of government in India be put an end to and Indians allowed to manage their own affairs. The *Najat* says that after closely studying the trend of events and pondering over the popular opinion the conjecture of a British Member of Parliament that England will lose India as it has lost America, Ireland and Egypt does not appear unjustified. The suspicions of the Indians against the ruling party have now reached their limit. The *Hamdam* lays stress upon the necessity of again starting a propaganda in England in favour of India as her enemies are taking advantage of the ignorance of the English public regarding Indian affairs and are trying to create misunderstandings against India. A powerful organ is needed to supply correct information and lay bare the real facts before the British public. The *Hindustani* writes: Will coercion and oppression be always effective and can any Government, however strong and firm its system of administration may be, exist for long without the good will and the consent of the people? Our countrymen should never slacken their struggle and one day the Government will have to come to its knees and listen to our voice provided we learnt to stand on our own legs. The *Aj* condemns the opium policy of the Government of India and remarks that by encouraging the consumption of opium the Government of India is ruining our countrymen and other Asiatic nations and it utilises the proceeds derived

from its traffic in perpetuating their political dependence. It is the duty of the Indians to start a vigorous but peaceful agitation to put an end to the sinful opium traffic. The *Pratap* writes: Although we are constantly fighting among ourselves and are bound with the chains of subjection, we are not prepared to applaud our conquerors in all respects and to condemn ourselves altogether. Nor do we hold that our future is in the hands of our rulers and that we have to follow the path laid down for us by them: we have come to realise that one country cannot be the arbiter of another's destiny. If it is the will of God that India should be free no one can keep her in serfdom. The *Haldhar* remarks that the new anti-Japanese legislation of the United States is a covert challenge to the whole of India. All the Asiatic nations should give a united answer to this challenge. It has become customary with the Western nations to insult and humiliate the Eastern nations. If all the Asiatic nations form themselves into a league and if the latter undertakes to help every Asiatic nation in the hour of need, the Western nations will cease to do injustice to Asia. Commenting on the acquittal by the Bombay High Court of one Walker charged with murdering an Indian, the *Prem* says that India has been witnessing such farces of justice from the very early days of British rule in India. She is quite fed up with such farces enacted by Governor Generals from Lord Clive downwards to Lord Reading and she only prays to be spared such samples of justice in future.

NAINI TAL:
The 24th May, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MAILS BRANCH
2 JUL 1924
INDIA OFFICE

No. 21 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 31st May, 1924.

The Lee Commission Report.

THE *Pioneer* describes the report as essentially a compromise which should be welcomed by moderate opinion both in the services and among Indian politicians. It gives the British official much, though not all that was claimed on his behalf by his Service Associations. The paper urges that the recommendations being unanimous there can be no valid reason for delay in putting them into operation. In another article the paper says that the Home Member did well to remind the members of the Legislative Assembly that it should be necessary for the Secretary of State to take decisions on matters of urgency in advance of any discussion by the Assembly and remarks that there is no longer any reason for further delay in redressing the grievances of the services, and it is to be hoped that the Secretary of State will pass immediate orders. Any delay would naturally give rise to suspicions that an attempt may be made to whittle down the Commission's recommendations for the financial relief of the services and would be bound to react prejudicially on recruitment, which has already been virtually brought to a standstill. The services look to the Secretary of State for prompt action on the report as a matter of bare justice, and we do not think that they will look to him in vain. The Indian press, on the other hand, is unanimous in condemning the report as unsatisfactory. The *Leader* remarks that the Commission has resulted in the further imposition of a heavy burden on the hard-pressed Indian tax-payer to satisfy the clamour of the superior services and to make them contented. Its recommendation in this respect must be regarded as very unsatisfactory. The recommendations relating to the Indianisation of the Indian Civil Service and the Police are extremely cautious and are incompatible with the early establishment of responsible self-government. The paper concludes its criticism in the following words:—Though some of the recommendations mark an improvement over the existing state of affairs, they are not such as can satisfy nationalist sentiment or will be compatible with substantial constitutional advance in the near future. In fact if they are accepted they will be a serious obstacle in the way and only prolong the agony. We still hold the view that the question of the organisation of higher services should be considered along with that of constitutional advance, as the two are inseparable. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the report will convince one that it is predominantly a service report, though of course a few crumbs are thrown here and there perhaps to silence and satisfy the Indian members. This, we are afraid, is an attempt to throw another apple of discord among Indians instead of reconciling them. Unless the Government make drastic amendments in the light of public criticism, India will only be poorer by the Lee Commission. The *Hamdam* says that the recommendations of the Lee Commission will not produce any commotion in India which has already witnessed so many Royal Commissions and their recommendations. Considering the expenditure on the Commission, poor India is not benefited by it in the least. Whether the Indians get enough to eat or not the Commission has provided on a lavish scale for the services. It urges upon Government not to take any action until it has been fully considered by the Indian public. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that in spite of the hue and cry raised by the Indians, the Lee Commission has presented an unsatisfactory and depressing report. With regard to the recommendations that action should be taken promptly, the paper sarcastically remarks that it is no use delaying the action when it is decided to rob India. The relief proposed by the Commission is mainly for the benefit of Europeans, and Indians can never be satisfied with it. The *Aj* remarks that the report has turned out to be more terrible than was anticipated and is designed to make the nation a slave of its own servants. It is directed to flout Indian public opinion and make the officials the irresponsible and despotic masters of the country for ever. It is the best means of practically nullifying the pledge of the British Government to confer *swaraj* on India. The recommendation of the Commission that the Ministers are not to have any control over the officials of the all-India services under them, boils our blood and it would be astonishing if any one in India supports it.

The Khilafat.

A correspondent writing in the *Hamdam* deals with the Khilafat question from the Turkish standpoint and remarks that those who condemn the decision of the Angora Assembly should first try to understand the present constitution of the Turkish Republic. To act upon the suggestion of the Indian Muslims was tantamount to taking such financial responsibilities as were quite beyond their capacity. If the Muslim world is desirous of placing the Khilafat institution on a basis in which they may have a right to be consulted then they should chalk out a practical scheme and defray the costs of its establishment according to their share. The *Haqiqat* publishes the statement of the deposed Khalifa Abdul Majid made to a correspondent of the *Al Akhbar* of Egypt in which it is remarked: The Turks have rebelled against God, His Prophet and the *Quran* and have broken their pledges. There is every hope that the Khilafat will become a more powerful institution as it will now come into the hands of the people. The *Mansur* reproduces the letter of Maulana Fazlur Rahman of Patna in which it is remarked that the Khalifa is the designation of the head of the Muslim Republic and hence Mustafa Kemal Pasha is in every sense of the word a Khalifa. He will not hesitate to accept the office provided the Muslim world promises to give him practical and material help. The *Paigham* asserts that the present Turkish constitution is quite in keeping with the *Shariat* but the Musalmans have opposed it without due deliberation simply because they are the neighbours of a nation which has been leading a life of slavery from a long time.

Indians in the Colonies.

In a leading article headed 'Indians in the Empire' the *Independence* says: If the people of India take the same line of thinking in regard to European civilisation and contact with European races as these Colonials take of Indian civilisation and contact with Indian people, what will be the fate, ultimately, of the association of many races which is now called the British Empire. If the Empire is to endure, it must settle betimes these ugly questions. And in the settlement of this question irresistible pressure must be brought to bear upon the Government of India to adopt retaliatory measures not only in the matter of immigration, but also in the matter of trade facilities against those Colonies which behave in the way that South Africa or East Africa is doing. In another article the paper says: The conditions in British Guiana, not to mention Fiji, are not such as to remove all misgivings, and if emigration be encouraged now, repentance will be unavailing afterwards.

Constitutional advance.

The *Leader* quotes from an article written by Mr. Gwynne who advocates the early appointment of a Royal Commission, and remarks: If such a Commission had been promised during the last debate in the Assembly on constitutional advance, the wind would have been taken out of the Swarajist sail and the Finance Bill would not have been rejected. But the Government has not been in the habit of doing things in time. Hence it allowed a valuable opportunity to slip away. Even now it is not too late to make the announcement in a graceful manner. The *Hind Jadid* expresses its surprise that the Indian deputation which is to wait on Mr. Ramsay MacDonald does not include Lala Lajpat Rai and remarks that if the Premier is really desirous of coming to an understanding with the Indians he should invite Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Muhammad Ali as they are the only leaders who command the confidence of the Indians and who can correctly voice the sentiments of the people.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Medina* describes the deeply-rooted religious bigotry as the real cause of the Hindu-Muslim disturbances and is at a loss to understand how the Hindus whose *dharma* teaches *ahinsa* (non-violence) can tolerate the bloodshed of their countrymen for the sake of the cow. The Musalmans can allow the Hindus to play on musical instruments before the mosques but they can never barter cow-slaughter with the stoppage of music before the mosques as proposed by Mr. Gandhi. Writing in a similar strain the *Al Bureed* accuses the Muslim leaders of strengthening and supporting the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements by failing to properly carry out the commandments of Islam simply for the sake of unity and remarks that in every disputed case the Musalmans showed a spirit of toleration and sacrifice and the Hindus never failed to take advantage of it. It is quite a wrong reasoning of Mr. Gandhi that the Hindus should stop playing on musical instruments before the mosques and the Musalmans should cease to slaughter cows and the Musalmans are themselves responsible for putting the question of cow-slaughter before the Hindus in a wrong

form. The *Haqiqat* describes the educational backwardness of the country as the sole cause of disunion. The *Mashriq* remarks that the declarations recently made by the Arya Samajists go to prove that this year's *Bakr Id* will be the repetition of the incidents at Karbala and that the Musalmans will have to pass through a serious ordeal. There is almost a unanimous outcry in the Hindu press against the alleged forcible abduction of Hindu women and children on the part of Muhammadans for conversion to Islam and it has led to the publication of exhortations to the Hindus to reconcentrate their attention on the *Sangathan* movement. One Ratanvati Debi of Allahabad writing in the *Arya Mitra* warns Hindu women to be on their guard against the designing and unscrupulous disciples of Khwaja Hasan Nizami who appear to be bent on ruining them and to be ready to punish those who attempt outrages on them. The *Surya* says that as a result of the activities of Muhammadans to convert Hindu women and boys to Islam in an objectionable manner the relations between the two communities are getting more and more strained. The Hindu leaders should give up their lethargy and devote themselves to the organisation of their community, while the Muhammadan leaders should restrain the rowdy element of their community from forcibly abducting Hindu women and children. The *Prem* points out that far from relations between Hindus and Muhammadans being established on a harmonious footing they are being embittered by the scheme of Khwaja Hasan Nizami for the conversion of Hindus being enforced in a most objectionable manner. The forcible abduction of Hindu women and boys for purposes of conversion has become a feature of the times in almost all the provinces. Responsible Muhammadan leaders should stop such activities in the interests of the country. The Hindu Maha Sabha too should raise corps of Hindu volunteers to put an end to these atrocities. The *Lokmanya* twits the Hindus on their patience and forbearance in putting up with the outrages of Muhammadans against their women and temples and says that it is meaningless that their love of peace should deaden all religious, communal and personal feeling. They should proclaim with one voice that they are Hindus first and Indians afterwards. They should no longer remain indifferent to the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements and learn to sacrifice their all for the sake of religion. The *Bhavishya* urges that in order to place Hindu-Muslim unity on a satisfactory basis all the Indian Musalmans should abandon cow-slaughter and consumption of beef, while the Hindus should refrain from taking out religious processions in case the Hindu festivals coincide with the Muhammadan ones. The *Abhyudaya* says that by his letter to Mahatma Gandhi inviting him to become a Musalman Khwaja Hasan Nizami has not only acted impudently but has also insulted the Mahatma. We want to know whether the Muslim leaders are prepared to condemn the Khwaja Sahib or not, because if such absurd things are not stopped at the very outset they assume a serious aspect later on.

The Muslim League.

The *Pioneer* describes Mr. Jinnah's presidential address at the Lahore session of the All-India Moslem League as stereotyped. With regard to the demand for the immediate establishment of Dominion responsible government in India, the paper says that this demand would carry greater weight if it could be shown that the Indian Legislatures had fully realised and utilised their existing powers under the Government of India Act. The surprising thing is that any man can proclaim in one breath that Hindu-Moslem unity and the removal of untouchability are vital for the attainment of *swaraj*, and in the next put forward a demand for the immediate grant of full Dominion status for India. The *Leader* says that if the revival of the League leads to the deposition of the priest in politics it will make the task of the settlement of communal differences easier. With regard to the resolution on the representation of minorities the paper says: The wisest policy at the present juncture is not to disturb the Lucknow Pact. The Hindus are much more self-conscious and better organised at present than they were in 1916 and nothing but a bitter controversy is likely to result if the Muslims, not content with what they have got, put up their claims and demand more from the Hindus. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* praises Mr. Jinnah for his indefatigable efforts at reviving the Moslem League into a living political body. Mr. Jinnah's presidential address gives a definite understanding that the new Moslem League will exert itself to the utmost to bridge the communal gulf, which is, unfortunately, already too wide to engulf India's destiny. His earnest appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity burns with patriotism which is the ideal to which he ever lived.

The Tariff Bill.

The *Pioneer* is dissatisfied with the debate on the Tariff Bill and says: The remedy proposed by the Government is, however, open to grave criticism, and the speeches made at

Simla on Tuesday can only be regarded as confirming the view that in the Tariff Bill the Government are sponsoring a measure which is likely to have a disastrous effect on the economic development of India. The *Aj* remarks that the free trade policy has impoverished India and the Indians will naturally support the protectionist policy. It does not matter if we have to pay Re. 1-4-0 to one of our own brethren in consequence of the adoption of the policy of protection but we shall never pay Re. 1 to those who hate us, who subject us to indignities in their Dominions and who consider us as inferior to themselves. This may be wrong from an economic point of view but we want to be guided only by political considerations.

Restoration of Berar.

The *Mashriq* regrets that in spite of so many concessions granted to the Hindus by the Nizam the Hindu press is vehemently opposing the restoration of Berar and remarks that it is a question between a Native State and the Government of India and does not admit of a plebiscite. When the people's opinion was not taken when Berar was ceded to the British Government why then should it be made a condition precedent to its restoration?

The Begum of Bhopal.

The *Hindustan Times* expresses its indignation that the Hindus are preparing to start *satyagraha* and remarks that the order of the Begum is quite in keeping with the injunction of Islam. Hindu law is observed in the Hindu States where cow-slaughter is a crime punishable with death, but the Musalmans have never protested against such orders. The Begum of Bhopal's order penalising renegation from Islam continues to be severely criticised in the Hindu press. The *Lokmanya* regrets that the Muhammadan leaders who harp so much on the discordant note of Hindu-Muslim unity have not so far raised their voice of protest against the most arbitrary, the most unjust, and the most insulting order of a Muslim ruler. It asks whether the Begum of Bhopal has realised the consequences of her Islamic bigotry if the Hindu princes were to issue similar orders in their States. It will be well if Her Highness recovers her mental balance even now. The *Arya Mitra* remarks that this order reminds one of the days of slavery in olden times and is nothing but a veiled attempt to interfere with the *Shuddhi* movement. The Hindus in the Bhopal State are in serious trouble owing to the spirit of religious intolerance obtaining there. Innumerable Hindus have already been converted to Islam there by objectionable means and many Hindu women have been led astray. Will no Muhammadan leader raise his voice of protest against such unjust dealings of the Bhopal State? The *Anand* describes the order as wholly indefensible on moral and political grounds and remarks that it is a tangible example of religious bigotry that while no action is taken against those who forcibly convert Hindus to Islam the converted is to be punished if he seeks readmission into Hindusim. The paper wonders why the Government of India does not take steps to get this order rescinded as interfering with the policy of religious neutrality.

Demolition of mosques at Bharatpur.

The *Mansur* remarks that it is the duty of the Government of India to interfere in this matter and to make the Maharaja understand that to demolish the religious buildings of the Musalmans or to defile them means that he is digging his grave with his own hands.

The Swaraj party and Mr. Gandhi.

Commenting on the statement of the policy of the Swarajists the *Pioneer* says: Mr. Gandhi has changed very little: his sense of the practical has not been developed during his retirement and he still aims at revolution although he lays more stress than before on the conditions to be established before revolution can be made a live issue. The truth is that the divergence of view between him and the Swarajists is increasing. Mr. C. R. Das, and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru are plainly in a quandary. It is pathetic to think that they are drifting with their followers into the stream leading to cooperation. The *Leader* is jubilant over the difference of opinion between Mr. Gandhi and the Swaraj party and says that both parties have appreciably climbed down. It calls the incident a definite victory for the constitutionalists. When we turn to the Swarajist statement we find that, in spite of the brave words used, the climb-down has been much greater than in the case of Mr. Gandhi. The paper asks the Swarajists how can they distinguish themselves from other progressive constitutionalists who entered the Councils with a view to build up national strength by working the Reforms. The modified policy of the Swarajists appears to us to be more

ludicrous than their original policy. With non-cooperation on their lips their policy has been increasingly cooperative. Rightly have they been described as quick-change artists. In another article headed " Swarajists and Liberals " the *Leader* says that the Swarajists have altered their policies with wonderful rapidity and as the futility of one method after another employed by them has been demonstrated, they have gone on changing those methods with the same facility with which one changes one's clothes from day to day. They are no longer non-cooperators and followers of Mr. Gandhi. Referring to the recent decision of the Central Provinces Swarajists the paper says that the party is covering itself with ridicule by its constant shifting of ground and by the puerile explanations offered in support of the same. At another place the paper asks: If the quest for effective non-cooperation from within has brought the Swarajists to agree to serve on select committees in a period of seven months, in how many more months will they be persuaded to agree to non-cooperate from a still more inner circle by the acceptance of offices? The *Aj* remarks that the existence of a fundamental difference of opinion between Mahatma Gandhi and the Swarajist leaders is most regrettable but it is gratifying that this difference of opinion has been expressed by both the parties in a very amicable manner. If both the parties work out their respective programmes side by side and in a harmonious spirit the country will not have to suffer much injury.. In another article the same paper says that when the No-change party and the Swaraj party can remain within the Congress despite a fundamental difference between them, there is no reason why the Independents and Liberals should keep themselves aloof from it. The same paper commenting on Mahatma Gandhi's protest against the resolution of the Congress regarding the boycott of British goods, points out that Mahatma Gandhi's ideal is too high and ignores practical considerations. So long as those who rule over us do not deal justly by us the desire to boycott them may smack of a retaliatory spirit but is not unnatural. In yet another article it remarks that obstruction in the Councils and the boycott of Empire goods may smack of retaliation and may therefore offend against the ideal of non-violence yet they are all right in practical politics. Our goal is freedom and not *ahinsa* (non-violence). We can make necessary changes in the methods we have adopted for the attainment of this goal. Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's statement in which he has expressed his intention of retiring from the political life the *Al Khalil* observes: It appears that the present situation has fully disappointed him. His great movement has failed and he finds it impossible to revive it. Such an opinion expressed by such a resolute and firm-minded man depicts very well the future of India and shows that the rays of hope are now so small that they can be seen only through a microscope. The *Oudh Akhbar* does not believe that Mr. Gandhi will like to leave the nation in the lurch at a time when there is question of life and death for it. It further remarks that the Indians should also refrain from doing anything which may so disappoint Mahatmaji as to shirk the leadership of a disobedient nation. The *Medina* differs from the views expressed by Mr. Gandhi regarding the boycott of British goods and remarks that the right exercise of anger is a necessary element of human nature and that it is quite in keeping with human nature to express indignation and hatred against the coercive and repressive policy of Great Britain.

Civil disobedience.

The *Vartman* applauds the decision of the Gujrat Conference to fulfil the constructive programme and remarks that the preparations of the Gujrat people show that mass *satyagraha* will undoubtedly be practised in Gujrat this year. The workers in other parts of the country should follow the lead given by Gujrat and once again create that enthusiasm which prevailed in the non-cooperation days. The previous agitation removed the fear of jail from the minds of the people and let this agitation remove the fear of death. The *Haldhar* remarks that if the Swaraj party really wants to secure *swaraj* it will have to carry a no-tax campaign for which the organisation of the *kisans* is indispensable. We must remember the words of the English poet who said: This world is not for beggars but for those who struggle, fight and conquer.

Bolshevism.

The *Independence* asserts that Bolshevism has been a success because it has kindled a hope—and a mighty hope—in the minds of the masses. The soundness of some of the Bolshevik principles has been generally recognised and a new policy is being introduced. The *Hindustani* says that the selfish policy of the Kings and the members of their Government is responsible for the spread of Bolshevism throughout the world.

If the capitalists and those who had the reins of the Government in their hands had not tried before the war to drain the wealth of the country and leave the people to die of starvation then anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism (now described as Bolshevism) would not have seen the light of day. The wrath of God descends on that Government the people of which are dissatisfied and displeased with their rulers. The *Haqiqat* observes that the responsibility for the spread of Bolshevism in Europe is not chiefly on Russia but in reality on the Allies who imposed very hard terms on Austria and Germany with the result that the labouring classes of these countries were suddenly plunged into deepest misery.

The Cawnpore Conspiracy case.

The *Indian World* says: It was all but expected that the four accused in the Bolshevik case would be condemned by the Sessions Judge of Cawnpore. The whole outlook in India requires a thorough change and such charges on such imaginary agitations and conspiracies well show to what extent the British mentality blunders on fanciful scares. The stone wall partition that has been built between the rulers and the ruled is mainly responsible for such misunderstandings between the two communities. Treatment like this towards four young men from the four corners of India intensify the volume of disaffection in the country, and the prestige of British justice is gradually being lowered in the estimation of the public. The *Vartman* says that the sentences in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy case are not only terrible but most unsatisfactory and likely to create excitement. The delay in the Viceroy replying to the petitions of the accused for transfer of the case to another court as they had no confidence in the impartiality of Mr. Holmes is interpreted by the paper as being nothing else than a conspiracy of the bureaucracy against the accused. To us the charge of conspiracy, says the paper, appears to be quite baseless. The capitalistic bureaucracy does not wish that socialism should be preached in this country but can the diffusion of knowledge and light be prevented in this manner? The *Aj* argues that the accused cannot be held to be conspirators or to have formed a conspiracy and remarks that the decision of the Sessions Judge is a mere example of miscarriage of justice which should be rectified.

U. P. municipalities.

The *Aj* complains of paucity of funds in the municipalities of the United Provinces and remarks that as long as the existing administration of the country remains top-heavy all the money of the people will be spent on its maintenance leaving nothing for works of public utility.

Agra Tenancy Act.

The *Oudh Akhbar* draws special attention towards the Committee's recommendation regarding the ejectment of defaulting tenants after giving them 15 days' notice and advises them to pay due regard to the difficulties of the tenants and to abstain from ejecting them on trifling grounds. They should not exercise their powers under the new Act in such a way as to cause unrest among the tenants or to cast a baneful effect upon their relations with the tenants. One Balkrishna writing in the *Aj* asks the *kisans* of the Agra province to express their grievances in respect of the Tenancy Act in view of the proposed legislation to amend it and start an agitation for its removal.

Native States.

One Govind Narayan writing to the *Bhavishya* asks the Indian Chiefs to wake up and try to remove the grievances of their subjects before any serious agitation is started by the latter. They should have nothing to do with Western civilisation and patronise national dress and language. They should pay heed to the following warning which was given them by "Raja" Mahendra Pratap through an open letter sent by him from Germany:—You know that your foreign Government is not stronger than the Kaiser of Germany and Austria and the Czar of Russia, but the Kaiser fled and the Czar was murdered and the merchants lost their all in Russia. Your brothers are going forward if you do not cooperate with them the same will happen to you. The *Swadesh* remarks that if the rumour that the Maharaja of Jhind has been forced to proceed to England and that he will never return to India be true no protest against this autocratic action of the Government can be too strong and urges that the Government of India should at once clear its position in the matter, if it wants to avoid an agitation in this connection.

NAINI TAL:
The 31st May, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 22 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 7th June, 1924.

The Lee Commission Report.

WITH the exception of the *Pioneer* which supports the recommendations of the Lee Commission and urges their being carried into effect without delay, the press is united in condemning the report as unsatisfactory. The *Pioneer* considers it to be a treaty between two parties who have each honourably agreed to forgo even demands which they consider reasonable in order to arrive at a unanimous finding and says that the sooner the Government make it known that they intend to stand by the report as a whole, the better will be the chance of securing that alleviation of Service dissatisfaction and political tension at which the Commission aimed. Referring to these remarks the *Leader* asks: What is this treaty? Who authorised the members of the Commission to act as plenipotentiaries, and on whose behalf? The Anglo-Indian papers find it less easy to look beyond their nose and see whither their interested arguments lead. It is true now, as ever it was, that the greatest props of Indian extremism are the majority of the Anglo-Indian papers. In another article the same paper says: The sooner these untrustworthy friends realise that educated Indians are not children to be toyed with or frightened but are men equipped with knowledge and endowed with the faculty of thinking, the more they will avoid writings suffused over by the spirit of condescension and extremely frugal of arguments. We are sure educated Indians as a whole will firmly stand by their own well-considered policy without being discouraged by the regrettable lapse of the four Indian members of the Commission or tempted by the alluring suggestions of papers to be practical or reasonable. At another place the paper says: It is unfortunate—this very circumstance is no credit to England—that Indian opinion is still without the power to make its point of view prevail. But it will make that point unmistakably clear, and the one certain consequence of disregard of it by the British Government will be a further alienation between the Indians and the British. The *Advocate* considers the recommendations of the Commission totally opposed to public opinion and sarcastically remarks that the "steel frame" must be strengthened and preserved, for on it depends the safety and tranquillity in India. The Indian tax-payer is to meet this extra burden for the sake of the contentment of the English officers serving in India. According to the *Hamdam* the recommendations of the Commission are highly disappointing and unacceptable in every way. The Indian members of the Central Legislature ought to exert themselves to their utmost to oppose the passage of these recommendations into law unless they are radically changed. If in spite of all opposition and obstruction the recommendations are forcibly thrust upon India, like the Rowlatt Act, the members should unite with the Swarajists and adopt a wholly destructive programme. The *Medina* writes: The cunning players of Europe make all kinds of moves on the chess-board of politics. The British Government has attained perfection in the game. On every occasion a net of deception is spread to subjugate weak nations and strengthen the lust for territorial acquisitions. The nations of the East have become thoroughly aware of Britain's stratagems and are exerting themselves to get rid of its deceitful tactics. It is possible to counteract the magic spell of the ruling sorcerers, but when cunning and ruling tactics are both to be found in a single Power it is beyond the might of an oppressed and subject-nation like India to succeed against them. The enhancement of the salaries, allowances, bonus, etc., of the English members of the services will throw an additional financial burden on India. The *Aj* considers the report of the Lee Commission as extremely disappointing and remarks that it had never before come across a report like this which is so directly calculated to injure the interests of the public and promote those of the officials. In no other country in the world do the officials enjoy such facilities and privileges as have been recommended by the Lee Commission. The report is in effect a gross insult to public opinion and constitutes a mean and crooked attempt to place the officials of the all-India services over the heads of the representatives of the people. The same paper in another article exhorts the members of the Legislative Assembly to reject the report and urge the immediate grant

of *swaraj*. We are not unaware, says the paper, that the recommendations of the Commission will be brought into operation even if they are rejected by the Assembly. We have urged rejection because by doing so the Indians will be saved from the sin of tightening the bonds of India's dependence. Indeed, it is political suicide to support any proposal which may tend to free the bureaucracy from the control of public opinion.

The Khilafat.

The *Naiyar-i-Azam* reproduces the views of an Egyptian scholar who says that the Khilafat is the very keystone of the national life of the Muslims and is their instrument to overawe their enemies. Its abolition is tantamount to committing suicide. If there is no reasonable ground for depriving Abdul Majid of the Khilafat he should continue to be regarded as the lawful Khalifa. Commenting upon the statement of Maulana Shaukat Ali recently published at Bombay the *Hamdam* remarks that the Central Khilafat Committee will render a most important service to Islam if it succeeds through its deputation in making the party in power at present in Turkey accept anew the responsibilities of the Khilafat. It is a religious duty of the Musalmans to emancipate the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* from non-Muslim domination, and as the greater portion of it is in the possession and occupation of Great Britain, Maulana Shaukat Ali is right in remarking in his letter to Mr. Shueb that the only method to achieve the end is non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Non-cooperation and civil disobedience are surely powerful weapons provided they are wielded simultaneously throughout the whole country, but besides this it is necessary for the emancipation of Arabia that the Arabs themselves should be made to cooperate to achieve that end. Maulana Shaukat Ali has correctly voiced the sentiments of true Musalmans regarding the Shariff's Khilafat who can never acknowledge the ally of the enemies of Islam as their Khalifa.

Constitutional advance.

In commenting on the condition of municipal roads in the United Provinces the *Pioneer* remarks: The inefficiency of municipalities in India, in which Swarajist principles have had free play for some time past, can hardly be said to furnish convincing arguments as to the fitness of Indians for complete self-government in the provinces, still less in the Central Legislature. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the terms of reference of the Reforms Inquiry Committee are exceedingly narrow. And it is now clear that the Government of India do not want to consider any change for real progress that may involve a recasting of any portion of the Act. The *Leader* remarks: There is a growing number of people who have come to believe that *swaraj* can never be won by the willing consent of those who have constituted themselves their trustees and are unwilling to part with power. Lord Olivier would do well if he tells India what exactly he proposes to do, how far he is prepared to go in the present. Let us know where he stands and where we should stand in relation to him. So far he has been beating about the bush and creating an impression of his ignorance of men and things Indian. The *Surya* is utterly dissatisfied with the manner in which meetings of the Reforms Inquiry Committee are being held *in camera* at Simla and says that the Liberals are first of all adopting all constitutional means, including a deputation to England, to compel the British people to grant *swaraj* to India and if they fail to achieve their object they will appeal to the civilised opinion of the world laying before it the doings of the British and will then follow the same methods as were adopted by the English themselves in securing their liberty.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's statement on the Hindu-Muslim relations the *Advocate* says: His views on the thorny question of Hindu-Muslim tension are characterised by impartiality and straightforwardness and the remedies which he suggests are different on vital points from those contained in the draft Hindu-Muslim Pact drawn up by Mr. C. R. Das. The question of Hindu-Muslim unity is of the highest national importance and in this matter neither a policy of drift nor of premature haste should be followed. One Mr. Shauq Qidwai in an open letter in the *Mashriq* takes Mr. Gandhi to task for meddling in the purely Islamic question of the Khilafat. He is further accused of deceiving the Musalmans and using them as tools for the establishment of the Hindu instead of the English *raj*. The writer opines that Hindu-Muslim unity is an impossibility and Musalmans have nothing to gain if Dominion self-government is granted to India as in that case the Hindus on account of their majority will have greater political powers. As expressed by Maulana Hasrat Mohani the Muslims want complete

independence because in that case the Musalmans of the frontier and Afghanistan will be able to protect their Indian brethren from the tyrannies of the Hindus. Mr. Gandhi has caused immense misery in the country through his non-cooperation movement. The *Anand* notes with regret that though the Musalmans are adopting various means, fair and foul, to ruin the Hindus, the latter are quite indifferent to the situation and take no counter-measures for their self-protection. It exhorts the Hindus to reconcentrate their attention on the organisation of their community, the *Shuddhi* movement and the uplift of the untouchable classes, if the designs of their opponents are to be frustrated and they are to become a living community.

The Muslim League.

The *Hamdam* opines that Mr. Jinnah's presidential address at the Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League is most statesmanlike and deserves the earnest consideration of his community and countrymen, specially the portion dealing with Hindu-Muslim unity as the foremost condition for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Medina* lays stress upon the necessity of Muslim organisation and remarks that it is the duty of *Jamait-ul-Ulema* to carry out the work of the propagation of Islam and to devote its entire attention to the prevention of the renegation of the Musalmans. No other association than the Muslim League can successfully remove the internal difficulties of the Indian Musalmans and safeguard their interests from the onslaughts of their countrymen.

The Tariff Bill.

The *Pioneer* says that the debate on the Steel Protection Bill provided once more an example of the value to the Swarajists of coming face to face with men who can furnish them with facts and actualities in reply to the extravagant absurdities which on the Congress platform and in the Congress Press have been accepted as the essence of wisdom. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the proposed tariff, if carried into effect, is one of the biggest blows struck at British industries. Protection should be given to such industries registered in India in rupee capital with a reasonable proportion of Indian Directors in the Board and which provide facilities for training young apprentices. Unless these safeguards are taken protection is sure to bring in greater evil. Foreigners are sure to exploit India at the cost of Indian consumers. According to the *Independence* the policy of the Government is not protective in the sense in which the word is understood and interpreted in action by any national government. It does not think that the Government will, for instance, protect Indian cloth against foreign cloth because we know that they are not prepared to encourage the Indian manufacturer at the expense of the English manufacturer. That is why we say that the Government have not abandoned their Imperialist policy for a nationalist one. The *Swadhin* points out that those who oppose the adoption of the protectionist policy on the ground of its hitting the poor hard do so only out of selfish considerations otherwise they would surely have protested against the enhancement of the salt tax which pressed so hard on the poor. It says that when Mahatma Gandhi, than whom there is no greater friend of the poor, has advocated protection, Government can safely legislate for the protection of the Indian industries on the lines of the recommendations of the Tariff Board. The *Aj* expresses the conviction that protection is indispensable for making India independent and self-contained so far as trade and industry are concerned and hopes that the Tariff Bill will be carefully considered by the Assembly and passed into law notwithstanding the opposition of the European traders.

The Taxation Committee.

The *Leader* says that the *personnel* of the Taxation Committee is very unsatisfactory. No equitable system of taxation can be evolved unless data are first ascertained as to the economic condition and the taxable capacity of the people. The appointment of a Taxation Committee ought to have followed and not preceded an economic inquiry. But the cart has been put before the horse. The paper asks: Is this committee a mere formal instrument for recording after the show of an inquiry the decisions and conclusions already arrived at? Grave doubts are being entertained as to the real object of this inquiry and we on our part will not be surprised if it is followed by a tightening of the screw of taxation.

The Swaraj party and Mr. Gandhi.

The *Independence* remarks: To say that the Congress executive should be divorced from the virile touch of the Swarajists would argue almost as if the great Gandhi himself wished their downfall. The *Azad* observes that the recent statement of Mr. Gandhi shows that he has climbed down to a great extent. He no more

holds the Council entry to be a sin. There is a difference of heaven and earth between the former and the recent statements of the Swaraj party. Very soon the Swarajists will become full-fledged Liberals and this will surely be very beneficial to the country. The *Oudh Akhbar* publishes a contributed article in which the writer deplores the rupture in the Congress camp and apprehends that Mahatma Gandhi may lose his political position and be recognised only as a religious leader. It is not likely that the Government in India or in England will be influenced by the threats of the Swarajists. On the contrary it is to be feared that their policy may jeopardise the possible gains which the Liberal deputation which has proceeded to England may be able to secure.. The Government too is not right in holding that if a proper propaganda is carried on the people will not vote for the Swarajist candidates in the next elections. The *Medina* deplores that while the Indians are desirous of emancipating their motherland and of freeing themselves from the heavy chains of slavery, there is lack of unity among the leaders. It is nothing but a sure indication of India's misfortune that its best brains and hearts are not agreed on any one policy. It exhorts the Indians not to indulge in party prejudice but to adopt a policy of mutual toleration and reconciliation and to find means of making India happy and prosperous. The *Vartman* considers the failure of the Juhu negotiations as most unfortunate to the country and apprehends that the differences between the Swaraj party and Mr. Gandhi are now going to assume a form of permanent cleavage thereby causing a situation which will deal a severe blow to the enthusiasm of the people and react on the resuscitation of the national movement. It remarks that the bureaucracy will not kneel down as long as all the forces of the country are not unitedly directed against it. For ridding the country of the administration of an alien bureaucracy national unity is indispensable, and to secure this end we cannot follow more than one path at one and the same time. The *Partap* remarks that the Juhu conversations have resulted in placing two separate programmes before the country. There is no doubt a fundamental difference between the view-points of the two parties, but there is nothing on the basis of which they may be called to be antagonistic or opposed to each other. If with the common goal in view both the parties carry on their respective work earnestly and determinedly it will have to be said of them that they are complementary to each other. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that all talk of a rift in the Congress lute is superfluous, for Mahatma Gandhi will never allow the interests of the country to be jeopardised by mutual dissensions. If the Swarajists succeed in their programme so much the better, otherwise both the Swarajists and the no-changers will join hands to prepare the country for *satyagraha*. The *Bhavishya* supports the view of Mr. Gandhi and opposes those of the Swarajist leaders remarking that no other programme except that of Mahatma Gandhi is more beneficial to the interests of the country at the present juncture. The *Kurmanchal Mitra* remarks that the Swarajists are traitors because on the one hand they attack the Liberals in season and out of season and on the other they are deliberately forsaking the principles of non-cooperation, and by causing a split in the non-cooperation party they are rendering it so weak as to jeopardise the success of Mahatma Gandhi's programme.

Lord Olivier's letter to Mr. Satyamurti.

The *Pioneer* says: It is difficult to decide which was the greater indiscretion, Lord Olivier's, in writing to Mr. Satyamurti, or Mr. Satyamurti's in publishing the contents of a private letter from the Secretary of State. The plain declaration on the part of the Secretary of State, that His Majesty's Government hitherto had not taken into consideration for a moment the question of any modification of communal representation, should set at rest the misgivings which were naturally aroused among Indian Muhammadans by his indiscreet letter. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: There is nothing new in Lord Olivier's explanation. It was taking a foolishly exaggerated view to say that such exchange of views between the Secretary of State and politicians would place the Viceroy in a false position. The paper is gratified that the Secretary of State has been able to express his conception of the influence and position of the Swarajists in no uncertain terms. The *Mashriq* says that the disapproval of the Secretary of State of separate communal representation in his letter to Mr. Satyamurti shows that the Government of Lord Reading has not as yet informed him of the Hindu-Muslim tension and of the losses which the Musalmans suffer on account of their minority. Surely it is a misfortune of the country that separate representation has become a necessity. But such a deplorable state of affairs can be ended only when equal rights are granted to both the Hindu and Muslim communities. The letter of

the Secretary of State shows that what the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms have failed to accomplish the Labour Cabinet is about to solve and thus create disturbances in the country.

The Bengal Provincial Conference.

Commenting on the resolution in praise of Gopinath Saha, the murderer of Mr. Day, the *Pioneer* remarks: The support accorded by Mr. C. R. Das and his followers to this preposterous resolution cannot fail to prejudice the Swarajist party in the eyes of the British people and the British Parliament, and may be confidently expected to bring home to them the futility of any attempt to bring about improved contact between the Government and a party whose members acclaim the ideals which actuated a murderer even though they are careful to condemn his crime. The *Leader* severely condemns the action of the Bengal Provincial Conference in passing this resolution and says that the motive of the crime as distinguished from the crime itself was held up to praise, does not take away from the folly and the impropriety of the resolution. Indeed, irresponsibility could go no further—even among present-day Congressmen. Yet these be the adherents of the creed of Gandhian non-violence.

Refusal of passports.

The *Aj* protests against the refusal of a passport to Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta of Benares and insinuates that he has been refused a passport because Government dislikes his politics. It remarks that it is extremely callous to place any hindrance in the way of Babu Shiva Prasad as he is going abroad in the interest of the health of his wife. Since the Government of India has been vested with the authority of granting passports it has practically stopped the visiting of foreign countries by Indians. The case of Babu Shiva Prasad should not be allowed to rest where it is and steps must be taken to get this injustice removed. We, Indians, will have to ponder over the consequences of this action of the Government and its inner significance and then decide as to how long we want to remain under such a system of administration of such aliens who think that the good of the country lies in hurting our self-respect and suppressing our freedom every moment.

The Cawnpore Conspiracy case.

The *Pratap* opines that there was nothing whatsoever in the papers produced on behalf of the Government on the basis of which it could be said that the accused conspired to overthrow His Majesty's Government in India. It remarks that the accused are no doubt the advocates of the principles of Socialism but it in no way means that they want to overthrow His Majesty's Government in India.

The Shia Waqfs Committee.

The *Hamdam* while welcoming the appointment of a committee to safeguard Shia endowments urges that according to the recommendation of the Provincial Council the Government should soon enforce the new Muslim Waqfs Act in these provinces and should also appoint a committee for the amelioration of the condition of Sunni Waqfs or for the supervision of the Muslim Waqfs it should appoint a committee consisting of the influential and trusted non-officials of both the sects.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* remarks that if the Labour Ministry resigns, as is not unlikely, no one in India will shed a tear for it because during their very short régime the Labour Ministers have shown to the Indians that it is futile to expect justice from the British, and that whichever party may be in power in England, India will have to depend on herself for her emancipation. The *Vartman* insinuates that the open threat of Colonel Gidney to the Governor of the United Provinces and the Government of India that if the Anglo-Indian ticket collectors convicted in the Tundla case were to be whipped by an Indian, all the Anglo-Indians in Government service would resign, was the outcome of the fear on his part that since the Tundla affair had caused great excitement among the Hindus it was not unlikely that they would bribe the executors of the sentence of whipping with a view to get the convicts flogged so severely as may result in their death. It refers to the action taken by the United Provinces Government on the telegram of Colonel Gidney and remarks: If a black were concerned in the matter such a request would probably have been consigned to the waste paper basket and there would have been no change in the administrative procedure; but this case was, if not of the whites, at least of the Anglo-Indians, and as such the face of justice has been blackened by permitting the whipping to be carried out by Anglo-Indians. Many congratulations to the Governor on holding the scales of justice so impartially. The *Hindu Kesari* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra

Pratap in the course of which he states: The Amir of Afghanistan is a well-wisher of the freedom of India and under no circumstances does he want to interfere in the internal affairs of this country. It is altogether baseless that the Amir will invade India if there is any revolution therein. The utmost that Afghanistan wants is that the frontier Afghan tribes should be included in that country and that the sea-coast of Baluchistan should be given to it. It does not covet a single inch of Indian soil. If in future Afghanistan under any bad ruler may desire to invade India, it is certain now that Russia will then invade Afghanistan and will never allow it to obtain a footing in India. Hence India should no longer fear an external enemy. Its destiny is now altogether in the hands of its own people.

NAINI TAL:

The 7th June, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,

Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MAILS BRANCH
15 JUL
INDIA

No. 23 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 14th June, 1924.

The Lee Commission.

THE *Pioneer* is dissatisfied with the attitude adopted by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other members of the Assembly in the discussion on the Lee Commission Report and says that the Assembly in September will be confronted with the test of its appreciation of the essential qualities of government. The development of Indianisation depends for its success on the retention of European agency. If the Assembly persist in showing itself blind to the realities of a financial position which has been clearly perceived by the European and Indian members of the Commission, it will publish to the world that it is afraid of its responsibilities or at least does not recognise them as such. In another article the paper maintains that the grievances of the Services are real; their redress brooks no delay. The Assembly will certainly do themselves no good with public opinion in Great Britain by any attempt to deny justice to British officials by repudiating the report. Such a "gesture" would be quite ineffective. The *Leader* entirely agrees with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that the political and administrative recommendations of the Lee Commission cannot be separated from the larger subject of progress towards responsible government. It advises the Liberal party organisations in other provinces to meet at an early date and formulate and publish their considered opinions on this most important and equally unsatisfactory report. In another article the paper says: A concerted attempt was being made to stampede Government into acceptance of the Lee Commission Report without giving sufficient time to Indian opinion to examine the far-reaching issues raised by it. To the supporters of the Services' extravagant demands, it is almost incomprehensible why Indians should not go into raptures over the 'compromise' and not only accept the recommendations forthwith and without demur, but consent to give retrospective effect to the financial proposals. We trust the Assembly will give a good account of itself when the report is discussed on the merits in September. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is gratified at the decision that no action will be taken until the report is fully considered by the Legislative Assembly in September next. The *Haqiqat* condemns the Lee Commission Report as wholly disappointing to the Indians and insinuates that the Indian members of the Commission signed the report in utter disregard of the interests of the country to serve their own selfish ends. The *Swadhin* is dissatisfied with the report and says that in case the recommendations of the Commission are accepted, it will only increase agitation in the country. The Commission's recommendations regarding the Indianisation of Services show that its members hold that India will still take a long time before Dominion self-government is granted to her. The report in effect represents a very unfair compromise between Indians and Europeans and saddles India with a burden which she can ill afford to support in her present financial conditions. The *Aj* says that the Lee Commission has once more demonstrated that India exists for the Civil Service and not the Civil Service for India. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the report not only deprives the children of this country of their bread and gives it away to the foreigners, but it also insults the Indians by attributing to them the charge of unfitness. If the recommendations of the Commission are put to operation the result will be that India will not be able to get freedom before another forty or fifty years to come. In the meantime she will have to starve her children in order to find funds to provide for the increased emoluments of the alien officials with the result that by the time she is granted *swaraj* she will have become hopelessly insolvent. The *Anand* remarks that instead of recommending the total abolition of the recruitment of Civilians in England to facilitate the march of India on the path of *swaraj* the Commission has recommended only 50 per cent. Indianisation of all the Services and thereby delayed the attainment of *swaraj* by Indians. It expresses the hope that the report will be vigorously opposed in the Legislative Assembly and says that the Government of India will do well to respect Indian opinion in the matter, otherwise the existing unrest will be accentuated and the task of administration rendered difficult. The

Swadesh says that while the grievances of the civilians caused by the Reforms have been removed by the Commission we want to know what has been done to relieve the Indians of the crushing burden of taxation which has been their lot in consequence of the inauguration of the Reforms. All that we find is that the Commission has saddled India with an extra burden of one crore and a quarter rupees. The *Garhwali* remarks that the recommendations of the Commission regarding the Indianisation of Services are marked by narrow-mindedness, illiberality and distrust. Referring to the increases in the emoluments of the Services, it remarks that it is a significant commentary on the bureaucracy in India that while millions of Indians go without even bare necessities of life, more than a crore of rupees are proposed to be spent for providing comforts to the Services. Referring to the additional expenditure proposed by the Commission the paper remarks: This extra imposition has nothing of surprise and strangeness about it when it is remembered that the Indian money is being looted in broad daylight through trade, services, pensions, military expenditure and the location of the gold reserve in England.

The Khilafat.

The *Shia College News* severely takes to task Mr. Muhammad Ali for using foul epithets against the nationalist Turks and Mustafa Kemal Pasha in connection with the abolition of the Khilafat and praises them as great protectors of Islam. It also accuses Mr. Gandhi of inciting Mr. Muhammad Ali and ridicules his remark that Khilafat depends upon India. The Indians have no capacity to solve any problem and India has nothing to do with the decision of the Khilafat question.

The Mosul Conference.

The *Haqiqat* observes that there is only one way of an amicable settlement. Each party should display a spirit of tolerance and respect the just demands of the other. Britain cannot strengthen its position in the Middle East without the help and support of the Turks. If the Conference breaks down even for once the Bolshevik leaders of Russia will try to take advantage of the differences between the two parties and make the situation all the more complicated. The creditors of Turkey will also suffer if Britain insists upon the possession of Mosul. The *Medina* remarks that if the British Government does not render the negotiations successful and does not abide by justice serious unrest will be created in the Muslim world and all the responsibility for it will be with Britain. The Turkish press is well aware of the cunning moves of Britain and openly refuses to submit the Mosul questions to the League of Nations for decision. It is not easy to succeed against the deceitful stratagems of the British, but it is equally difficult for them to withstand the sword of the Turks. The *Oudh Akhbar* accuses Britain of being unjustly convetous of Mosul. It says that it is needless to remind Sir Percy Cox that the Turks hold the Mosul problem to be a question of life and death with them. If Britain displays a strong attitude against the Turks the latter will retaliate in connection with the debt they owe to the former. The Turks are demanding a territory over which they have a claim both from a racial and a national standpoint.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on the Calcutta riots the *Pioneer* says: So long as it is possible for baseless rumours to bring about friction and eventually lead to rioting and loss of life, the different communities which go to make up the geographical expression known as India can never be welded into a genuine democracy. *Swaraj* will come when communal unity has been achieved and untouchability has been removed. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's statement the *Leader* maintains that in trying to avoid hurting Muslim susceptibilities he has displeased the Hindus who feel that they have been judged harshly while those who are more responsible for the tension have been let off lightly. So the Mahatma, instead of creating a favourable atmosphere for the solution of the difficult and delicate problem, has unintentionally made it more tense. The *Medina* takes Khwaja Hasan Nizami to task for his book, *Dai-e-Islam* and observes that he has brought disgrace on the Musalmans who have done nothing to deserve it. The paper complains that although Mr. Gandhi expressed disapproval of the Khwaja's writings he took no notice of Swami Shraddhanand's doings. The *Hindustan Times* criticises Mr. Muhammad Ali for applauding Mr. Gandhi and says that all Musalmans have come to realise that Maulana Muhammad Ali's policy is very injurious to the Indian Muslims. It lays stress on the Anglo-Muslim unity and warns the Musalmans against the Hindus, who, it asserts, are desirous of establishing a Hindu *raj* and enslaving the Muhammadans. It opines that if the English are assured of the absolute loyalty of Indian Musalmans the question of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* will at once be

decided according to the wishes of the latter, as the former are anxious to keep Arabia under their control with the sole object of protecting their rule in India. One Muhammad Murtaza writing in the *Agra Akhbar* warns the Musalmans not to be duped by selfish congress-wallahs and says that their fate under *swaraj* can best be imagined, when even now they are compelled to suffer every day miseries at the hands of the Hindus who form a majority. They must thank God that they enjoy every religious and secular liberty under the benign British rule. The *Hamdam* commends to the attention of both Hindus and Muhammadans Mr. Gandhi's statement on Hindu-Muslim unity and hopes that the Aryas of the Punjab will be so impressed with his arguments that they will no more impede the progress of India by abusing other religions and will stop at the earliest possible moment the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements, which, as remarked by Mr. Gandhi, have most injured the country. The paper does not share Mr. Gandhi's opinion that the present disturbed condition is the forerunner of a calm atmosphere. The *Mashriq* warns the Musalmans against the attempts of Aryas to swallow them up and exhorts them to devote themselves to the propagation of Islam and not to listen to the Khilafatists who still try to keep them in the dark. The *Medina* fully agrees with Mr. Gandhi that the immediate cause of the communal disturbances is the lack of realisation on the part of Indians of the true import of non-violence. Mr. Gandhi has rightly remarked that in order to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity the parties should banish ideas of violence from their minds. The *Anand* complains how Muhammadan bad characters are being utilised to secure converts among Hindu women and boys to Islam by force or by deceit and urges that meetings should be held in all quarters of cities and other places to put Hindu women and boys on their guard against such unscrupulous persons and to take legal proceedings against them. Although the *Abhyudaya* would not throw the entire blame for the prevailing communal dissensions on the Musalmans, it finds fault with the Muslim leaders remarking that whenever the Hindus commit the slightest mistake their leaders do not hesitate to condemn them, whereas the Muslim leaders not only view with equanimity the gravest mischief committed by their co-religionists but that the entire Muslim world comes to their aid. It is this attitude of the Musalmans which stands in the way of the Hindu-Muslim unity and *swaraj*.

The Reforms Inquiry Committee.

The *Aj* commends the action of Pandit Motilal Nehru in declining to accept the offer of a seat in the Reforms Inquiry Committee and remarks: The proposal to appoint the mover of the Round Table Conference resolution as a member of the Reforms Inquiry Committee could emanate only from the fertile brain of Lord Reading. But Pandit Motilal is too shrewd to be deluded and entrapped by the noble Lord. The examination of the defects in the working of the Government of India Act, which is the sole function of the Inquiry Committee, can be carried on by the officials themselves and does not at all concern the representatives of the people. In another article the same paper sternly takes to task Mr. Jinnah for accepting the offer and remarks that it is surprising that the leader of the Independent Party who supported the Round Table Conference resolution should have agreed to work in the Inquiry Committee which has been appointed by the Government in total defiance of the Round Table Conference resolution. Will Mr. Jinnah and his party be satisfied with merely the removal of the difficulties in the working of the Government of India Act? Does not Mr. Jinnah realise that the Inquiry Committee is but a move on the part of the bureaucracy designed to frustrate the Indian demand for *swaraj?*

The Swaraj party and Mr. Gandhi.

The *Leader* forecasts a serious split between Mr. Gandhi and the Swarajists in the near future and remarks: If a split occurs in the Congress, as seems almost unavoidable, and Mr. Gandhi decides to withdraw from it, then it will mean another revolution in the politics and organisation of the Congress and also a further weakening of what is still left of its influence and authority. At another place the paper says: The probability appears to be that either Mr. Gandhi and his no-changers or Messrs. Das and Nehru and their Swarajists will leave the Congress: a dire potentiality that leaves us cold. The *Advocate* hopes that Mr. Gandhi will take every factor of smooth and efficient Congress work into consideration, before insisting on the Swarajists to clear out of the Congress executives. The *Oudh Akhbar* publishes a communicated article in which the writer praises Mr. Gandhi for expressing disapproval of the boycott of British goods and expresses the hope that the Swarajists will now refrain from moving their resolutions in the Assembly regarding the boycott of British goods. The writer also expresses gratification that the

Swarajists have now begun to soften their attitude towards the Reforms and the cooperators. The *Haqiqat* opines that the statements of both Mr. Gandhi and the Swarajist leaders show that no settlement is possible between the Swarajists and the no-changers. Let us see how long these differences continue to ruin and injure India? The *Garhwali* approves of the statement of the Swarajist leaders as against that of Mr. Gandhi and points out that much more can be accomplished from within the Councils than outside them. It expresses the hope that the Swarajists, under the able leadership of Mr. Das and Pandit Nehru, will suceeed in advancing the political progress of the country through the Councils. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that Mahatma Gandhi's statement that the Swarajists should resign from the Congress executives is not only improper but is also destructive of the elementary principles of democracy. Any attempt to remove the Swarajists from the Congress executives will prove fatal to the Congress. The *Anand* says that Mr. Gandhi's demand to the Swarajists to resign offices in the Congress will deal a death-blow to the Swaraj party, which must realise that it has neither the support of the Congress nor of Mahatma Gandhi. The *Kartavya* remarks that Mahatma Gandhi, being the high-priest of non-cooperation, his view that Council entry is opposed to the principles of non-cooperation must be held to be sound and correct. It is doubtful whether the Swarajists will accept the advice of the Mahatma to concentrate their energies on the constructive programme. All signs point to the conclusion that agitation will not be carried on vigorously until the Swarajists have been convinced of the futility of councils, and join the no-changers in preparing the people for Civil Disobedience. The *Haldhar* is opposed to the view that the divergence between the programme of Mr. Gandhi and that of the Swaraj party will prove harmful to the struggle for *swaraj* and remarks that so long as the object of both of them is the same and both hold non-cooperation to be the best means for its attainment, there is no room for disappointment. Nationalism cannot be destroyed by divergence in programme or by the formation of parties. It is the divergence in the object and the means for its attainment which destroys nationalism. For our part, we regard the formation of two parties within the Congress as beneficial to the interests of the country for the British Government will be compelled to confer *swaraj* only when it is harassed by being attacked both from inside and outside its fortress.

The O'Dwyer-Nair case.

The *Pioneer* remarks that it is unfortunate that the case has revived memories of unhappy events in the Punjab about which Englishmen and Indian politicians will probably always remain in fundamental disagreement. Commenting on the judgement the paper says: Those who have carefully followed the evidence with an unbiassed mind will be disposed to agree with the verdict of an overwhelming majority of the jury. The result of the trial may be regarded as a complete vindication of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his administration. The paper regrets that Mr. Justice McCardie should have displayed a marked bias in favour of the plaintiff. This is much to be regretted, as it has done a great deal to rob the verdict of any influence upon Indian opinion, and has given Indian politicians and journals an opportunity, of which they have not been slow to avail themselves, for indulging in bitter and envenomed comment on his conduct of the case. The *Leader* in a long article headed "What justice" says that the verdict is bound to strengthen extremist forces and correspondingly weaken those who, notwithstanding disappointments frequent, numerous and serious, have been devotedly attempting to keep a party of constitutional reformers still alive. It emphasises that wherever there is a conflict between Indian and European interests, as in the case of the Lee Commission, or when justice is to be done between the British and the Indian view of the public conduct of public officers, disappointments to Indians is generally the result. The result of the case is that to the Indians Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not the less of an O'Dwyer than he was, whereas Sir Sankaran Nair, though defeated in a court of law, has distinctly gained in stature as an independent and patriotic Indian. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the verdict is political and not judicial. The testimony of the Punjab, read before the jury, might be brushed aside, but not from the mind of India which will long remember and which will constitute a black mark on the British administration here. It is unfortunate that the impression should spread in this country that where political issues are involved, an Indian cannot obtain justice in England. This specimen of justice must leave in this country a lasting impression behind. It is almost with a touch of awe and superstition that we feel that Sir Sankaran should have met punishment at the

hands of the one civilian whose name was execrated throughout India on the eve of his departure. The judgement will rouse deep feelings in this country. The *Advocate* remarks: The judgement once more brings home to the people of India how far the British sense of justice is liable to be warped when the racial element comes in. The paper suggests that a public fund should be raised in India with the object of showing the nation's sympathy with Sir Sankaran Nair. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets the decision and remarks that instead of soothing the wounded feelings of the Indians it has added insult to injury. Indians should now be convinced that even law courts of England cannot mete out justice to them against European officials. The *Zulqarnain* says that the deposition of Sir Michael O'Dwyer shows that during his régime undue coercion was practised in enlisting recruits. The libel case has revealed to the British public the other side of the picture also which was as yet hidden from their view. The *Aj* remarks that the decision in the O'Dwyer-Nair suit has been as was anticipated. It was clear from even Reuter's messages that Mr. Justice McCardie, the presiding judge, had started from the very beginning to take sides with the plaintiff. We had never before heard of any Judge so openly siding with one of the contending parties. The decision in this suit has a wide significance. It means that the oppressed Indians cannot expect justice even at the hands of the British law courts.

The Akali agitation.

The *Leader* remarks that the Akali struggle has lasted three long years and the country is apparently no nearer a solution of it than it was at the beginning. It suggests the formation of a new committee which would include public men of the calibre of Mr. Hasan Imam, Sir Shadi Lal and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. The *Desh Bhakta* advises the Government to appease the Sikhs by accepting their demands and by restoring Nabha to the *ex*-Maharaja. There is still time for Lord Reading to save himself from the stain of the murder of the innocent and to compel the Punjab Government to accept the terms of the Akali leaders, otherwise the Indians will class him along with Lord Curzon and Lord Chelmsford.

The Bengal Provincial Conference.

Mr. Das's statement with regard to the Swarajists' resolution praising Gopinath Saha, the murderer of Mr. Day, has not convinced the press of the wisdom displayed by the Congress meeting. The *Pioneer* says: Mr. Das should be well aware of the effect which such a resolution is likely to produce on the feeble and vain-glorious mentality of excitable and unbalanced youths of the type of Gopinath Saha, who are easily led astray by love of notoriety and false sentiments and become ready instruments of crime in the hands of more astute conspirators in the background. In another article the paper says: The hypocritical lip-service to non-violence in the preamble of the resolution will be brushed aside with contempt in the neophyte's ecstasy at the prospect of earning a martyr's crown. The Swarajists' condemnation of the crime will be ignored; their open admiration of the murderer's motives will be remembered and will prove a source of inspiration. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: It is curious that the indignation against Mr. Das for the Serajganj resolution is not manifest against the British Judge, who went out of the way to certify the action of General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh. This is how racial feeling is worked up unconsciously in this country. The *Leader* says: It is indeed a very serious matter that an organised political body should have passed a deliberate resolution, supported by the vote of the leader of the party, in praise of the perpetrator of a murder or of his motive in acting unpardonably as he did. It does not think that the translation now made changes the position or improves it perceptibly, while the defence is characteristic of the lawyer as well as the Bengali in Mr. Das. But we are sure Bengalis as a whole have not yet made Mr. Das their sole trustee or the custodian of their honour, and their interests and Mr. Das's high falutin will not go down with the large majority of our Bengali fellow-countrymen. A first-rate blunder has been made: let it be honestly recognised and candidly admitted. The *Advocate* says: The resolution in appreciation of Saha's courage shows which way the wind is blowing in Bengal.

Refusal of passports.

The *Swadesh* describes as utterly high-handed the action of the United Provinces Government in refusing passports to Mr. and Mrs. Shiva Prasad Gupta who were proceeding to England for the improvement of the health of the latter and in assigning no reasons for its decision. It asks whether the regulations relating to passports are only for the benefit of the Government's protéges and whether all other persons are

to be treated as internees in India. This attack on the individual civic liberties of the Indians must be repelled as early as possible.

The flogging in the Tundla rape case.

The *Medina* condemns as disgraceful example of racial discrimination the decision of the Local Government regarding the flogging of the two Anglo-Indian convicts in the Tundla rape case. The paper adds: How shameful it is that the back of the free and ruling people is held to be dearer than the chastity of the slaves and the ruled. The *Hamdam* remarks that so long as such race prejudices are present among the Anglo-Indians they cannot appreciate the feelings and demands of the subject-people of India and it is idle to expect any sympathy from them in any national movement. The *Abhyudaya* condemns the action taken by the Local Government and remarks: Unless the Government issues orders similar to those issued in the case of the Tundla Anglo-Indian convicts that in future no white man will be employed to flog the Indians, it will be said that it conceded the request of the Anglo-Indians not out of a sense of justice but under the force of threat. Writing in a similar strain the *Partap* remarks: Neither Colonel Gidney felt any shame in making the request that the whipping of the Tundla convicts may be carried out by Anglo-Indians nor did the Local Government give a better account of itself by conceding such a shameless request. Can the whipping of these Anglo-Indian convicts by a white instead of a black in any way minimise the heinousness of their crime? We feel pity at the perversity of those who think that by affording protection to the riff-raffs of society they can uphold their national prestige. As to the Government it has given an excellent proof of its 'impartiality.' The *Swadhin* remarks that the decision of the United Provinces Government regarding the flogging of the Tundla Anglo-Indian convicts draws a special line of demarcation between the rulers and the ruled and stamps the latter with the seal of inferiority. Such a state of affairs is the outcome of the poverty and subjection of Indians who have thereby lost their self-respect and have been reduced to the position of beasts and are treated as such by the Government.

Political propaganda.

The *Haldhar* publishes a message from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap to the *kisans* of India in which he exhorts them to carry on the work of village organisation, establish *panchayats* and take up the administration of the villages in their own hands. He also asks the national leaders to take up the cause of the *kisans* and try to ameliorate their lot, pointing out that in removing the prevailing evils they should not be actuated by a feeling of personal hatred against the zamindars and the capitalists but by a religious and humane motive. The *Vartman* remarks that the revolution which had died as a result of the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi is now going to be revived with this difference that it will not now aim at the destruction of the present system of administration; because the bitter experiences of the Swarajists have convinced the people that a change in the present system of administration is not sufficient, that it is humiliating for the Indians to remain content with their lot as "false citizens" under an alien Government in this era of "democracy" and "self-determination" and that they can enjoy the rights of true citizenship only when they get the government of their country into their own hands. The time is near when this white revolution of ours will produce its effect and by frustrating the moves of the British Imperialists bring India nearer to liberty.

NAINI TAL:
The 14th June, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MAIL ROOM
15 JUL
INDIA OFFICE

No. 24 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 21st June, 1924.

The Lee Commission Report.

THE Indian Press continues to criticise the recommendations of the Lee Commission. The *Najat* avers that the acceptance of the recommendations of the Lee Commission will render India for ever a slave to the English who will henceforward have a permanent share in the administration of the country. If the Government has already decided to certify the report, even if it is rejected by the Assembly, there is no use presenting it for discussion. The truth is that India is dependent and the Government rules over it in an arbitrary manner. The *Al Bureed* remarks that the most notable feature of the report is the additional burden of about a crore of rupees which has been thrown upon the shoulders of the poor Indians, the responsibility for which lies with the Indian members of the Commission. The *Mashriq* regrets that the report contains nothing which may safeguard the rights of the Musalmans and exhorts the leaders to convene meetings to protest against the report. A correspondent writing to the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that there is no reason why the Indians should be deprived of that medical aid which has been recommended for the Europeans. He further suggests that the Indians serving in far-away provinces should be given travelling allowances when proceeding home on leave. The paper is gratified that Sir Alexander Muddiman has postponed action on the recommendations of the Commission till discussions on the report have taken place in the Assembly. The *Prem* remarks that the recommendations of the Lee Commission are a sad commentary on the principles of justice and impartiality. What an irony of fate is it that while promises are made to meet the aspirations of the Indians, measures are being taken to perpetuate their subjection and poverty? The organ of the Benares Liberals, the *Surya*, says that the Lee Commission has favoured the Services at the expense of the Indian tax-payer. It further remarks:—The English have not contented themselves with doubling the taxation as compared with the pre-war days. They have crippled us in every way by capturing all our business. They open fire whenever they like and increase taxation at their sweet will. Indians will do well to sink their differences and be ready to oppose these injustice-dealers, bearing in mind that there is no nation which will not quail before their united power. In the opinion of the *Pioneer* the complaint against the proposals of the Lee Commission has been carried on, ever since they were made public, with a bitterness and an anti-British rancour which show plainly that those who are organising it cannot or will not take the trouble to understand that the grievances of the British official are no figment of the imagination, and that the presence of the British official in India will be essential for very many years to come.

The Khilafat.

The *Iqdam* justifies the action of the nationalist Turks as quite in keeping with the principles of Islam and remarks that the Indian Musalmans are very ungrateful in abusing a nation that has been for centuries undergoing all sorts of sacrifices for their religion. Munshi Ahmad Ali Shauq in a signed article to the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks: The Musalmans of India cannot recognise Sharif Husain, who is a traitor and a rebel as their Khalifa. We have no faith in his words and actions and it is a sheer injustice to Islam to support his cause.

The Mosul conference.

The *Najat* is sanguine of the Turkish success in the conference and advises Great Britain to give up its coveteousness for oil fields and greed for territorial aggrandisement in order to maintain peace and order. The *Hindustani* also justifies the claims of the Turks and remarks that the restoration of the territory to the Turks is the only way of maintaining peace and order in Iraq. The *Medina* alleges that Great Britain has bribed the representatives of Mosul and protests against the question being submitted to the League of Nations as it is a tool in the hands of Great Britain. The *Hamdam* deplores the breakdown of the Mosul conference and accuses Great Britain of being greedy of oil fields. It further remarks that the Turkish demands are based on right and justice as opposed to Great Britain's, which are based on selfishness and greed.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Pioneer* says: It is difficult to see how full Dominion status can ever be attained while Hindus and Muhammadans are at loggerheads, though if India has to wait for *swaraj* until Hindu-Muslim unity has been achieved, she will probably have to wait till the Greek Kalends. Mahatma Gandhi's statement on Hindu-Muslim unity has evoked adverse comments in most of the Hindu papers. The *Gyan Shakti* says that Mahatma Gandhi is entirely in the wrong if he holds that *Shuddhi* forms no part of Hinduism and that the Hindus are utterly dissatisfied with his views on the question of re-conversions. He has unjustifiably espoused the cause of Muhammadans and attempted to flatter them. His attacks against the *Satyarth Prakash*, Swami Dayanand and the Arya Samaj are altogether unfounded and baseless. He has taken no notice of Khwaja Hasan Nizami's book, *Dai-e-Islam*, which openly advocates the kidnapping of Hindu women and children but has seriously found fault with Swami Shraddhanand. He has criticised the *Satyarth Prakash* instead of the *Qoran* which declares itself to be the sworn enemy of the Hindus. The *Anand* opines that the statement will displease most of the people and create ill-feeling also. Mahatma Gandhi's remarks on the *Shuddhi* movement are one-sided and will carry no weight with the Hindus. The *Kartavya* remarks that the statement has been inspired by a sincere desire to do good to all the communities and embodies an incomparable exposition of the Hindu-Muslim question. Mahatma Gandhi has rightly remarked that Hindu-Muslim disturbances will be stopped if both the communities earnestly believe in the principle of non-violence. The paper, however, disagrees with the Mahatma's view regarding conversions and urges that though Hinduism is not a proselytising religion it can certainly assimilate those who were once included within its fold. It expresses surprise that Mahatma Gandhi made the wrong allegation that Arya Samajists too kidnap Muhammadan women for purposes of conversion. The *Vartman* points out that it is the timidity and cowardice on the part of the Hindus which have made them the easy victims of the oppressions of Muslim *goondas*. All talk of *swaraj* is idle until the Hindus are strong enough to defend themselves. The *Rajput* asserts that wherever Muhammadan officials preponderate Muhammadans seek quarrels with Hindus in the hope that they will be supported by those officials and that Hindus have little hope of justice when communal cases are tried by Muhammadan officials. It urges the local Government not to keep more than one-third Muhammadan officials in any district and to transfer them to other districts if they exceed that number in any particular district. The *Gorakshan* says that the fact that most reprehensible steps are being adopted to propagate Islam shows that this creed is the weakest and lowest of all other creeds. Islam embodies many absurd teachings and that is why Muhammadans exercise deceit in spreading it. Islam is full of hypocricies otherwise Musalmans must have protested against the outrages on women which are being so frequently perpetrated in Bengal. The *Hamdam* says that Mr. Gandhi has expressed his views honestly and courageously and hopes that the Musalmans will follow the path shown by him and will remain patient and calm in spite of the excesses of the Hindus. In another article the same paper interprets the views expressed by Swamiji on the statement of Mr. Gandhi as the vain pratings of a bigotted and selfish man and remarks that they reflect the Anglo-Indian point of view. The *Haqiqat* says that the prevailing mutual dissensions could be removed if Mahatmaji were to start afresh any such movement which might suddenly turn towards it the attention of the nation but unfortunately he still insists on following non-cooperation. The *Arya Varta* regrets the views expressed by Mr. Gandhi and remarks that he has been misled by the Musalmans. The *Al Bureed* holds the Hindus responsible for the present communal tension and remarks that Mr. Gandhi has committed a mistake in condemning the Musalmans.

The Muslim League.

Commenting upon the presidential address the *Tabligh* remarks that in spite of the hostile activities of the Hindus the Musalmans, for the sake of the general interest of the country, are still keenly desirous of Hindu-Muslim unity. It lays stress on the internal organisation of the Musalmans and regrets that the League has nothing to say regarding the oppressed Moplas. The *Hamdard* is gratified at the revival of the League and suggests that the Khilafat committees should be abolished and their funds handed over to the League. It asks the Musalmans to honestly abide by the resolutions passed by the League. The *Al Bashir* takes the League to task for neglecting the important question of the emancipation of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and remarks that if Great Britain succeeds in strengthening its influence over Arabia India can never become free. It further remarks that

the League is guilty of maintaining criminal silence regarding the atrocities perpetrated upon the Moplas and predicts that the League will remain as useless as before.

Lord Olivier's letter to Mr. Satyamurti.

Commenting upon the Secretary of State's letter to Mr. Satyamurti the *Hamdam* says that Lord Olivier's verdict has raised more apprehensions among the Musalmans than among the non-Brahmans (of Madras) because his views are calculated to shake that assurance which was from time to time given to the Musalmans by the Imperial Government and the Government of India. Under the present circumstances the Musalmans are quite justified in insisting upon separate representation.

The Swaraj party.

The *Leader* continues to attack the Swaraj party. In a leading article headed "That united party" the paper says: Mr. Kelkar's statement amounts to an utter repudiation of the original Swarajist policy and the substitution in its place of the policy of the much condemned Moderates. As sappers and miners of Mr. Gandhi they are digging trenches which may become the second line of defence of the bureaucracy and may bury the non-cooperation movement. The question that requires answer is not whether the Swaraj party is united, but whether it is true to the pledge it gave to the electors. If it is not, can it escape the charge of having secured election under false pretences? Referring to Mr. Das's statement on the Serajgunj resolution the same paper says: The implications of the Serajganj resolution are horrible to contemplate and the sooner Messrs. Das and Co. admit their mistake the better it would be for the reputation of the party. If the bravery and self-sacrifice of Gopinath Saha are to be objects of admiration to the Swarajists, why do they not also pass a resolution applauding the patriotic motives of those who commit political dacoities accompanied by brutal murder? Where do the Bengal Swarajists propose to draw the line? The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: We are sure that if they would calmly survey the present situation, the Swarajists would find that their political ascendancy today, marked as it undoubtedly is by fine achievements and patriotic resolves, has not secured for them any stronghold on the popular mind. On the other hand, either due to lack of diplomacy or a thoughtless disregard for calm forethought, they have been alienating every interest around them. They are against the present system of government, their very life depends upon their remaining against the Government, until its spirit changes. Therefore, we are not surprised that the bureaucrat looks askance at the Swarajist. We are not surprised also that the Liberals are daily pouring ridicule and abuse on them. If the Liberals are today wallowing in the mire, disowned by the people and by the Government whom they most loyally served, it is due to the unrelenting election campaign of the non-cooperators. But are the Swarajists wise in alienating their brother non-cooperators? And are they not almost deliberately doing it by assuming what can only be described as an offensive attitude against Gandhi. There is no use disguising the spirit behind the reference to Pontius Pilate and the angry gesture about the Swarajists being left to settle their own morals. The *Pratap* remarks that the Swaraj party has fallen far below its position. There is now no difference between the Swarajists and the Liberals. The attitude of the Swaraj party is certainly indefensible. It is alienating the sympathy of the country. It is a mistake on its part to think that the Councils are the be-all and end-all of its existence. The *Kartavya* supports Mr. Gandhi's suggestion regarding the resignation of their offices by Swarajists in the Congress, pointing out that the National Assembly has suffered in popularity by the Swarajists retaining offices. It urges that if mutual bitterness is to be avoided the Swarajists will do well to act upon Mahatma Gandhi's advice. The *Surya* observes that in view of fundamental differences between Mr. Gandhi and Swarajist leaders, the latter have no alternative left but to join forces with the Liberals in the national struggle and work on constitutional lines.

Constitutional advance.

The *Leader* disapproves the writings of the Anglo-Indian papers with regard to further constitutional advance and says: It is not by any means difficult to imagine that if all political parties unanimously resolved to wait for further progress until 1929 what the attitude of these worthies of the Anglo-Indian Press will be in that year. With their infinite resources they will even then as vigorously oppose further advance as they are doing now. Barring one or two honourable exceptions among them the rest of them are hostile to our aspirations and must be treated as

such by Indian public opinion. Referring to Mr. Sastri's statement in England the *Pioneer* says: It seems unfortunate that Indian public men in delivering themselves of opinions in the English Press should be so reckless in their statements, and even Mr. Sastri's reputation can hardly be proof against conviction of lamentable ignorance, if nothing worse.

Lord Reading's ban on the dhoti.

The *Abhyudaya* characterises the order of Lord Reading prohibiting attendance at the Viceregal function with *dhoti* on as an outcome of a fit of insanity on his part and remarks that the impropriety of the order at once becomes glaring when it is considered that the *dhoti* is the national dress of the Indians and it is already permissible in official bodies like the High Courts and the Legislatures. The *Aj* says that this order of the Viceroy is equivalent to a proclamation that our national dress is uncivilised and improper. All Indians should protest against this order and make it a point not to attend any of the Viceregal functions unless and until it is withdrawn.

The O'Dwyer-Nair case.

The *Leader* derives satisfaction from the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament that the findings of the jury in the O'Dwyer-Nair libel action did not contain any indication or suggestion that General Dyer was not fairly dealt with. The *Hamdam* asserts that in spite of great changes in the system of government the racial prejudices of the British public can never cease and that the Indians will ever be considered as black people for whom the door of justice is shut. The *Medina* says that the most serious aspect of the decision is the absence of shame in the heart of Justice McCardie for the inhuman and shameful tragedy enacted at Jallianwala Bagh. The *Haqiqat* exhorts the Indians to render financial help to Sir Sankaran Nair in spite of his unpopularity amongst his countrymen and remarks that such incidents add to the unrest and dissatisfaction prevailing in India. The *Hindustani* condemns the decision as grossly unjust and based upon racial prejudices and remarks that it has taught a lesson to the Indians that those who support the aliens against their countrymen will meet with the same fate as has befallen Sir Sankaran Nair. The *Najat* hopes that the decision will disillusion the Liberals as the very fact of being an Indian is regarded as a crime under the British law. The *Abhyudaya* holds that the decision in the O'Dwyer-Nair case is a fresh example of the hollowness of British justice and that by his eloquent eulogy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, Mr. Justice McCardie, the presiding judge, has sprinkled salt into the wounds of the Indians. The *Aj* remarks:—The more we consider the behaviour of Mr. Justice McCardie the more reprehensible it appears to us. The plain and simple meaning of the opinions expressed by him is that the action of the military even, if it sheds rivers of blood in the name of the defence of the Empire, will in future be considered as justifiable. What a fine example of justice? Indeed, Justice McCardie has outdone the majority of the Deputy Magistrates in this country who dance at the bidding of the police. The *Bharat Jiwan* sarcastically says that the decision in the O'Dwyer-Nair case is one of the best examples of British justice. Every Indian knows from the time the Tilak-Chirol case was decided that we, the slaves, cannot have a just hearing anywhere. It is to be hoped that the Liberals will learn a lesson from this case.

Restoration of Berar.

A correspondent writing to the *Haqiqat* regrets the attitude adopted by Lord Reading in the matter of Berar and is at a loss to understand why the Nizam's memorial has not yet been submitted to the Secretary of State for India. The Viceroy by his action is antagonising even those who trust and admire him. In another article the same paper suggests that Sir Ali Imam should now return to India to win over Indian public opinion in favour of the restoration of Berar.

The Serajgunj resolution.

Referring to Mr. Das's statement in explanation of the Serajgunj resolution praising Gopinath Saha, the *Pioneer* says: To our mind, indeed, this apotheosis of a half-baked unbalanced student, whose lack of mental equilibrium and overweening vanity led him to commit the crime of murder, is positively nauseating, and is calculated to inspire every weak-minded degenerate in Bengal who chooses to regard himself as divinely appointed to be the saviour of his country, to go and do likewise. The *Leader* says that the statement made by Mr. Chaudhuri, chairman of the reception committee of the Bengal Provincial Conference, is certainly very damaging to Mr. Das who, in trying to justify a blunder, has only further

entangled himself. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the resolution does not in reality approve the action of Gopinath Saha but simply acknowledges his sense of patriotism which carried to the extreme misled him to commit such a base act. This recognition of his patriotism while his action was condemned in the very beginning ought not to have been made the cause of so much agitation and excitement. In reality such individuals are worthy of being termed the devotees of their nation and country. The *Aj* remarks that although the resolution of the Bengal Provincial Conference regarding Gopinath Saha defied the Congress pledge of non-violence and was inopportune, improper and unnecessary and impolitic; yet it cannot possibly be said to contain any incitement to murder. The European Association is trying to make capital out of this resolution and Mahatma Gandhi has already expressed his strong disapproval of it. If the former prejudices Indian public opinion against Bengal and the latter encourages Government to resort to ruthless repression, Bengal will have a very hard time of it. It is the duty of the whole Indian nation to stand by Bengal as one man bearing in mind that they should do nothing which may strengthen the cause of their opponents.

Vaikom Satyagraha.

The *Pioneer* remarks: If half the effort that has been misdirected in the non-cooperation movement towards the premature attainment of *swaraj* had been directed to this end, India would now be far nearer the realisation of the political aspirations of her politicians. If the problem of the depressed classes were solved, Hindu-Muslim unity achieved, municipal and district board administration rendered really efficient, and a sincere and intelligent attempt made to work and develop constitutionally the powers already in the hands of the political leaders, instead of childish efforts at smashing the administrative machine, India's claim for Dominion status would be irresistible and no British Government could ignore it.

The Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy case.

The *Surya* condemns the decision in the Cawnpore Bolshevik Conspiracy case as a travesty of justice which has been perpetrated simply because the Indians are a subject people. It asserts that the documents produced in the case do not at all establish the charge of conspiracy against the convicts. The *Hindi-Kesari* remarks that all the circumstances connected with the case show that it was a veritable farce of justice.

The United Provinces capital.

The *Leader* says: Rumour is strongly rife that it is intended to remove to Lucknow the offices of the Secretaries to Government in the Public Works department, both in the Irrigation and the Buildings and Roads branch and that the transfer will materialise as early as October next. This proposal, which has been hatched in secret, will, if given effect to, be the thin end of the wedge which will ultimately entail the removal to Lucknow of the entire Secretariat and the seat of Government. The high-paid European officials, ignoring the great inconveniences which the clerks of these offices will be put to, have set their hearts on this project evidently for no other or better reason than that the capital of Oudh abounds in super-social amenities for them.

NAINI TAL:
The 21st June, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 25 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 28th June, 1924.

The Lee Commission Report.

THE *Pioneer* regrets that Indian papers cannot be induced to look at any other aspect of the Commission's labours than the financial one. If they could, they would appreciate the fact that the Lee Commission have in effect adopted the "O'Donnell" circular's arguments in favour of European recruitment. The vital importance of their recommendations on questions of provincialisation and recruitment has not yet been fully realised. To prophesy without reservation is unwise, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the pace of Indianisation will be far more rapid than the Commission expects. In another article the paper says: As the Commission has recommended a sweeping policy of Indianisation, the proposals for adjusting—albeit on very modest lines—the financial conditions of the Services will represent increased expenditure which can in years to come be only reduced by a comparatively small amount. In the higher special appointments it is obvious that the payment of Indians and Europeans at the same rate is desirable, but where the time scale operates, it is really doing the imported official an injustice to give to a colleague living in his own country the same emoluments. Moreover, from the standpoint of the finances of India, it is actually bad business. Nor does it enable the country to derive one of the main advantages which ordinarily should accrue from a policy of increased association of Indians in the administration. This apparently was part of the price paid for unanimity among the signatories of the Report. Referring to the support given by the *Pioneer* to the recommendations of the Lee Commission the *Leader* says: The *Pioneer* has no doubt—we dare say it is right—that the Indian opposition to the Lee proposals is futile. Why then does it dip its pen in gall every day to decry the Indian view? Why cannot it repose in the serene confidence that the privileged Services' interests are very secure in the keeping of their countrymen at Simla and Whitehall? Because probably its writing staff basking in a mean of three figures have lost all faith in electric fans and iced drinks which do not give them the needed peace of mind. The newly started paper from Lucknow, the *Rising India*, remarks: Our countrymen have rightly lost their faith in the utility of the so-called Royal Commissions, the sole object of which is to tighten the shackles of serfdom even more and more on our unfortunate country. The niggardly fling of 50 per cent. of the posts to the Indians in the Indian Civil Service is a clever bait. It is a clever policy to placate the indignant feelings of the Indian politicians. But the move, as detrimental to the future and as cunning as fox, cannot elude the shrewd imagination. The *Anand Pracharak* regards the recommendations of the Lee Commission as necessary to induce Englishmen to join the Indian Civil Service and remarks that the Indians are unfit at present for administrative work and the presence of the English is necessary to teach them the lessons of self-government. The *Aj* remarks that the acceptance of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's resolution regarding the effectuation of the Lee Commission Report makes no difference in the situation seeing that the recommendations of the Commission will be put into operation despite any decision of the Assembly.

The Khilafat.

Khwaja Ghulam Nizam Qadri in a lengthy article in the *Hamdam* regards the existence of Khilafat as a religious necessity for the Musalmans and remarks that if Abdul Majid is not reinstalled as a Khalifa, the best thing under the present circumstances would be to acknowledge Sharif Husain as the Khalifa of the Musalmans. The *Medina* approves of the statement of Maulana Shaukat Ali for the revival of the Khilafat Committees and hopes that he will soon translate into action what has hitherto been confined to speeches only. The *Haqiqat* avers that after the abolition of the Khilafat the existence of the Khilafat Committees has become a greater necessity.

The Mosul Conference.

The *Haqiqat* remarks that the obstinacy of Great Britain was the cause of the breakdown of the Conference and warns her that the abolition of the Khilafat has in no way alienated the Muslim sympathies from the Turks and any step taken against them is sure to cause unrest throughout the Muslim world. In another article the same paper observes that the Turks are quite justified in their demands and that the Mosul question cannot be settled as long as Great Britain holds a mandate over Iraq. The *Najat* is sanguine that the Turks will never yield to the unjust demands of Great Britain and apprehends that the Anglo-Turkish tension will throw the entire Muslim world into great commotion.

Indians in the Colonies.

The Indian papers are jubilant over the defeat of General Smuts. The *Advocate* says that the defeat of Premier Smuts indicates that anti-Indian feelings are becoming more prominent day by day in South Africa. The *Hamdam* hopes that the régime of General Smuts' successor will prove beneficial to India so far as the condition of the Indians in the Colonies is concerned. The régime of General Smuts has been notorious for injustice shown towards the Indians and his exit from the Union Government has a direct bearing on the affairs of India.

Anglo-Iraq agreement.

The *Oudh Akhbar* says that though the stipulation in the agreement that Great Britain will guide the foreign policy of Iraq and will have a voice in her military affairs relieves the Iraq people from many responsibilities, it reduces the importance of the rule of Amir Feisal to insignificance. Nobody can say that Great Britain will respect the assurances of good faith given by the High Commissioner of Iraq and fulfill its promises. The *Medina* remarks: This talisman cannot last long and those who are opposed to the agreement will soon adopt an agressive attitude. If the question of Mosul is decided against the Turks, Iraq will become another Ireland. The *Najat* remarks that the Iraq people have betrayed a lack of political sagacity in accepting the agreement and that by drawing up the agreement in charming words Great Britain has spread a net to entangle the necks of the people of Iraq.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Pioneer* says: It is to be hoped that the *fracas* at Delhi will serve as a warning, and that there will be no further disturbances on the approach of the *Bakr Id*. Communal disturbances do not furnish a convincing argument to the British people in favour of India's fitness for further constitutional advance; though the effect of a comparatively insignificant *fracas* like that at Delhi is far less than the effect of a "gesture" like that of Mr. C. R. Das in his apotheosis of a murderous degenerate. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: Muhammad Ali's fighting comment on the Hindu-Muslim tension, with all the weight that the utterance of the president of the Indian National Congress must command, will go screeching among the mass of Government officials and the protagonists of the communal struggle. He has not minced matters; he never can. He has brought his whole weight to tear the veil and place before his countrymen the veritable devils at work at the *Bakr Id* riot factory. The *Medina* resents the attitude of certain Hindu members of the Congress towards the Ali brothers and remarks that if the Hindus cannot repose confidence in them, they can repose no confidence in any other Muslim leader. The *Hamdam* says that if the resolution to be moved against Maulana Muhammad Ali is supported in the Congress Committee, we should for ever banish all hopes of *swaraj*. If Mahatmaji does not succeed in having the resolution withdrawn a critical situation fatal to the national demands will be created. A correspondent writing in the *Mashriq* observes that the seed of unity sown by the leaders has everywhere yielded a harvest of dispute and dissensions. The Musalmans should note that Lala Lajpat Rai's departure to England and the secret meetings convened by the Hindus are meant to injure the interests of Musalmans. The *Hindostan Times* alleges that the letter of the Secretary of State for India to Mr. Satyamurti regarding the separate communal representation is the result of the anti-Muslim activities of the Hindus. In a communicated article the *Zulqarnain* warns the simple-minded Musalmans to open their eyes and to be on their guard as the alluring net of *swaraj* is being spread for them. The Musalmans being in the minority their existence depends upon their alliance with the Englishmen. The *Hindustani* condemns the propaganda of Khawaja Hasan Nizami and advises the Government to prosecute him for his book *Dai-i-Islam*. The *Al Bureed* says that the Musalmans have become aware of the deep policy of the Hindus and they can now no longer be duped by

false allurements of any unreal unity. The *Abhyudaya* bitterly complains of the kidnapping of Hindu women and children and of assaults committed upon them by Muslims, and remarks that if the Muslim leaders condemn such mean actions of their co-religionists and raise a voice of emphatic portest against them, peace can be restored in the country and the Hindu-Muslim tension removed. If they fail to do so, the Hindus should devise means for self-protection. They should realise that their very existence is at stake, and if they cannot defend themselves they will not only ruin themselves, but will also be the cause of the country's ruination. The *Prem* says that though Mr. Gandhi has discussed every question frankly and earnestly in his statement on the Hindu-Muslim unity, many of his views cannot command public approval. He has severely criticised the Hindus but has exercised undue restraint and moderation in speaking of the Muhammadans. His attacks on Swami Dayanand, the *Satyarth Prakash* and the Arya Samaj are quite uncalled for and unjustifiable. His views on *shuddhi* are also untenable as *shuddhi* was practised long before Islam and Christianity came into existence. Hindus alone are not to show forbearance over the question of cow-slaughter. Muhammadans too should exercise the same generosity in the matter. The *Kartavya* remarks that Mahatma Gandhi's statement on the Hindu-Muslim unity is impartial, and that though it may not commend itself to all the people it embodies a sound and correct exposition of the question. It points out that Mahatma Gandhi has rightly remarked that cow-slaughter cannot be stopped by force and that the Hindus should trust to the good sense and generosity of the Musalmans for the solution of this problem. It disagrees with the Mahatma's view that music before the mosques is as painful to the Muhammadans as cow-slaughter is to the Hindus. This question of music before the mosques has been given prominence by the Muhammadans only since the last year simply to seek quarrels with the Hindus and can by no means be given the same importance as the question of cow-slaughter.

The Swaraj party.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* contains a signed article by Mr. Ranga Iyer who defends the Swaraj party and describes the work done by it under the leadership of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in the Legislative Assembly. While defending the leader of the party he accuses the Liberals of starting an anti-Nehru campaign and says: Who does not remember the proud declarations of vainglorious Ministers who were discovered and turned out, though meantime they were fully exploited to suppress the non-cooperation movement? Presuming on the proverbial shortness of public memories, these discredited politicians and place-hunters are appealing to the public to prefer the Liberals to the Swarajists. To mention other inconsistencies of our Liberal reviler, I need only mention in this article that Mr. Chintamani's inconsistency proved disastrous to the province. Conceding for a moment that Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was inconsistent in not opposing the Tariff Bill, his inconsistency has saved a national industry and paved the way for a protective policy. But those who have read the election manifesto of the Swaraj party are aware that the Swarajists were pledged to unmitigated obstruction only if they had an absolute majority. The *Iqdam* deplores the prevailing difference between the Swarajists and Mr. Gandhi and remarks that if the parties do not come to an understanding the progress of the country will be retarded. The *Haqiqat* says that Mr. Gandhi has declared a regular war against the Swarajists and his condemnation of the Serajganj resolution has severely injured the prestige of the Swarajists. If the Swarajists establish a separate organisation of their own they are sure to fall in public estimation.

Mr. Gandhi.

The *Leader* says: His hypnotic spell is broken. Only yesterday he was the unchallenged master of the mass mind of India. But today his influence has considerably declined. His case once more illustrates the extremely fleeting nature of popularity in the field of politics.

Constitutional advance.

In a leading article headed "The Reforms Enquiry" the *Pioneer* says that the Committee have emerged into the light of publicity after curious hesitations which have given cause for some anxiety regarding the Government's intentions. Criticising the Government resolution the paper says: To study the working of the Reforms with the sole object of discovering in what respect they could be altered in order to advance the constitutional machine, regardless of the dangers exposed, is to invite disaster. The Committee will do well, therefore, to keep in mind the

tendencies which have made the Act, in some respects, difficult to work and to refrain from recommending the removal of defects except those conclusively proved to be inherent in the Act and not due to extraneous causes. The *Leader* replying to the above article says that the *Pioneer* has appointed itself the dry nurse of the Committee. The morbid anxiety is pathetic. And if we could be reasonably hopeful of our own countrymen's early success in attaining the advanced stage of self-government which the best interests of the country demand, we should even feel some pity for those who are making themselves so childishly unhappy. Even then, pity, not sympathy, for there can be no sympathy whatever with their point of view or their motives and purposes as there can be no agreement with their old-world opinions. Referring to the memorial presented to the Secretary of State for India the *Haqiqat* says that today the British Government is in the hands of persons who have again and again expressed their sympathies with subject nations, hence we are justified in expecting that the Indian question will be more satisfactorily solved than the Egyptian question. The *Azad* hopes that the memorial will fully prove to be effective and measures will be adopted to allay the Indian unrest. The *Najat* disapproves the demand for Royal Commission and observes that the Government can now have no reasonable plea for not considering the demand for liberty as the different political parties of India are now united in their demand. The *Haqiqat* has no misgivings about the result of the memorial and expects no generosity at the hands of the British statesmen.

Congress politics.

The *Rising India* says that the Congress has suffered a severe shock. It has in its fold persons who put no belief in the constructive programme and whatever was left there is being killed by their inaction and indifference. The parties that have of late grown up have very little in common, though the leaders still issue statements which are not true and are calculated to deceive the people all the more and by stampeding work, they are likely to throw greater misery on the nation. Hence this paper will serve as a friendly critic to those who swerve from the path of duty. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's resolution in the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee the *Leader* says: The Swarajists are shrewd people. They know and recognise the dangers of bearding the lion in his own den, and we shall not be surprised if, making a virtue of necessity, they will enter a formal protest that the All-India Congress Committee has no jurisdiction to override the decision of the Congress itself, and then, for the sake of unity and out of deference to the position and services of Mr. Gandhi, again issue one of their customary statements to a bewildered public. We recognise that while as a man of peace he loves unity he still hates all hypocrisy, and that if only he could be persuaded that this atmosphere of *camouflage* is not to the good of healthy public life we believe he will refuse to pay such a heavy price for that unity. In another article the paper says that Mr. Gandhi's resolutions raise fundamental issues and the first two are bound to be opposed by the Swarajists, and probably the third also which implies a censure of the supreme Congress executive on those who passed the Serajganj resolution. The Swarajists have been sailing under false colours, but the Mahatma cannot tolerate shams and is determined to put an end to all hypocrisy, as far as possible, in the Congress. If he fails in his purpose he will have a separate organisation of his own. The *Bharat Jiwan* views with alarm the growing difference between Mahatma Gandhi and the Swaraj party and says that the country will suffer most grievously if the Congress is split up into two distinct bodies. It urges that members should be re-elected for the executive committee of the Congress and the majority party should control the Congress while the minority party should help it in its work. Secession from revolt against the Congress will only prove the unfitness of Indians for *swaraj* and give cause for jubilation to the bureaucracy. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that if the resolution of Mahatma Gandhi to remove the Swarajists from the Congress executives is passed by the All-India Congress Committee it will augur ill to the country. Mahatma Gandhi will do well not to widen the gulf, but find out means to enable both the parties to fight unitedly the nation's struggle for *swaraj*. The *Aj* remarks that no other person than Mahatma Gandhi is at present more qualified for the presidentship of the next session of the Congress and urges that pressure should be brought upon him to accept the office. The *Vartman* opines that the proposal to turn out the Swarajists from the Congress executive will prove highly detrimental to the interests of the country.

The O'Dwyer-Nair case.

Referring to Mr. Justice McCardie's judgment the *Indian World* says: It is this sort of unfair judgment which has been increasing the gulf between the European and the Indian, and until and unless such views are openly thrown aside by both the nations, a union based on love and mutual helpfulness is impossible. But where is the mind and where is the man to take up this noble task? The *Haqiqat* remarks that as "Gandhi and Anarchy" was written under the inspiration of the Government, it is but right and reasonable that the costs and damages decreed against Sir Sankaran Nair should be borne by the Government. The *Desh Bhakt* says that the Indians who are accustomed to always praise and applaud the Government and thus bring sufferings on their countrymen should open their eyes and make a firm resolve never to support British policy. The *Azad* remarks that the decision of the suit has exposed the real character of British justice. It asks the Indians to present to Sir Sankaran Nair the sum which he has spent in connection with the libel suit. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that Mr. Justice McCardie has done flagrant injustice in the O'Dwyer-Nair case which has made it clear that in cases between whites and blacks the latter can never expect justice done to them. The *Bhavishya* says that it is characteristic of British justice that in all disputes between the Indians and the Britishers the latter are always made to win. The moral is plain. A black may sacrifice his life for the sake of the Government, but when it is a matter between him and a white all his services are forgotten. The *Pratap* writes: We are pleased with the decision in the O'Dwyer-Nair case for it has shown in what light do the authorities enebriated with ruling power even now view the Punjab tragedy. We are against the proposal to raise funds to meet the damages claimed of Sir Sankaran Nair by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The money of this country must not go into the pockets of murderers and oppressors. If Sir Sankaran feels that injustice has been done to him he should better practise *satyagruha* and refuse to pay a single pice in the name of damages. The *Aj* is gratified at the notice given by Mr. Lansbury of a resolution to be moved by him in Parliament demanding the removal of Mr. Justice McCardie from the Bench and remarks that if the British have any love of justice they will not allow Justice McCardie to continue to remain in office any longer and will get the decision in the O'Dwyer-Nair case reconsidered. The *Bharat Jiwan* urges that if the proposal to remove Mr. Justice McCardie from the Bench for his conducting the O'Dwyer-Nair case in an unjudicial manner is carried out, it will convince the world that justice is still valued in the British Empire. It says that the Government of India will display itself to be the real sympathiser of the country if it accedes to the resolution of Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha to defray the costs in the case. It will also show that its action against General Dyer and others was just and proper.

Restoration of Berar.

The *Abhyudaya* characterises the advice of Hakim Ajmal Khan to the Congress to take up the cause of the Nizam in connection with the question of Berar as indiscreet and remarks that it does no credit to Hakimji to advise the Congress to support the demand of the Nizam when the people of Berar do not want to be ruled by him.

Demolition of mosques at Bharatpur.

The *Hindustan Times* takes to task Maulana Muhammad Ali for maintaining silence regarding the Bharatpur affair and remarks that the Bharatpur State has furnished a good example of future *swaraj*. It exhorts the Musalmans to take a deputation to the Government and implore it to order the Maharaja to rebuild the demolished mosques. The *Tabligh* apprehends that the failure of the deputation which waited on the Maharaja will compel the Musalmans to adopt similar means for the protection of their mosques as the brave Akalis have adopted for their *gurdwaras*. The liberty of the non-Hindu subjects of the State has been permanently endangered by the policy of the Maharaja. The *Medina* remarks that the consent of the Muslim subjects of the State cannot justify an action which is contrary to religion. The Maharaja has disgraced Islam itself. There is one and only one critical time for the Musalmans and that has been brought about by the Maharaja.

The Serajganj resolution.

The *Pioneer* says: Mr. Das's apotheosis of a murderer is vindicated by his countrymen, and every immature and impressionable young man in Bengal will henceforth regard a half-witted student of homicidal tendencies as a national hero and a patriot martyr. It only remains to accord Gopinath Saha the posthumous title of Deshbandhu and we are surprised that this idea does not seem, as yet, to have occurred to

his admirers. The *Indian World* says that to the layman, excited and disaffected as he is, such legal sophistry as displayed by the Bengal Provincial Conference may encourage him towards similar or more boisterous adventures. The Indian is not yet ripe for liberty or independence, and it is the duty of our leaders to pay more attention towards reconstruction of Indian character than fighting such showy battles which end in nothing else but chaos. The *Leader* says: We are sorry for the Bengal Congress Committee who have upheld the notorious Serajgunj resolution. They preferred this disservice to the country to any offence to Mr. C. R. Das's *amour propre*. This may be anything. It is not sound political sense. The founders of the Congress may well turn in their graves at the sorry spectacle it has presented during the last six years. The *Iqdam* condemns the resolution passed by the Bengal Provincial Conference and says that Gopinath Saha's action was not the outcome of patriotic sentiments. It is simply absurd to condemn the action and applaud the motive and his cowardly act is calculated to injure the interests of the country. The *Haqiqat* remarks: The friends and admirers of cruel and tyrant Sir Michael O'Dwyer should feel ashamed in raising objections against the admirers of the patriotism of Gopinath Saha. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the resolution regarding Gopinath Saha in the Serajgunj Conference deserves to be wholly condemned for no motive however lofty can be held to be any valid justification for an ignoble deed. The *Kartavya*, on the other hand, holds that the Bengal Provincial Conference acted improperly in passing the resolution, specially in view of the national pledge of non-violence and because it was liable to be misunderstood by the general public and likely to produce harmful results.

The Steel Protection Act.

The *Bhavishya* is elated at the passage of the Steel Protection Bill and opines that it will greatly facilitate the development of indigenous industries. The greatest benefit which it has done is that it has opened the door for the protection of other injustices also. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the Steel Protection Act will greatly benefit the steel industry in the country, but that it will frustrate its own object if it results in the establishment of the supremacy of capitalism, the degradation of working classes and the investment of foreign capital in the steel industry in India.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* portrays a gloomy picture of the miserable condition of the Indian *kisans* and remarks that if the world is mutable, if oppressions and tyrannies have an end and if Empires and Governments are not indestructible, the old conspiracy of the bureacuracy and it protéges the zamindars, to reduce the *kisans* to misery must one day come to an end. What is wanted is that the *kisans* should be organised after the manner of the Borsad *satyagrahis* and that a no-tax campaign should be started in all those places where the condition of the *kisans* is miserable. Such a step will not only succeed in removing the grievances of the *kisans* but will also impart necessary training to them and make them true national soldiers who will fight to the finish the nation's struggle for *swaraj*. The same paper publishes a contributed article in which the writer, *Satya Bhakta* says: Socialism is the only means of removing the sorrows of the world. In order to remove the sufferings of the poor it is as much needed in India as it is in England and America. It is necessary that a socialistic movement should be started in India and the *swaraj* agitation should be conducted on lines consistent with the principle of Socialism. The *Pratap* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap who insinuates that the British are desirous of establishing their hold upon Tibet and remarks: If the British succeed in their design one more chain will be put round the neck of India. It will also cause injury to Nepal and Bhutan. All Indians should, therefore, unitedly carry on an agitation in respect of Iraq and Tibet. The entry of the British into these two countries constitutes an attack on the civilisations of the Musalmans and the Buddhistic Hindus. A deputation of the Hindu Maha Sabha should visit Kathmandu and Lhassa with a view to find out the real situation, and if the Maha Sabha fails to do it, let a few energetic youths of the country take up the task.

NAINI TAL:

The 28th June, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 26 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 5th July, 1924.

The Khilafat.

REFERRING to the proclamation of the Sultan of Najd, the *Hamdam* advises the Khilafat deputation to present itself before him in order to acquaint him with the views of the Indian Musalmans and remarks that the opinion of an independent Muslim ruler on a question of world-wide importance will be more valuable than the views of the rest of the Muslim world. In another article the same paper expresses its gratification that the Khilafat committee has resolved to take up the work of Muslim organisation and exhorts the Musalmans to respond liberally when a practical scheme is placed before them. It advises them to take a lesson from the Akali movement and turn their attention first of all to the Muslim Waqfs, the proper management of which can yield crores of rupees annually. The *Garhwali* refers to the decision of the Nizam to grant a pension to the deposed Khalifa and insinuates that there is a diplomatic move underlying this decision. It considers it likely that the seat of the Khilafat may be transferred from Turkey to India.

The Mosul Conference.

The *Al Bureed* dislikes the policy of Great Britain on the Mosul question and does not hope that the Turks will accept the decision of the League of Nations. The British Government should not for a moment think that the abolition of the Khilafat has alienated the Muslim sympathies and that the Musalmans will not support the just demands of the Turks. The *Najat* says that in view of the mandate over Iraq the League of Nations does not command the confidence of the Turks. Great Britain has spread a net of deceit and cunning over the whole of Arabia and it gives subsidies to the Arab rulers and maintains secret relations with them.

Egypt and the Sudan.

Referring to the declaration of British policy with regard to the Sudan the *Pioneer* says: There are good grounds for anticipating that if the Egyptians' demand for the incorporation of the Sudan in Egypt were granted they would have cause before long bitterly to rue their temerity. Within a few years at most the Egyptians would probably find that it involved the loss of their independence and the incorporation of Egypt in the Sudan. The present generation in Egypt have evidently forgotten the Mahdi. The *Leader* says that England will not easily relax her hold nor will Egypt easily acquiesce in the *status quo*. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The resignation of Zaglul Pasha, as a protest against the British Labour view of the Sudan, is a warning to the Swarajists in India that there is no use responsively cooperating with the bureaucrats. This "gesture" from the Egyptian patriot is a lightning streak in the dark political clouds above all subject countries. Even Labour looks through imperial spectacles.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Medina* is gratified at the defeat of General Smuts who was the follower of the repressive and disturbing policy of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon, and remarks that Indians should not expect any better treatment at the hands of his successor. Their deliverance lies in their own sacrifices and it is concerted action alone which can relieve them from Western Imperialism.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the comments of an English-edited paper on the Hindu-Muhammadan quarrels the *Leader* cites the case of the States of Hyderabad and Kashmir where in the absence of a third party there are no communal quarrels and says: If there were a third party in either of these States we have no doubt appeals would be made to it to keep the peace and our contemporary would no doubt give it the same wide publicity. A government or a political community which considers its primary function to do the police work but to take no active part in the peace-making process excepting by calling in aid the sanction of the penal law is very different from a government or a political community which recognises its obligation in actively helping in the restoration of peace between communities

which have fallen out. Therein lies the whole trouble. The *Haqiqat* resents the attitude of the Arya Press towards Mahatma Gandhi whose unselfish and patriotic devotion to the nation and country has ever been beyond dispute. The Aryas are chiefly responsible for the present communal tension and instead of being displeased with Mahatma Gandhi they should ponder over their own activities. The *Hindustan Times* dwells upon the necessity of Anglo-Muslim alliance in India, as after gaining power the Hindus will not regard the Musalmans even equal to untouchables and remarks that as long as the Government had the full support of the Musalmans it had no fear of any opposition. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that any one who takes interest in the communal disputes at present wants to keep the Indians under subjection and slavery and is the greatest enemy of the country. The responsibility for these disputes mostly lies on the Press which is destroying the national movement. The *Hamdam* condemns the Arya Press for publishing filthy literature directed against the Musalmans and remarks that for the creation of an atmosphere of unity and toleration it is necessary that the Arya Samajists' spirit should be crushed. The *Medina* describes the cow-question as the basis of communal disputes and says that out of 42 lakhs of cows slaughtered in India every year only 2 lakhs are utilised by the Musalmans, 10 lakhs by others and 30 lakhs are exported. It is a matter of surprise that the Hindus give preference to the question of cow-protection over *swaraj* because as long as they remain in slavery they cannot save 30 lakhs of cows from being slaughtered. The *Aj* ascribes the prevailing communal tension in the country to the system of communal representation and holds the abolition of this system to be indispensable for the elimination of the tension which is eating into the vitals of the national life. It exhorts the leaders of both the communities to direct their efforts towards the speedy abolition of the obnoxious system of communal representation, pointing out that the number of the representatives of the various communities in the Councils and other representative bodies may be fixed, if so desired, but instead of separate electorates there must be only one common electorate.

The Reforms Inquiry Committee.

The *Hindustani* commends the action of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in refusing the membership of the committee which does not command the confidence of the Indians. His action shows that the Swarajists are firm in their creed of wrecking the Councils. The *Medina* says that the object of the committee is only to remove the difficulties which owing to the defects in the Government of India Act, the Government is feeling in counteracting the opposition of the Swarajists. We are fully confident that the committee like the Lee Commission will leave no stone unturned to strengthen the iron grip of the bureaucracy. The *Aj* protests against the appointment of Sir Alexander Muddiman as the President of the Inquiry Committee and remarks that the proper, right and just course for Lord Reading was to appoint Sir Muhammad Shafi as the President instead of Sir Alexander Muddiman because the former is the oldest member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and is also a member of the Inquiry Committee itself, whereas the latter is a new man. Sir Muhammad Shafi was ignored because he is an Indian and a non-white. It is an insult to him but Indians have become habituated to bow their heads to the white officials. What can we expect from a committee in the very constitution of which an attempt has been made to prove the unfitness of the Indians.

The Congress Committee meeting.

Writing on the eve of the meeting the *Indian Daily Telegraph* said: Even more important than Hindu-Muslim question is the question whether Indian nationalism should be the formidable bulwark before which bureaucracy trembled during the days of non-cooperation movement or whether we should strengthen the system which we are all striving to destroy by further dividing our forces. To add to the religious differences by fomenting political differences is a confession of utter incapacity to attain *swaraj*. Religion is the path to Godhead; politics in India today is the path to *swaraj*. Every man wants it, and yet two men are not prepared to agree to work together. This is the situation. If Gandhi cannot solve it, then perish India. In the opinion of the *Pioneer* the session of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad has come and gone, without any very epoch-making result having been achieved to justify the importance attached to its deliberations by the Extremist Press. The general public will look in vain for any tangible indication of an appreciable change in the relationship between the *satyagrahi* and the Swarajist wings of the non-cooperators. The general effect of the meeting of the Congress Committee seems to be that every one remains in

the same position as before. Unity was preserved, on the surface at any rate, and for a time, but the significance of the third resolution was whittled away until practically nothing was left of it. Nominally the victory rests with Mr. Gandhi, but it was a Pyrrhic victory which leaves the *status quo* practically unaltered. And so a schism has been averted, and Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Das, after their knightly tilt at one another, have lowered their weapons and agreed to be comrades in arms once more though each is to be at liberty, as before, to follow his own road regardless of his comrade's predilections. In another article the paper says: It will be interesting to see whether the pledge of personal loyalty to Mr. Gandhi will prevent the development of the fissiparous tendencies all too apparent. The chances of his appearing as the wrecker of the Congress seem not so very remote, but whether that quaint body is destined to have that experience at the hands of its former dictator, or whether it continues to contribute, to the gentle merriment of the public, by endorsing resolutions which have as much relation to practical facts as the moon has to green cheese, matters little. The *Leader* in a long article headed "Stooping to conquer" says that the session of the All-India Congress Committee which opened with a sham fight has ended in loving embraces. There was a certain amount of anticipatory jubilation in quarters which are not friendly to Indian aspirations. The results of the All-India Congress Committee session will perhaps come as a disappointment and will produce a sense of bewilderment. But we were under no misapprehension as to what Mr. Gandhi was after. It was to assert his leadership in the Congress and to capture the Swarajists. He has succeeded in both. He wanted to establish his deadly grip over them by placing them under an obligation, and so he stooped to conquer. The Mahatma has once more demonstrated that with all his impractical fads, high spiritual theories and fine ethical conceptions he is first and last a politician and has no intention of renouncing his leadership of the advanced political parties. The vainglorious Swarajists may chuckle that their leaders have succeeded in inducing the Mahatma to surrender, but in our view they have fallen into his trap and they will find him gradually tightening his hold until their independence of action will be gone. With the capture of Mr. Das the Mahatma has also captured Bengal. It seems that Mr. Gandhi is again going to place himself at the head of the forces of discontent in the country. Writing after the statement of Mr. Gandhi in which he declared his "defeat and humiliation" the *Leader* says: There is no doubt that his own method and that of the Swarajists are incompatible, and that the two parties cannot remain in the same organisation. A conflict at Belgaum is inevitable. It is useless to prophesy as to what the result of that conflict will be. In another article the paper says: Thus one result of the meeting of the committee was to instal Mr. Gandhi once more in the Congress in a position of unchallenged supremacy. We would not be surprised if he shortly undertakes an extensive tour of the country to rally it once more to his standard. Whether his efforts to reorganise the discordant forces will succeed and whether he will be able to re-create the atmosphere of 1920 and 1921 is somewhat doubtful, but with the almost *non-possumus* attitude of Government towards the national demands and its unwillingness to take a substantial step forward, it would not be a very arduous task for him to create a difficult situation for it. The manner in which the Government has behaved since the collapse of the non-cooperation movement and the contempt it has shown for the progressive constitutionalists, has alienated from it even moderate opinion, and if Mr. Gandhi is able once more to raise a storm against it, it will probably have fewer supporters in the future. The constitutionalists have been rendered powerless by the short-sighted policy of the Government, and though their faith in their own policy is strong, they can hardly expect to influence the course of events when the triumph of reaction leads to the growth of extremism in the country in various forms and shapes. The best antidote for political distempers and racial distrust is responsible self-government and the earlier it is established the more it will conduce to peace and good-will between the two countries. At another place the paper says: There is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi was depressed by the decline of faith in non-violence among a section of the members of the committee and by the fact that his hands were tied by the Coconada Congress. But this does not mean that he surrendered to the Swarajists or that he will not assert himself at the Belgaum Congress. He made the best of a bad job and will in all probability make an effort at the next session of the Congress to give effect to his ideas. Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's statement the *Pioneer* says: Mr. Gandhi comes from the meeting at Ahmedabad a disappointed and disillusioned man. Far from

stooping to conquer, as a certain Liberal organ, the *Leader*, has rashly asseverated, he has won a nominal victory in which all the substantial advantages remain with the defeated side, and which he himself is constrained to recognise as tantamount to a defeat. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Gandhi's political confession in *Young India* that he is humbled and defeated is one of the most remarkable documents that any political leader has written under similar circumstances in any part of the world. It is a rousing call to the country to shake itself from the nightmare oppressing it and follow the lead of a master mind. The force and power of expression, the almost dramatic touches in it give the article a high literary value. For incisive writing, couched in the simplest language, there is not another who can be compared to Gandhi. In a leading article headed "The death of the Congress" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* referring to the secession of the Swarajists from the Congress Committee meeting says: After the brilliant demonstration last March, when the civilised world heard with a recoil of the Indian Nationalists rejecting the budget, we find that we have touched the bottom of demoralisation. The Congress Committee by going back on the Delhi compromise have been guilty of treacherously handing over to the enemy the bravest and the most resourceful of their fighters. The obstinate attitude of Gandhi yesterday was almost antipodes to the compromise which Muhammad Ali whispered in hushed tone into the ears of the assembled delegates at Delhi in the sacred name of Gandhi. In a leading article headed "The Congress Compromise" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: But the spirit of revolt against Gandhi, which was so strong a characteristic of the Nehru standard in the Congress Committee, will not be easily forgotten. It represents a new spirit in the country. Young India is tired of dreaming and waiting and doing things according to the prescribed rituals laid down in the Gandhi political *Upanishads*. The echo from Egypt and the Sudan must be an additional disillusionment to the Swarajists not to expect anything from the present Parliament. Everything depends upon what the Swarajists resolve. The *Advocate* says: Mahatma Gandhi asserted his leadership and it was acknowledged by all the parties. The Swarajists have bowed to his decision. Mahatma Gandhi has once more showed to the world his high spiritual theories and fine ethical conceptions; he is first and last a politician and has no intention of removing his leadership of the advanced political parties. Much credit is due to Maulana Muhammad Ali for bringing about the compromise among all the parties and the peaceful way in which he carried out the deliberations of the meeting.

The O'Dwyer-Nair case.

The Indian Press continues to express its disapproval of the judgement in the O'Dwyer-Nair case. The *Lokmanya* characterises the decision in the O'Dwyer-Nair case as a striking example of British justice and remarks that this case very well illustrates how British judges commit travesties of justice in the name of truth and justice. This is the inimitable civilisation of those who make loud professions of culture and justice. Mr. McCardie has shown by his conduct in the case to what depths of degradation, injustice and chicanery even a judge can go. The *Bhavishya* remarks that although the partiality displayed by Mr. McCardie towards the plaintiff has succeeded in causing a small injury to an Indian it has branded the law courts of England with a stigma. What a pity that those who make loud professions of British justice have themselves exposed its hollowness? The only way by which this stigma can be removed is to remove Mr. McCardie from the Bench and appoint another judge to reconsider the O'Dwyer-Nair suit. The *Aj* is utterly dissatisfied with the Premier's statement in Parliament justifying the conduct of Mr. Justice McCardie in the O'Dwyer-Nair case and bitterly remarks:—Who can blame Mr. McCardie for his partiality towards the plaintiff when no less a person than the British Premier has justified his conduct? We Indians are ourselves to blame for our folly and shamelessness in expecting justice at the hands of those who are inebriated with ruling powers. The British Parliament which glories in the title of "The Mother of Freedom" may well be satisfied today with the McCardian justice but Britain will have to shed tears quietly one day when similar justice will be dealt to her. It pleases us enormously to see the downtrodden, oppressed and helpless India avenging in an invisible manner the atrocities perpetrated upon her by bringing about the demoralisation of the British Government. This is divine justice—this is the inevitable result of Imperialism. The Dwyerian bullets might be able te kill Indians—men, women and children—not in hundreds only but in thousands, but the entire military prowess and resources of the British Empire put together will not be able to save Britain from her growing demoralisation.

The Akali agitation.

The *Pioneer* says: The wickedness of using children as pawns in the political game should surely be apparent, for by no stretch of the imagination could they be considered to be capable of performing an *Akand Path*. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Ahmedabad meeting has most decidedly shown that Gandhi is placing himself at the head of Indian political thought. And Gandhi is behind the Sikhs. Let Sir Malcolm Hailey realise its significance. The *Anand Pracharak* alleges that the Akalis instead of aiming at the reform of the *Gurdwaras* are in reality trying to establish Akali *raj* in the Punjab. It takes to task the Coconada Congress for sympathising with the Akalis and appeals to the public and the Government to eradicate the Akali movement which is proving dangerous to the peace and order in the Punjab.

Restoration of Berar.

Kazi Aziz-ud-din Ahmad contributes a long letter to the Press in which he questions the wisdom of the Nizam in having resorted to propaganda work to strengthen his claim for the restoration of Berar. He thinks that the Nizam has been led astray by selfish advisers. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* expresses its surprise at the support given to the Berar question by a prominent congressman like Hakim Ajmal Khan and hopes that the Congress will not embroil itself in the question of its restoration. The paper thinks that the Government will not show such a lack of statesmanship as to restore Berar to the autocratic rule of the Nizam and ignore the just demands and religious sentiments of its people. The *Abhyudaya* congratulates the British Government on its decision as announced in the House of Commons to consult the people of Berar in the matter of its restoration to the Nizam before this question is finally decided. It remarks that it would not have been just if the fate of the people of Berar had been decided by the British Government without at all consulting them as if they were sheep and goats.

The Agra Tenancy Act.

A correspondent writing in the *Hamdam* remarks that the proposed amendment in the Act is likely to cause great loss to the zamindars. The periodical settlement and the occupancy rights of the tenants are responsible for widening the gulf between the zamindars and the tenants and if amendments are not made with due regard to the rights of the zamindars, the Government will be responsible for the consequences. In a communicated article the same paper remarks that non-occupancy tenants should not be given life interests in the land as it is neither useful to the zamindars nor to the tenants themselves. The well-wishers of the tenants and the zamindars should assemble at some place to exchange views on the subject and should show to the Government and the Liberals that they are alive and can safeguard their own interests. One Mr. Bal Krishan Misra, vakil, writing in the *Kshattriya Mitra*, refers to the disabilities of cultivators under the existing Agra Tenancy Act and urges that greater facilities should be provided to enable the cultivators to acquire the occupancy right. They should also be permitted to mortgage or sell this right. The writer also suggests changes in the rules governing inheritance of the right of occupancy, so that the mother, the daughter, the uncle of a cultivator may inherit this holding on his death.

The Cawnpore mill riot.

Commenting on the non-official report on shooting at the Cawnpore Cotton Mills the *Pioneer* says: It is a characteristic document, and illustrates the perversity of outlook which has become the dominant feature of non-official inquiries of this kind. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: Indian India will entirely agree with the findings of the committee, especially as they are based on evidence taken with patience before Commissioners who command popular esteem and confidence. The report is couched in dignified tone and is worthy of those who have signed it. It commends to the authorities the recommendations of the committee which, if adopted, might avert similar disasters in the future.

NAINI TAL:
The 5th July, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

Record copy

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 27 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 12th July, 1924.

Situation in Europe.

REFERRING to the Anglo-French relations the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Indeed France has arrived at a stage of political thought when it is considered patriotism to think ill of England. The prospect of the London Conference lifting the veil from the hotbed of suspicions and distrust and showing to the world a united Europe entwined in the arms of peace and goodwill is indeed vague. According to the *Pioneer* the British Premier's statement in the House of Commons should cut the ground from under the feet of those unscrupulous French politicians who have been endeavouring to exploit Anglo-French differences in a partisan campaign against M. Herriot. There is not the slightest justification for the outcry which has been deliberately engineered in a section of the French Press with the object of discrediting and, if possible, overthrowing M. Herriot's Government. Referring to the Spanish reverse in Morocco the *Leader* remarks: If the Rifian State had been in Europe and if a European Power had tried by force to establish a protectorate over it, the world would have heard a great deal about it, but we hear little of the ethics or the justice of the war that Spain has been waging against a 'backward' non-European people whose only fault is that they intensely love their independence and do not wish to be exploited by the Spaniards.

The Khilafat.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: No one can read the summary of the correspondence between Maulana Shaukat Ali and the Government on the subject of the Khilafat deputation to Turkey without feeling, at one rush, the low ebb to which the strength of popular opinion has shrunk. Hindus and Musalmans have almost revelled in drifting from one another, as if to contribute to the holiday spirit of the bureaucrat, until today, over such a vital question as the Muslim delegation to Turkey, there is no effort on the part of the authorities to rescue the question of the Muslim delegation to Turkey from red tape. The *Medina* praises the Khilafat committee for its judicious selection of the members of the deputation to Angora and remarks that the representation of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema has enhanced the importance of the delegation. The deceptive and cunning tactics of the Government in the matter of passports have already been exposed, and it is now hoped that the Government will throw no further difficulties in their path. The *Pratap* strongly disapproves of the proposal to elect the Sharif of Mecca as the Khalifa and remarks that if the Muslim world decided to elect the Sharif, who deprived the Arabs of their freedom, with the help of foreign guns, and whose throne is even today being protected by British bayonets, as the Khalifa, then it will have to be said that Islam has lost its strength and vigour.

Egypt and the Sudan.

The *Hamdam* remarks that Great Britain has no right to hold the Sudan. The question can best be solved by a plebiscite as anything done against the wishes of the people will only aggravate the disaffection. The *Medina* regards Lord Palmour's utterance as a haughty declaration of the old British policy and says that Great Britain has no right to rule over the Sudan. It asserts that Great Britain has forced many Sudanese to express their unwillingness to be placed under the Egyptian Government. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that Zaghlul Pasha must have now realised that friendship with England is equivalent to striking a blow with an axe at one's own leg. It asks the Swarajists to take a lesson from the experience of Zaghlul Pasha before adopting a policy of cooperation with the Government. In another article the same paper characterises the speech of the British Premier as very disappointing and contrary to the principles of liberty. Commenting on the pronouncement of Viscount Grey to the effect that England could not relax her hold on the Sudan, as it is to her that the latter owes her progress and prosperity, the *Vartman* remarks: This pronouncement of Viscount Grey who is at best an Imperialist and a gentlemanly-looking political robber is full of pride in brute-force. It is futile to try to understand the argument he has advanced for the

rejection of the Egyptian demand for the incorporation of the Sudan in Egypt because robbers, plunderers and the votaries of brute-force in fulfilling their despicable objects do not think how far their actions are reasonable, nor do they care how the civilised world will view their conduct. Obviously another conflict between Egypt and England is imminent, because the sway of brute-force cannot last long. Britain shall have to relax her hold on the Sudan just as she had to do in case of Egypt.

The Lee Commission Report.

In a leading article headed "The Lee Report and Provincialisation" the *Pioneer* says: If Provincial Services are established on a firm basis, the advance to provincial autonomy may be facilitated: without well-manned services the provincial administration would reach a chaotic state rendering advance in any direction impossible. An administration, whether Central or Provincial, must be able to rely on the services of trained officials independent of political influences and secure in the knowledge that proper service will ensure them protection from outside interference. The adoption of the Report's proposals for the provision of the safeguards mentioned should be complete and unhesitating: otherwise provincialisation will spell demoralisation of the Services in the transferred field and provincial autonomy will be indefinitely postponed. Khan Bahadur Qazi Aziz-ud-din writing in the *Dilchasp* complains that the Lee Commission has not safeguarded the rights of the Musalmans and remarks that if their share in the Indian Civil Service is not guaranteed, the Government will be responsible for leaving them in the lurch. The Government should have some posts reserved for Muslim candidates if they fail to secure an adequate percentage of posts by competition.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Tabligh* alleges that the Aryas are busy in kidnapping Muslim children with a view to convert them to their religion. It also asserts that the Aryas are purchasing weapons in large numbers and advises the Musalmans not to ignore the question of their protection as *Bakr Id* is near at hand. The *Hindustani*, on the other hand, asserts that the Musalmans have established a secret organisation to kidnap Hindu children in order to convert them to Islam and remarks that in the interests of the country both *Shuddhi* and *Tabligh* movements should be stopped. Writing in a similar strain the *Arya Patra* remarks that the kidnapping activities of the Musalmans cast a slur on their religion and advises the Hindus not to allow their women and children to have any dealings with Muslim traders, teachers and servants. It deplores the seduction of a Hindu girl by Mr. Raza Ali, Deputy Collector, Cawnpore, and warns the Hindus to take a lesson from this incident. The *Arya Varta* remarks that the social evils prevailing among the Hindus are responsible for seduction of Hindu girls and says that thousands of Hindu widows, under force of natural cravings, are compelled to destroy their chastity. The *Azad* deplores the incident and remarks that the Deputy Magistrate ought to have kept himself aloof from this matter. It advises Government officers to act with foresight and prudence at a time when so much misunderstanding is prevailing among Hindus and Musalmans. The *Gyan Shakti* takes to task Mr. Gandhi for his opposition of the *Shuddhi* movement and accuses him of partiality towards the Musalmans. It says that while Mahatma Gandhi has opposed the formation of the *Shuddhi Sabhas*, on the ground that it tends to widen Hindu-Muslim dissensions, he has not discouraged the revival of the Muslim League and the existence of the Khilafat committees. It has been proved beyond doubt that the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity in which Mahatma Gandhi believed in the past was unreal and showy and that undue advantage was taken of it by the Musalmans in serving their own selfish ends. Now that they have achieved their object with the settlement of the Khilafat question they do not care for the alliance of the Hindus. If the Hindus have any wisdom in them they should devote themselves wholeheartedly to the *Shuddhi* and the *Sangathan* movements. The *Pratap* refers in condemnatory terms to the action of Mr. Raza Ali, Deputy Collector of Cawnpore, in converting a Hindu girl and remarks that this incident has strengthened the general belief among the Hindus that the Musalmans cannot be trusted in respect of women and children and that they try to take undue advantage of their weak position. But Islam never enjoins such things upon its followers. It is the *goondas* among the Musalmans who do such things. The treatment accorded to the widows in Hindu society is none the less responsible for the occurrence of such incidents. The Hindus must first set their house in order and then find fault with the

Musalmans. Writing in a similar strain the *Abhyudaya* remarks: When educated Musalmans of the position of Mr. Raza Ali act in such manner, then it must be admitted that such activities are not confined only to the low-caste Musalmans or the Muslim *goondas*. The question, therefore, arises whether a person who commits such a despicable action is fit to hold the office of a deputy collector or not. An official certainly does not receive his pay from Government for carrying on proselytising activities like a private individual. Let some member of the Provincial Council take up the question.

The *Bakr Id*.

The *Leader* appeals to the thoughtful and patriotic members of both the communities to exercise the greatest restraining influence on the hot-heads of their respective communities to defeat the purpose of the mischief-makers wherever they may exist and make the forces of goodwill and concord triumph on the occasion of the next *Bakr Id*. Considering the immense harm already done to the cause which both the Hindus and Muhammadans have at heart, we do hope that they will exert their utmost to see that this year's *Bakr Id* celebration will be an entirely peaceful one. At another place the paper hopes that the appeal for tolerance and goodwill issued by some of the prominent Muslim leaders will not fall on deaf ears and that it will be more successful than similar appeals were last year. The *Advocate* says that it will be to the credit of both the communities if this great festival passes off happily and hopes that its appeal will not go in vain. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* supports the appeal issued by the Muhammadan leaders and says that it is a call for the best and most religious in both the communities and the response must be as wide as immediate. Every Hindu and Muslim with any influence ought to act at once in the spirit of the appeal.

The Congress Committee meeting.

The vernacular press is generally satisfied with the result of the Congress Committee meeting at Ahmedabad. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses gratification at the reconciliation arrived at between the contending parties and hopes that the passage of the Gopinath Saha resolution in the Congress Committee will go a long way in removing the suspicions of the Anglo-Indians and the Government. The *Hamdam* says that the reconciliation shows that constitutional spirit and self-respect still prevail in the national organisation. The resolutions of Mahatma Gandhi should be carried out and the enemies of Indian aspirations should not be given a chance to utilise their power and deal a fatal blow to the national schemes. In another article the same paper exhorts the Indians to concentrate their energies on the constructive programme and remarks that India can secure political rights only through firm determination and self-reliance as it is idle to expect anything from Great Britain through petitions and empty threats. The *Azad* avers that Mr. Gandhi has gained an all-round victory at Ahmedabad and remarks that concerted action and a joint demand on behalf of all the political parties in India can alone force the British Premier to concede our rights. The *Hindustani* is gratified at the Akalis resolution passed by the Congress Committee and exhorts the people to become as self-sacrificing as the Akalis. It regards it impossible for men to remain non-violent under extreme provocation and demands that a limit must be prescribed for non-violence. The *Haqiqat* says that the no-changers, having done nothing for the constructive programme during the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi, have no right to criticise the Swarajists for ignoring the same. The reconciliation appears to be a temporary one but for the present it has averted a great danger. The *Al Khalil* is at a loss to understand how Mr. Gandhi can accomplish anything with a handful of followers. The *Anand* opines that Mahatma Gandhi's stiff opposition of the Swarajists and his subsequent concessions to them was a clever political move on his part which resulted in uniting the Swarajists and the no-changers and making him once again the absolute dictator of the Congress. It will now be impossible for the Swarajists to act arbitrarily and they will have to follow the course prescribed by Mahatma Gandhi. In another article the same paper remarks that the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee show that Mr. Gandhi is still respected throughout the country and that all the parties within the Congress are willing to follow his lead. Government would do well to overhaul the Reforms and confer further rights on the Indian people if it wants to avoid facing a serious agitation. The *Aj* congratulates Mr. Gandhi on the compromise, which is entirely due to the conciliatory attitude adopted by him. It is now the duty of the Swarajists to attach greater importance to Congress work than to activities in the Councils. The no-changers also should give up lethargy and come into the field of activities with redoubled energy. By their self-sacrifice

and hard labour they can still convert the Swarajists into no-changers. In another article the same paper remarks that the proceedings of the meeting have shown that although a fundamental difference of opinion exists between the Swarajists and the no-changers on the question of Council entry still there is a unanimity of opinion among them in respect of the Congress programme. The Swarajists with the rest of the country are willing to obey Mahatma Gandhi and they have offered to him the absolute dictatorship of the Congress. Everything depends upon the Mahatma, and, if he chooses, the non-cooperation movement can once more gain its former strength. The *Haldhar* is gratified that the modifications made by Mahatma Gandhi in his original resolutions saved the Congress from a catastrophe. It hopes that both the parties in the Congress will now carry on Congress work vigorously under the strategy of Mahatma Gandhi and devote all their energies to the fulfilment of the Congress programme and the removal of the existing slackness. On the other hand, the *Swadesh* holds the compromise to be only nominal as the differences of opinion that prevailed among congressmen not only remain where they stood before but have been further strengthened. The *Abhyudaya* also does not attach any value to the compromise and does not consider it to be at all beneficial to the country. The truce is only temporary and is bound to be destroyed sooner or later. The Swaraj party and the no-changers are indeed diametrically opposed to each other and it is wrong to think that each is a part of the other. Only one party can occupy a predominant position in the country and the country will have to decide tomorrow, if not today, which party should predominate. Without such an arrangement the work of the Congress cannot be carried on in a satisfactory manner. The *Vartman* remarks that the tears which flowed from the eyes of Mahatma Gandhi at the meeting will fill the cowards with enthusiasm, strike terror into the sinners, electrify the public, and will bring about the fulfilment of his programme by the country within five months. These tears will make heroes of Indians whose sacrifices will uproot the injustice done by the British Empire and the foundation of Indian freedom will be laid on that day when the brave sons of Mother India will fill up with their dead bodies the ditches dug by the perpetrators of injustice.

The O'Dwyer-Nair case.

The *Hindustani* resents the statement of the Premier supporting the conduct of Justice McCardie and remarks that no reliance can be placed on British statesmen as they never do what they say. It is shameful that a great statesman like Mr. MacDonald is supporting General Dyer. The *Aj* remarks that as the book *Gandhi and Anarchy* for which Sir Michael O'Dwyer sued Sir Sankaran Nair, was compiled under the inspiration of the Government of India, it is but fair that the cost of the libel suit should also be borne by the Government of India. Let India spend a few more lakhs of rupees for Dwyerism!

Tarkeshwar satyagraha.

The *Hindu Gazette* of Hardwar describes the Tarkeshwar *satyagraha* as a protest of the Hindu community against hypocracy and exhorts Hindu youths to sacrifice their lives and property in vigorously carrying on the *satyagraha* against the Mahant who possesses great wealth and is supported by Government. In another article the same paper publishes the statement of the Mahant made to one of its representatives in which the Mahant remarked that being forsaken by the Hindus he took shelter with the Government, that he is prepared to come to terms and that the *satyagraha* cannot harm him as all the big zamindars of Bengal are with him.

The Punjab Press.

The *Hindustani* expresses its gratification at the *communiqué* issued by the Punjab Government regarding the necessity of taking measures against the newspapers who spread communal hatred and thanks Maulana Muhammad Ali for inspiring the Government to take such a step. The *Hamdam* says that not the Government but the Indians themselves are responsible for patronising such papers, and that instead of abusing the Government Indians should boycott the papers which spread communal hatred.

Restoration of Berar.

The ban imposed by the Nizam against the entry of the *Mahratta* into the Hyderabad State has provided the *Aj* with a plea to oppose the Nizam's demand for the restoration of Berar. It remarks: Although we are not opposed to the Nizam's demand and wish that justice should be done to the people of Berar, in view of his irresponsible and autocratic action in banning the *Mahratta* we must say that the good of Berar lies in remaining outside the terrible sway of the Nizam.

The Cawnpore mill riot.

The *Advocate* says: The report of the non-official enquiry committee should be taken to be true word by word. The whole blame lies upon the police officials who greatly misuse their power and show how callous and irresponsible they are. The whole responsibility for the incident lies upon the conduct of the police and makes it incumbent upon the high officials to deal effective punishment to the culprits. The *Oudh Akhbar* supports the recommendation of the non-official enquiry committee that an Act should be passed by the Legislative Council for the prevention of such riots in future and that as far as possible the police should not be allowed to interfere in such disputes, which should be settled by a reconciliation board appointed for the purpose and that firing should be absolutely prohibited. The greatest blunder committed at Cawnpore was the calling out of the armed police for quelling such an ordinary disturbance. The *Hamdam* credits the report of the committee as reliable and regrets that the Government sent no witness of its own before the committee. It hopes that the Government will favourably consider the recommendations of the committee with a view to prevent future disturbances which result in considerable loss of life.

Release of Parbati Devi.

Eulogising the services of Parbati Devi in the cause of the country the *Medina* sarcastically remarks that the United Provinces Government has gained the enviable credit of subjecting a woman to every kind of hardship in jail. Her sacrifices will form a memorable chapter in the history of the world. Although the *Bharat Jiwan* is jubilant at the release of Shrimati Parbati Devi before the expiry of her term of imprisonment, it is grieved to find that her health has been shattered, which it ascribes to the hardships she had to undergo in jail. It pays a glowing tribute to the services rendered by her to the national cause and prays that she may be able to rejoin the nation's fight for freedom. The *Pratap* remarks that by releasing Shrimati Parbati Devi, at a time when her term of imprisonment was about to expire, the United Provinces Government cannot certainly be credited with having taken a courageous and generous step. The Devi had to undergo great suffering in jail. Are not the Indian jails veritable hotbeds of brutality? We are not in favour of sending ladies to jail to be insulted by the brutes therein, but we must pay homage to the heroines who voluntarily went to jail for the sake of their country and cheerfully suffered all sorts of humiliation.

The Public Works Department reorganisation.

Commenting on the Government resolution on the report of the Public Works Department Reorganisation Committee the *Leader* says: There are agreeable features in the resolution, but the disappointments are easily more serious. On the whole we are justified in comparing this belated resolution as the result of the labours of the Committee of two years ago, with the proverbial little creature which was all that could be delivered by the mountain in labour. The person whom we can the least congratulate is that member of the Committee who is now the Hon. Minister in charge of the Public Works Department.

Bolshevism.

The *Medina* remarks: The Eastern nations have now realised the sad plight and oppressions to which they have been subjected by Imperialistic Europe. The time is not far when the paralysed and oppressed people of the East will revolt against European tyranny and domination and readily respond to Bolshevik propaganda. British statesmen should attend to the just demands and rights of Indians otherwise it will be impossible to overcome the irresistible Bolshevik influence. The *Vartman* remarks that the International Bolshevik conference has decided to cut the very roots of the British Empire by propagating the principles of Bolshevism in the Dominions, for it is upon the Dominions that the British Empire is based.

NAINI TAL:
The 12th July, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 28 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 19th July, 1924.

Situation in Europe.

COMMENTING on the London Conference the *Pioneer* regrets that the gloomy feeling which prevails in Paris and the misgivings which are being freely uttered in the French Press suggest that the French people have learnt nothing and are still content to live in a fool's paradise. It is difficult to see how any sane man can view the failure of the London Conference with equanimity. If that failure is the result of French obstinacy, France will be assuming a heavy responsibility and will, we fear, be destined to experience a sharp and rude awakening. And the first symptom of the economic paralysis which may be expected to creep over Europe will probably be seen in another precipitate decline in the quotation for the franc. The *Hindustani* views with apprehension the growing tension between France and Germany and remarks that the French demands being utterly opposed to German interests there is little likelihood of their being ever accepted by the latter. The *Hamdam* remarks that the political horizon of Europe has again become cloudy and the signs of a mighty storm are visible. It asks the statesmen of Europe to avert the danger of another war which is likely to jeopardize the peace of the entire world.

The Khilafat.

A correspondent writing to the *Naiyar-i-Azam* exhorts the Muslim world to do its duty by convening a conference for the speedy solution of the Khilafat question and remarks that the Khilafat is an important institution of Islam the maintenance of which is essential both from the spiritual and temporal point of view. Its abolition is irreligious and the deportation of the Khalifa and his family simply amounts to profanity.

Egypt and the Sudan.

The *Medina* says that the object of Great Britain in evacuating Egypt was to strengthen its hold upon the Sudan in order to deal a blow to Islamic prestige in Africa. It exhorts the African Musalmans not to give up their right to the Sudan as long as they are alive, as it is better to die an honourable death than to lead a life of slavery and starvation. The *Haqiqat* finds fault with the British policy and supports the claim of Egypt whose resources were employed for the material development of the Sudan. If Great Britain persists in its obdurate policy, it will meet the same fate in the Sudan as in Egypt.

The Delhi riots.

Commenting on the fracas at Delhi the *Pioneer* says that the communal disturbances strengthen the case of those who contend that India is not yet fit for a further constitutional advance. Communal tension and caste friction will continue to be the greatest obstacles to the attainment of *swaraj* until fanaticism has been sufficiently modified by persistent and tedious educational spade work for their causes to be removed. The *Leader* says: The capital of India has been disgraced by this outburst of communal feeling, which is the product of intolerance, ignorance and folly combined. The opponents of India's progress have been presented with further material for exploiting public opinion against the Indian demand for constitutional advance, and those who have indulged in insensate fighting have rendered a serious disservice to the national cause. It hopes that the vernacular papers and the champions of exclusive communal interests will exercise a wise self-restraint and will not aggravate matters by thoughtless comments or utterances and will thus localise the trouble. The *Advocate* says that the fracas at Delhi, in spite of the statement issued by Maulana Muhammad Ali, reveals that the masses have lost faith in the Ali brothers and so they paid no attention to their manifesto. In a leading article headed "The Delhi riots—Failure of Indian leadership," the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: There is no hope of getting over the political significance of the happenings at Delhi. The atmosphere was surcharged. The authorities were prepared. Thank God they were, else the situation might have been unmanageable. The leaders were on the alert. And yet the dreaded thing has happened. This shows the impotency of leaders to

influence and direct the populace. Remember, it is not the aberration of a stray vagabond. It is the whole mass being at the kindling temperature ready to burst into flames the moment a Muslim boy and a Kahar come into contact.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

A correspondent writing to the *Tohfa-i-Hind* deplores the attitude of Mr. Gandhi towards the Arya Samajists and remarks :—Is it because the Mahatma's war with the 'Satanic Government' has come to an end that he has now picked up a quarrel with the Aryas? If it is a political move on his part to revive Hindu-Muslim unity, he should know that this last attempt of his will prove as disappointing and unsuccessful as all the previous ones. The *Zulqarnain* in a communicated article takes to task the Hindus and the Musalmans for paying no regard to the statement of Mr. Gandhi and remarks that unless they give proof of their self-sacrifice and statesmanship they will be quite unfit for *swaraj*, which will rather prove injurious and fatal to their interests. It asks Mr. Gandhi to alter his programme in the light of the present situation. The *Al Bureed* interprets the alleged seduction of a Hindu girl at Cawnpore as a gross exaggeration and remarks that the Deputy Collector is not to blame as he duly asked her parents to come and take her back, and it was only on their showing indifference that he allowed her to change her religion. The *Aligarh Gazette* casts a fling at the Ali brothers for being abject followers of Mr. Gandhi and remarks that the blind support of Mr. Shaukat Ali to Mr. Gandhi at Ahmedabad and the act of Mr. Muhammad Ali of placing his head at the feet of Mr. Gandhi are greatly humiliating to the Musalmans. The *Arya Mittra* complains that the Muslim mind is at present wholly occupied in converting Hindu women and children to Islam. Khwaja Hasan Nizami's book *Dai-e-Islam* has created an upheaval in the religious world of the country and his destructive scheme has exasperated the Hindus and caused irretrievable injury to their religion. Hindus should remain as alert as ever and beware of the germs of Khwaja Hasan Nizami's venomous scheme.

The Hindu organisation.

Swami Satyadev writing in the *Abhyudaya* says that the organisation of the Hindus is the most effective means of making India free. Without it the freedom of India is an idle dream. Hindu organisation is not opposed to nationalism. It is an infallible means of establishing true Hindu-Muslim unity. It is on account of the weakness of the Hindus that other communities in India are not anxious to coalesce with them. But when the Hindus are strongly organised the Musalmans will also come under the flag of the Hindu organisation and abandon their extra-territorial patriotism. It is misleading to think that the Hindu organisation is against the ideals of the Congress. On the other hand, it is bound to strengthen the Congress, eradicate communal dissensions and transform India into one homogeneous nation.

Congress politics.

Referring to Mr. Muhammad Ali's appeal to Congress workers the *Indian Daily Telegraph* hopes that the appeal will act with particular force on a large section of the public. It does not, however, approve of Muhammad Ali's constant reference to Gandhi and his health. It will not do as Maulana Muhammad Ali has frankly said that he has no other programme than the *charkha* leading to civil disobedience. We sincerely hope he was not serious. We do not ourselves believe it. It would be fatal to the progress of the country if it were so. The nation asks for a fresh invigorating programme. The leaders must think it out. It is time that the leaders ceased to think of how to patch up their differences. The *Advocate* points out that it is useless to repeat the same statement again and again under the cloak of Mahatma Gandhi. The *Hamdard* remarks: An impartial observer will come to the logical conclusion that Mr. Gandhi has removed the penal clause from his resolutions simply with a view to keep the members under his control and that by acquiescing in cooperating with the Government he has not only admitted his defeat but has completely forsaken his principles as well. The discussion on the Sirajganj resolution has shown that there are only few persons who are prepared to accept Mahatmaji's doctrine of non-violence. The *Aligarh Gazatte* says that probably Mr. Gandhi never dreamt up to this time that there were also other leaders in India besides himself but the proceedings at Ahmedabad have now opened his eyes. In another article the same paper takes to task Mr. Gandhi for his appreciation of the so-called patriotism displayed by Gopinath Saha and asks where is the necessity of inculcating the principle of "non-violence" when even murder and bloodshed can be counted as acts of patriotism. The *Hind-i-Jadid* is gratified at the reconciliation between the contending parties at Ahmedabad and predicts

that a new era of activities is soon to begin in India under the leadership of the Mahatma. It remarks that the time of trial has come when Indians should scorn all dangers and firmly advance forward. The *Garhwali* opines that Mr. Gandhi acted prudently in modifying his resolutions and remarks that what the Mahatma regards as his defeat is in fact symbolical of the true victory of his ideals and principles. It regards the compromise as only temporary and remarks that the sparks which burst out but were however promptly extinguished at Ahmedabad are the forerunners of a big fire which may break out at Belgaum. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that an impartial review of the proceedings of the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee makes it abundantly clear that the meeting resulted in a victory in favour of the Swarajists and that 'Mahatma Gandhi failed to achieve anything whatsoever. Instead of getting new followers the Mahatma found to his utter discomfiture that the number of his old adherents had decreased. Indeed, the Mahatma is himself responsible for this unwelcome fall. The *Aj* vehemently opposes Mr. Gandhi's plan of excluding the Swarajists from the Congress by securing a majority against them at Belgaum and remarks that the existing constitution of the Congress is the most suited for the present time and any changes in it would be ill-advised and may prove fatal. If Mr. Gandhi considers his five-fold boycott as indispensable for the political salvation of the country and is determined to enforce it, then instead of accentuating party feelings and giving rise to acrimonious discussions by trying to oust the Swarajists from the Congress, he should unhesitatingly accept the dictatorship of the nation for the Swarajists are ever willing to follow him.

Mr. Gandhi.

In a leading article headed the "Evolution of Mr. Gandhi's politics" the *Leader* congratulates Mr. Gandhi on the remarkable change that has been taking place in his attitude towards Council entry. The Swarajists may now claim that the wisdom of their policy has been vindicated by the Mahatma. But the victory lies with the constitutionalists who from the very beginning opposed the Council boycott. The most opportune time for the Swarajists to come out of the Councils will probably never come, for Mr. Gandhi's programme is dead and the whole-hoggers are not likely to become active workers of that programme. If Mr. Gandhi does not realise this truth now he will do it later, and then he may by gradual stages, like his more astute Swarajist lieutenants, become a full-fledged constitutionalist. It expects that Mr. Gandhi's future policy will be to restore unity in the Congress by excluding all controversial items and by adopting a programme to which no one can take serious objection.

The O'Dwyer-Nair case.

The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that Indians should feel ashamed that while an Englishman has sent a cheque to Sir Sankaran Nair, in reduction *pro tanto* of his bill of costs, as a sign of his respect for Sir Sankaran's feelings and his sympathy with him in the insult offered to him by the British judge, they have passed over the matter with equanimity. No one has thought of even raising a fund in order to help Sir Sankaran Nair at the hour of his distress. Can there be a more convincing proof of India's impotency than this? The *Bhavishya* also refers to the cheque sent to Sir Sankaran Nair and insinuates that either Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself sent it anonymously through a friend of his, in order to ease his conscience, or it was sent by Mr. McCardie as a demonstration of his sympathy towards Sir Sankaran with the object of allaying the prevailing dissatisfaction finding that there was no other means of escaping the criticisms levelled against him and the British law courts. Whatever may be the mystery this cheque cannot wash off the blot of injustice. The *Desh Bhakta* remarks that although the verdict in the O'Dwyer Nair suit will form a shameful chapter in the history of England, the sympathetic action of the Englishman who sent a cheque to Sir Sankaran will be recorded in letters of gold in the history of India.

The Punjab Press.

The *Medina* expresses its gratification at the action taken by the Punjab Government against certain papers and remarks that it ought to have been the duty of the public to stop the publication of such papers. The step taken by the Government is commendable in every way though the matter was at first ignored by it.

Situation in the Punjab.

According to the *Pioneer* the Akali extremists are watching the new Governor with undisguised interest. Although the Congress has blessed the movement, the bulk of the Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab are hostile to the Akalis and see in their aims an attempt to assert Sikh dominance to the danger of their own

communities. By producing an atmosphere which will encourage the moderate Sikhs in their counter-propaganda against the Akalis, and by giving moral support to those efforts the Government can best hope to evolve a reasonable and sufficiently solid spirit among the Sikhs. No conciliation but steady pressure will presumably be the watchword; it is to be hoped that it will be linked up with a firm intention to distinguish between the enemies and the friends of the Government. Sympathisers with the Akalis should be taught that they cannot have their bread buttered on both sides. Government service, pensions, grants of land are inconsistent with the support of a movement which aims at destroying the source from which those benefits come.

Restoration of Berar.

The *Haqiqat* supports the view of Qazi Aziz-ud-din Ahmad that no propaganda should have been started for the restoration of Berar but remarks that once the mistake has been committed it will not be fruitful to stop it. It admits that the propaganda, not being conducted methodically, has done more harm than good to the State. The *Paigham* supports the demand of the Nizam who has ever been an ally of the Government and remarks that the refusal to restore Berar to him will show that all the promises of self-government made by the Government were meaningless and unreal.

The Cawnpore mill riot.

The *Vartman* supports the findings of the non-official enquiry committee and contrasting them with those of the official committee remarks: We emphatically protest against the evasive nature of the official enquiry and wish to warn the authorities that administration should not be thought to be so easy as that human beings may be indiscriminately shot down like beasts and then the whole matter may be conveniently hushed up. Any rule based on bullets cannot last long. Incidents like the cotton mill firing are being engrained into the hearts of the Indians, and if the culprits are not adequately punished and Government continues to display pratiality it will have to rue the terrible consequences of its actions sooner or later.

The convicts in the Bolshevik conspiracy case.

The *Pratap* complains that the convicts in the Bolshevik conspiracy case who were hitherto accorded special treatment are now treated as ordinary criminals and have been made to wear jail uniform and to put on the prisoner's ring and ticket. They were provided with such bad food that they could not possibly eat it and have been keeping hungry. It remarks that if it had been a matter with Europeans they would have been provided with suitable clothes and food in jail even if they were convicted for theft and the like. It is nothing but sheer meanness on the part of the Government to have made such a change in the treatment originally accorded to these political convicts.

The Jhansi district board.

The *Aj* congratulates the Chairman and the members of the Jhansi district board on publishing the annual report of the board in vernacular and remarks that of all the municipal and district boards in these provinces it is the first to adopt this commendable procedure. It will now be easy for the public of Jhansi to get a full knowledge of the work done by their district board and it will also be able to take greater interest in the work of the board. Other municipal and district boards in these provinces should emulate the example of the Jhansi district board.

The Agra University.

The *Pioneer* says: That Allahabad will benefit by the removal of this incubus to Agra can hardly be gainsaid, though it might have been supposed that it would have been quite feasible to organise the two sides of the Allahabad University on the lines of those of the University of London, which still retains its external side notwithstanding its growing pride in the development of the teaching and residential side of its activities.

The United Provinces Council.

A correspondent writing to the *Oudh Akhbar* views with disfavour the rumoured postponement of the United Provinces Council session in July and remarks that if the Council session is not held for a long time, there will be a great accumulation of work which will become unmanageable. It further creates suspicions in the minds of the people that the Government has no interest in the Council. The correspondent suggests that the rules regarding the Council sessions should be amended and the sessions should be regularly held after every three months. The *Haqiqat* regrets the postponement of the Council session on the ground of economy and remarks that the Councils have been established with the object of inviting the attention of the Government to the grievances and the needs of the people. But

the Governor of these Provinces having taken a conspicuous part in the framing of the Reforms Act can more correctly judge the object of their establishment. If His Excellency Sir William Marris continues to be economical in this way then the Reforms will cease to exist for practical purposes in these Provinces though a great saving may be effected in the provincial revenues.

The Kisan organisation.

Lieutenant Nawab Muhammad Jamshed Ali, M.L.C., in a signed letter to the *Haqiqat* and other papers, apprehends that Kisan Sabhas will be a source of constant danger to the zamindar community as they will support their own demands and assail the rights of the zamindars. The only way of having their grievances redressed is to establish a joint sabha of the zamindars and the tenants and both parties should amicably arrive at a settlement which may ensure happy relations in future. Referring to the resolutions passed in a recent meeting of the United Provinces Kisan Sabha at Allahabad, the *Mashriq* expresses the apprehension that the increasing spirit of freedom amongst the cultivators may result in a speedy spread of Bolshevism in the country. It criticises the Government for ignoring the loyalty and services of the zamindars. It asks the latter to cease to oppress their tenants and to start an organisation for the protection of their rights otherwise under the régime of the Labour Cabinet in Britain they will be nowhere.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* publishes a letter from its special correspondent at Lhasa in the course of which he says that the British Government is endeavouring to get a hold over Tibet. The glamour of Western civilisation and the introduction of motor traffic and a telegraph line in Tibet by the British Government has attracted the Tibetans to some extent. The correspondent further says that he was informed by an official of Lhasa who is connected with the administration that the British Government had made the Dalai (Tashai?) Lama of Shigatsi its favourite and that it was apprehended that the British Government would set the Tashai Lama and the Dalai Lama against each other, and then under the pretext of justice and friendship it would adopt a hostile attitude against the latter, make a raid upon Lhasa and deprive the Dalai Lama of some of his rights. The correspondent remarks that such a contingency is not remote. The slavery of Tibet will be a fresh nail in the coffin of Asia.

Trade Unionism.

The weekly *Mazdoor* of Cawnpore in a leading article says: Our workmen and *kisans* bear the whole burden of the country and things are so arranged that no matter how hard they may work, they cannot escape from their *awful position*. All the fruits of their toil, all that could better their lot, give them leisure and consequently education, are swallowed up by the capitalist exploiters and official monopolists. Society in our land is so constituted that the more they work the more they (the capitalists and the official monopolists) enrich themselves while they (labourers) go on as beasts of burden for ever. This state of things must be mended or ended for the good of all. We must strike out a medium where the product, the profit, and the means of production should be common to all. This may look a bit like the spirit of Communism, but there is no other way than to put the above principles into practice if we wish to see our workmen and *kisans* content without starvation and their women and children clothed instead of being in rags, or naked.

NAINI TAL:
The 19th July, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

MAILS BRANCH
19 AUG. 19[illegible]
INDIA OFF[illegible]

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 29 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 26th July, 1924.

The Khilafat.

THE *Haqiqat* has no hope of the revival of the Khilafat movement in India, which has already suffered an irreparable loss on account of the shortsighted action of the Turks. It was bound up with the non-cooperation movement and its fate was sealed when the latter failed. No Islamic Conference and no deputation to Angora can now revive the enthusiasm for the Khilafat and the emanciption of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* protests against the waste of public funds in sending a deputation to Angora and remarks that in view of maladministration of the Khilafat Fund in the past it is idle to expect that the Musalmans will once more be willing to make any sacrifice. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Government is still hesitating to issue passports to the members of the Khilafat deputation and hopes that it will take early steps in this connection. Writing in a similar strain the *Hind-i-Jadid* advises the Government not to prolong the question unnecessarily when once it has satisfied itself regarding the *personnel* of the deputation and remarks that any further delay on the part of the Government is likely to aggravate popular unrest. The *Oudh Akhbar* writes on the authority of the *Al Aman* that Sharif Husain has employed agents in India to advocate his cause and warns the Musalmans to beware of the dangerous propaganda of these agents. The *Gayanshakti* refers in condemnatory terms to the decision of the Khilafat Committees to devote themselves to proselytism and Muslim organisation and remarks that in the face of this decision the apprehension that proselytism and Muslim organisation are the ultimate goal of the Khilafat Committees, is not unwarranted. It is the duty of Mahatma Gandhi to emphatically protest against this decision and unless it is withdrawn it is incumbent upon all the Hindu members to resign in a body their membership of the Khilafat Committees.

Mosul and Iraq.

The *Najat* has no hope of any reconciliation between England and Turkey after the breakdown of the Mosul Conference and remarks that the only possible solution of the question is war for which both parties are making preparations. The *Haqiqat* remarks that as the Iraq people resent the British mandate, the Anglo-Iraq agreement will become as inoperative as the Anglo-Egyptian agreement. It is astounding that British statesmen have not yet fully appreciated the determination of the people of Iraq otherwise they would have relinquished their hold upon the country.

Egypt and the Sudan.

The *Aj* holds that the British Imperialists are determined not to relax their hold upon the Sudan and consequently any interference in this matter on the part of the League of Nations is unacceptable to them. The *Pratap* is convinced that Britain will never agree to the incorporation of the Sudan into Egypt and regards the proposed visit of Zaghlul Pasha to England as a barren effort. It asks Zaghlul Pasha to be guided by the views of his countrymen who have no faith in British diplomacy and to try to win back the Sudan—not beg for it. The moral of the recent assault on his life is plain if only he will profit by it.

The Indian debate in the House of Lords.

To the *Pioneer* the Indian debate in the House of Lords seems to have been a rather colourless affair. If there was nothing spectacular about the debate, it was by no means lacking in interest. The speech of Viscount Peel showed an accurate appreciation of the significance of recent events in India. In his observations on Mr. Das's amazing coquetries with the revolutionary party in Bengal the Secretary of State undoubtedly lays himself open to the criticism that he has failed to appreciate the danger of the Swarajist leader's attempt to canonise a murderer. That such a resolution could have been proposed in all seriousness is a striking testimony to the contagion of the cult of spurious patriotism inaugurated by Mr. Das. The Swarajists, however, will be able to derive little satisfaction from the attitude of the Secretary of State towards them and their leader. The Secretary of State is

not favourably impressed with the methods of the Swaraj party. Indeed, those methods have done much to strengthen the case against any immediate constitutional advance so far as public opinion in Great Britain is concerned. The *Leader* characterises the debate as "unhopeful." The most important part of Lord Olivier's speech is its third section dealing with the political situation and constitutional reform. The paper is glad and relieved to know that the blunder is not to be committed of a prosecution of Mr. C. R. Das. But it doubts the wisdom as well as the propriety of the Secretary of State's commentary on that resolution. The Swarajists will note that while they are patted on the back their cause itself has received little encouragement and their methods are not commended as promising the results they have at heart. It is all Swarajists and no *swaraj*. Their theatrical display and 'ostensible' successes are being promptly met by amendments of the rules and by the temporary resumption of transferred subjects. This is the only result the Swarajists can show to the country which unsuspectingly took them at their word and placed its trust in them. All that has been said with regard to the amendment of the Government of India Act is mere toying or trifling with a momentous subject. Whatever intentions may lie hidden in the breasts of Mr. MacDonald and Lord Olivier, their public utterances down to date have been extremely disappointing and even surprising from a party that has proclaimed the principles and policies it has. Their net result is—nil: Indians are not to expect an early revision of the constitution. They must go on as they have been going on. Verily may the United Services Clubs at Simla and Calcutta and other important centres celebrate the occasion and drink with musical honours to the toast of 'Long live the bureaucracy.' The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Lord Peel, the late Secretary of State, failed even to make a forceful gesture of disapproval of Lord Olivier's Indian policy. Lord Lee also made his almost trembling contribution to the debate actuated, no doubt, by the exalted motive that his great life work in the organisation of an authorised loot of Indian revenues for the services should not be shelved indefinitely. The argument that the bond between England and India was weakening because of the discontent in the Services was perhaps the most formidable in the Peel quiver: it will cause a smile in India where the word civilian has almost become synonymous for an officer dressed in high authority who never cared for the bond at all. If Gandhi were the conscience-keeper of the Government then there would have been more peace and harmony in India today than we have. The most inexcusable portion of Lord Olivier's speech was his explicit statement that if the Reforms Committee should convince the Government of India he would not hesitate to so amend the Act. Lord Olivier has not cared to rally Nationalist support to his side to compensate for the organised howl that he is sure to start in his country and among his countrymen. He has done his best, on the other hand, to alienate the Swarajists by affecting to despise them and the leadership of Mr. Das. It is strange that Lord Olivier had nothing very serious or significant to speak on the Akali problem—the greatest problem of the hour. The *Advocate* remarks that Lord Peel, the late Secretary of State, cut a very sorry figure in the House of Lords when he failed to disapprove Lord Olivier's Indian policy. The debate in the House of Lords contains nothing of importance for India except the remarks made by Lord Olivier regarding the amending of Reforms. Lord Olivier altogether ignored to speak anything concerning the Akali question which is engaging the attention of the politicians of the day. The *Hamdam* says that, judging from the speech of the Secretary of State, it is clear that the Labour Party, in spite of all its professions of sympathy and friendliness towards India, has not yet even attempted to understand Indian problems. The expectations which were raised on the assumption of Government by the Labour Party are gradually being turned into disappointment. The present statement by the Secretary of State does not contain even the little sympathy which characterised his previous statements on the Indian policy.

Indian Mercantile Marine.

The *Pioneer* characterises the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine as unpractical and says: Technical knowledge and expert training are essential requirements in the shipping trade as in others, but when it comes to seamanship and handling engines at sea, important personal factors are called into play, not the least of them being the management of men of diverse types in a diversity of conditions. Without the sea sense and the traditions evolving it, failure is certain. Until, therefore, the training ship has answered the question thereby raised and the conversion of the Royal Indian Marine into a combatant Indian Navy has revealed

the extent to which men are forthcoming for the profession of the sea, it is idle to frame ambitious schemes for a completely or predominently Indianised mercantile marine. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* welcomes the recommendation of the Committee and says that one thing alone would help to bring into existence an Indian Mercantile Marine: that is Indianisation of the ownership and management of ships. If direct action is taken for the protection of Indian shipping in coastal trade, Indian investors would be forthcoming. One effective method of encouraging the growth is the licensing system insisting on apprentices being taken and appointed to high posts in the service.

The Delhi riots.

The *Pioneer* says: It is not surprising that the Delhi riots are influencing public opinion in England against the propaganda now being conducted by the numerous Indian delegates. The British people recognise that they are symptoms of a malady for the cure of which constitutional remedies are unavailing. In a leading article the *Leader* asserts that in the unfortunate happening at Delhi both the communities are more or less to blame. It, therefore, strongly deprecates the attempts that are being made in certain organs of the press to shift the entire responsibility on to the shoulders of one or the other community. The absence of any mass attempt to looting or incendiarism was a relieving feature of the situation. It is to be hoped that after the letting out of communal passions neighbourly feelings will be rapidly restored and both sides will realise the utter folly of such violent exhibition of intolerance which is equally dangerous and disgraceful in itself and besides strengthens the hands of the opponents of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans in their efforts at constitutional advance. The authorities had one of the most anxious and difficult situations to face, and if they had not made arrangements for emergencies the loss of life and the number of wounded would probably have been much greater. The administration did not break down as it did last year at Saharanpur with disastrous results. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Mahatma Gandhi's platitudes in his newspaper articles will not solve, neither will the militant spirit that Swami Shraddhanand seeks to breathe into Hindus to overawe the Musalman, solve the question. Something else has to be discovered. And even more important than the number of yards of thread reeled out of the *charkha* is the correct solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. The *Pioneer* says that as a result of the recent riots Delhi today furnishes a striking object-lesson of India's need of the British administrator to hold the balance even and keep the peace between rival religious factions. Under any *swaraj* administration the riot would have assumed far greater dimensions; and it is the knowledge of this which is responsible for that strengthening of the prestige of the authorities. The vernacular press is unanimous in deploring the recent bloodshed in Delhi. The *Hamdam* accuses the Hindus of making preparations beforehand and remarks that such disturbances are calculated to injure the national movement and afford an opportunity to our opponents to rejoice at our distress. The *Haqiqat* regrets that the Delhi people did not in the least respect the precious tears which Mahatma Gandhi shed at the meeting of the Congress Committee. The *Rahnuma* holds both the communities responsible for the disturbance and exhorts the leaders to postpone their other activities and proceed to Delhi at once to remove communal tension and restore unity. The *Hindustani* says that such disturbances are likely to prejudice English minds against India's demand for *swaraj*. The *Bharat Jiwan* interprets the communal fracas at Delhi as a manifestation of the mutual distrust and hatred that exists between the Hindus and the Musalmans. It remarks that this mutual enmity is disastrous and has cut the very roots of the political agitation. The only means of removing it is to fix a common programme of work for both the communities and until it is done it is impossible to prevent the repetition of the deplorable occurrence at Delhi. The *Aj* remarks that Delhi has blackened the face of India. The Hindus and Musalmans of that place have by indulging in insensate fighting not only disgraced their communities but also strewn thorns in the path of *swaraj* by presenting the enemies of India with further material for exploiting public opinion against the Indian demand. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that if Hinduism and Islam mean that the Hindus and the Musalmans should fight against each other for trivial matters, then the effacement of Hinduism and Islam from India will not be seriously regretted. The *Pratap* complains that the Musalmans practised diabolical atrocities upon the Hindus during the communal disturbance at Delhi and remarks that fanaticism is a peculiar feature of Islam. If Muhammad, the Prophet, were to witness these doings of his followers his heart would

be shocked by this religious fanaticism on their part. For the freedom of India it is indispensable that the Musalman bullies should be suppressed and the cowardice of the Hindus removed. So long as every individual in the country does not only feel that he is safe at the hands of his brethren but is also convinced that at the hour of calamity his countrymen will come to his help irrespective of religious and communal considerations, the yoke of subjection cannot be removed from the shoulders of India.

Ministers in Bengal.

In a leading article the *Leader* says: Do Ministers' salaries become a reserved item merely because of their inclusion in the major head of general administration when the recipients of the salaries are themselves transferred beings? We do not want Ministers to hold office *nam ke waste*, when their salaries are not voted, their financial demands for the working of their departments are rejected or unduly and unreasonably reduced, when a majority of their colleagues in the Legislative Council take the trouble to show in diverse ways that they are not wanted—that they are a new species of untouchables. In such an atmosphere no Ministers—not even Gladstones and Disraelis—can do useful service and when this is so, they should not nominally exist as Ministers. For this reason we were sorry that the two Bengal Ministers did not resign in March; we are sorry still that they have not yet done so.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Haqiqat* exhorts the leaders to concentrate all their energies in removing the growing estrangement between the two communities, otherwise they can never succeed in achieving *swaraj*. Dwelling upon the necessity of unity between the two communities the *Mehnat* of Cawnpore remarks that the country is keenly eager for some sort of activity and once the activity begins all differences will vanish. Our ideal should not be cow protection but human protection as is expressed by the word *swaraj*. The *Arya Mittra* condemns the kidnapping of Hindu women and children by Muslims and remarks that it is extremely regrettable that the Government which calls itself the custodian of peace and order should look upon such demonical activities with indifference which is, however, no justification for the slackness of the Hindus in the matter of protecting the honour of their women and the prestige of their religion. If Hindus are so impotent and cowardly that they cannot protect themselves then it will be for the good of humanity that they should be annihilated.

Congress politics.

Referring to the resignations recently tendered by members of the Congress Committees on account of the spinning resolution passed at Ahmedabad, the *Leader* says: The effect of these resignations may be to make the executive bodies homogeneous, but it will not necessarily be greater activity on their part. They will now consist almost wholly of the unquestioningly faithful followers of Mr. Gandhi, those to whom his word is still law, as it was to all including the Dases and Nehrus until he was sent away to prison. The next few months will show whether the Congress organisations have become stronger or weaker by this drastic purge. The places of men like Bhagwan Das and others who have resigned in Benares will have to be filled up by lesser men, which cannot result in strengthening the executive. The *Arya Varta* is gratified at the success of the Swarajists at Ahmedabad and hopes that the reconciliation arrived at between them and the no-changers will prove to be a permanent one and will enable the Congress to concentrate all its energies and successfully fight out the battle of *swaraj*. The *Abhyudaya* congratulates Mr. Gandhi on his decision that the boycott of the Councils by the Swarajists at the present time will augur ill to the country and remarks that this decision is a vindication of the policy of the Swarajists and removes a great obstacle from the path of national progress. The *Anand* remarks that the revolutionary change which Mahatma Gandhi's views about Council entry have undergone goes to certify the superiority of the statesmanship and the political sagacity of the Swarajist leaders. The Swarajists may now triumphantly assert that Mahatma Gandhi has ultimately yielded to their view. The *Vartman* opines that the suspension of all the items of the non-cooperation programme except the propagation of *khaddar*, establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability is a sagacious political move on the part of Mahatma Gandhi bound to bring about the desired result. The special feature of this programme is its universality for every political party, every community and every individual in the country can participate in working it out and it is to this universality that it owes its efficacy. If only the whole country devotes

itself to the fulfilment of this programme the need for *satyagraha* will never arise and India shall be able to attain freedom at the cheapest price.

Reforms Enquiry Committee.

The *Leader* agrees with the Bombay Presidency Association that the Reforms Enquiry Committee should publish a *questionnaire* for the guidance of public bodies and individual public men desirous of submitting memoranda to or giving evidence before the Committee and says that the suggestion is most reasonable and should be complied with as promptly as possible. It also asks for the publication of the despatches of local Governments. What can be sacrosanct about these documents that they should merely repose in Secretariat archives? All the light that is possible should be thrown upon the subject to facilitate right decisions. We can see nothing to commend in a policy of secrecy. The *Hindustani* says: The Indian agitation has made Englishmen realise that they will have no respite unless they accede to the demands of the Indians, but instead of granting immediate self-government they want to prolong the period of their merrimaking and enjoyment and to rob some more Indian wealth.

Situation in the Punjab.

Referring to the allegations made by Sirdar Mangal Singh and Dr. Kitchlu that the Punjab Government is organising committees to interfere with the religious affairs of the people, the *Hamdam* remarks that these rumours proving true, the régime of Sir Malcolm Hailey will be a terrible reign of oppression. It seems that the brutal tyrannies perpetrated at Jallianwala Bagh and elsewhere during the Martial Law days have not been sufficient atonement for the great sin which the unfortunate people of the Punjab committed in strengthening British rule in India. It advises the Punjab people to cheerfully bear all hardships and not to betray the least sign of weakness, otherwise the British lion, which is notorious for attacking the weak, will tear them up into pieces. The *Vartman* remarks that since the assumption of the office of the Governor of the Punjab by Sir Malcolm Hailey the policy of repression has been reinforced and the proposal of his predecessor to enter into a compromise with the Akalis has been abandoned. Various kinds of conspiracies are being hatched to destroy the Sikh agitation. The crooked and reprehensible policy of the Government has already been exposed and the people of the Punjab have realised that the present Governor is a fit representative of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Excessive ruthlessness and oppression have become the characteristics of the administration of the Punjab. What is still worse is that the Labour Ministry also relies on the policy of Sir Malcolm Hailey and his appointment as the Governor of the Punjab is a source of relief to it. It is thus abundantly clear that the Punjab has to pass a hard time. But are we prepared to face it? The *Anand*, on the other hand, is gratified that Sir Malcolm Hailey is earnestly endeavouring to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the Akali question. It suggests that the Akalis should be allowed full religious freedom and absolute right to reform their *gurdwaras*. The *Medina* protests against the sentences passed upon the Akalis in the Jaiton case and remarks that the courts of the Government can enchain the hands of the self-respecting Akalis but they are powerless to suppress their religious fervour. Their struggle is not likely to come to an end if the Government persistently continues to interfere in their religious affairs. The *Hind-i-Jadid* opines that owing to the failure of the Birdwood Committee the Government is vigorously trying to crush the Akali movement. It warns the Governor of the Punjab not to be misled by the flattering address presented to him at Amritsar or by the expressions of loyalty and devotion on the part of the newly organised party of the loyal Sikhs but to negotiate directly with the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which is the only representative body of the Sikhs, in order to arrive at a just and proper decision. The *Mashriq* is hopeful of the success of the Birdwood Committee and remarks that if the Akalis had not been duped by the enemies of the country who held out false hopes of Sikh *raj*, and if they had understood the dishonest moves of the Congress and the Khilafat agitators, the question would have been settled long ago. The *Pioneer* says: The recent reorganisation of the Akali Publicity Bureau has imported a strong Congress flavour into the announcements of that instrument of propaganda. It is, of course, clear that the Congress wire-pullers are anxious to make use of the Akali movement, for in it they see a quality which they themselves do not possess. The Congress agitators, ready to stir up hatred, are not prepared to make sacrifices themselves, but they would be very happy to assist the Akali to become the spearhead to their very wobbly staff. The *Leader* says: Any reasonable solution that Sir Malcolm Hailey may be able to put forward, should be considered with care and sympathy by everyone who is not

anxious for a mere continuance of political trouble. The whole country is concerned that a speedy end be put to such an impossible situation as that which has existed between the Akalis and the Government of the Punjab. To our mind it is patent that the agitation is quasi-political; at least, it has become such. The public well-being demands peace above everything and Sir Malcolm Hailey will be entitled to the public support if he can achieve a reasonable solution of the problem.

Demolition of mosque at Bharatpur.

The *Mashriq* remarks that the Indian Musalmans cannot be satisfied unless the Government compels the Maharaja to rebuild the mosques. The Political Agent had no right to take the side of the Maharaja and address the Musalmans in the way he did. The British Government, in order to give proof of its love of justice, will do well to admonish the Maharaja.

U. P. Improvement Trusts.

The *Leader* says that the *personnel* of the Government Committee on Improvement Trusts is as unimpressive (barring the able and experienced and just-minded Chairman) as its scope is wide and its importance is great. The Committee have thus before them a vast possibility of doing good or evil, including the undoing of good already done. The paper does not think there was or is any necessity for such a Committee. But if there was to be, a body altogether more adequate to the purpose should have been assembled, as it could so easily have been. At another place the paper says: Weak calibre or antecedent hostility or imperfect knowledge or perverse mentality, is the mark of most members of the Enquiry Committee. The Committee does not contain a single member who has such knowledge of the working of Trusts as to be able intelligently and effectively to cross-examine witnesses. It is not too late for the Government to make good the omission by nominating any of the three Chairmen before the Committee begins to function.

The Cawnpore Mill riot.

The *Pratap* protests against the sentence of imprisonment passed on two of the Cawnpore labourers for instigating the mill-hands of the Cotton Mill to continue the strike and remarks that the sentence is a mockery of justice. It insinuates that all this is being done to remove the blame from upon the Police and the authorities, otherwise the Superintendent of Police, Cawnpore, and the City Magistrate, who ordered the firing upon the mill-hands, should have stood in the dock where these two labourers were made to stand.

The Kisan organisation.

The *Mashriq* apprehends that the growing spirit of freedom amongst the cultivators is likely to result in a speedy spread of Bolshevism in India. It finds fault with the Government for ignoring the loyalty and the services of the zamindars and advises the latter to organise themselves for the protection of their rights.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* remarks that Mr. M. N. Roy, who has been entrusted with the work of propagating Bolshevik doctrines in the Eastern countries by the Bolshevik International Conference, has pointed out that the programme of the Bolshevik party in India is to awaken the lower classes, to rid India of British rule, to confiscate land and give possession of it to the *kisans*, to hand over Railways and trade to labourers and to nationalise the Telegraph department. Mr. Roy's scheme appears to be sweeter than honey and more pleasant than paradise for the poor Indians. Is there any *kisan* who does not wish that the land he cultivates may become his own property? The condition of the Indian *kisans* is most miserable and they are seeking the support of a straw to get rid of their sufferings. There is every likelihood of their heartily welcoming this principle of Mr. Roy in the existing circumstances. Those who are following the trend of events among the labourers are aware that the labourers now want themselves to become the masters of the mills and factories. It is thus obvious that labourers are also prepared to accept Mr. Roy's scheme to a certain extent. The proposal to rid India of British rule appears to be alarming, but those who are acquainted with the activities of the Congress for the last four years know that this idea of Mr. Roy is not his own but is shared by many Indians. It is difficult to imagine the effect of Mr. Roy's scheme on India but there is no doubt that she will undergo a huge change within a few years.

NAINI TAL:
The 26th July, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 2nd August, 1924.

The Indian debate in the House of Lords.

In a leading article headed "Lord Olivier on Mr. Das" the *Leader* says: The sum and substance of Lord Olivier's estimate of Mr. Das as a politician is that he is a political babe who believes in such silly nonsense as that the mighty British Government can be frightened by methods of force or by support of them. Such curious, doubtful and uncomplimentary defence of the Swarajist leader cannot tickle his sense of vanity, for, constituted as human nature is, one would prefer to be called a knave to being described as a fool. His lordship's observation that the operations of secret societies were detestable and that they did not ultimately strengthen any political party that dallied with them were meant for the consumption of the Swarajists especially, and it is for their leaders to repudiate, if they consider it necessary, the implications of Lord Olivier's speech as to the nature of their policy. Writing on the same subject the *Pioneer* considers Lord Olivier to have shown a lamentable inability to grasp the mentality either of Mr. Das or of the general Indian public, and thinks that his reference to the Serajgunj resolution will be regarded by the revolutionary elements in this country as an encouragement of political murder. For the condemnation of that form of violence merely on the ground of its futility, or of Mr. Das's alleged political simplicity, is so mild as to appear as no condemnation at all. In another article the same paper says that Mr. Das's canonisation of the murderer Gopinath Saha would afford encouragement to the revolutionary element in the Province was manifest from the outset; and it seems clear that the Secretary of State's contemptuous indifference to the political "gestures" of Mr. Das and his lieutenants has already been interpreted in revolutionary circles as a sign of weakness and vacillation. From one point of view the document which has been distributed among police officials in Bengal is ludicrous enough, and it bears on the face of it the unmistakable impress of the colossal vanity and passion for intrigue which have long been conspicuous features of the revolutionary movement in Bengal. The Secretary of State, however, and the British public would be making a great mistake if they regarded it merely as an object of derision. The British people will undoubtedly attribute the outbreak to Mr. Das's implied condonation of political murder. Already there are unmistakable signs that the wrecking tactics of the Swarajists have alienated many sympathisers in England with Indian political aspirations, and any recrudescence of the murder campaign at the present time would not only utterly discredit the Swarajist Party, but would involve a set-back, the effects of which might last for years to India's political progress. Referring to the condemnation of Mr. Das's attitude towards the Bengal revolutionaries the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: This incessant cry for the prosecution of Mr. Das is, we fear, overdone. It discredits all talk of England ever helping India to attain *swaraj*. The question in Parliament about the forthcoming visit to England of Mr. Das also betrays Dasphobia; perhaps there would be no passport difficulty in this case, as the absence of this master revolutionary for a short period from India ought to give sleepful nights to Lord Olivier's countrymen here. The *Aj* remarks that Lord Olivier's non-committal reply to Lord Peel's motion regarding the prosecution of Mr. Das is indicative of the fact that he passed it away in ridicule. His eulogy of a person whom Lord Peel did not hesitate to stigmatise must have caused him mental irritation, and what a pity that Lord Curzon who came to his help met the same fate! The *Anand* says that the Indian debate in the House of Lords is illustrative of the fact that Parliament has changed colour and is not prepared to confer further rights on the Indians at an early date.

The Lee Commission.

The *Aj* opines that the Lee Commission has attempted to perpetuate the supremacy of the Europeans by rendering equality and fraternity impossible between Europeans and Indians. We are ever willing to treat the British as our equals, says the paper, but we cannot accept their supremacy. We are formidable opponents of this racial supremacy and hold it to be our sacred duty to destroy it through proper

and peaceful means. The decision of the Secretary of State for India to keep secret the evidence before the Lee Commission has blasted what little hope Indians still had of justice at the hands of the British.

Khilafat Committees.

Referring to the reorganisation of the Khilafat Committees the *Leader* says: The main purpose of the Khilafat organisation would appear to be not to preach non-cooperation with Government to right the Khilafat wrong, but to do constructive work for promoting the welfare of the Muslim community. It is well that the Muslim leaders, who at one time thought more of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and of Turkey than of India, are now turning their attention to matters of domestic concern and are realising the wisdom of the adage that charity begins at home. With regard to the Committee's appeal for funds the paper says: The Committee, before asking the Musalmans to contribute to its funds, ought to let them know as what has become of Mr. Chhotani's saw mills, which were taken over by the Committee.

The Delhi riots.

In a leading article headed "The lesson of Delhi" the *Pioneer* refers to passages in Hakim Ajmal Khan's latest statement and says: This testimony to the importance of taking resolute action against propagandists deliberately spreading inflammatory rumours and fabrications comes, it will be seen, from that class of opinion which is ready, at the slightest provocation, to accuse the Government of undue severity and oppressive action. With regard to the Hakim's admission that those responsible for the Delhi riots are unrepentant, the paper asks whether he does not realise that such an attitude has been encouraged by the atomsphere of defiance of authority, disrespect for the Government, and racial hatred created by misguided "patriots" preaching revolution as a means to self-government. It appeals to those Indians who claimed to possess some sense of responsibility and judgment to see that if the masses are to be led away from the danger of communal animosity, the arm of the law should receive support from the intelligent section of the population whenever it is employed in asserting the weight of authority against malignant disseminators of untruth and inflammatory misrepresentation. And, above all, every effort should be made to spread enlightenment and combat superstition by encouragement of progress in the education of the people. The *Leader* says that the unqualified and emphatic condemnation by a Muslim leader, who is respected throughout the country by Hindus and Muslims alike, of acts of savagery of some of his own co-religionists, deserves the warm acknowledgement of the Hindus. The *Medina* observes that the outburst of communal disturbances at Delhi does not afford any cause for wonder, as the place is the headquarters of Swami Shraddhanand, whose fame depends upon fomenting communal strifes, and the capital of a Government whose policy is to divide and rule. In another article the same paper refutes the allegation that the Musalmans were responsible for the disturbance at Delhi and finds fault with the Deputy Commissioner for issuing prohibitive orders regarding the old route. It further asks why the authorities provided the Hindu police with rifles while the Muslim police was given only *dandas*. The *Aligarh Gazette* pleads that the Musalmans were quite innocent and remarks that it is very foolish on the part of the Musalmans and the Government to rely on the Congress and the Khilafat. The *Zulqarnain* opines that in view of the communal disturbances the presence of a foreign Power, having equal regard for all the communities, is ever necessary in India for maintaining the balance between diverse communities and protecting them from tyrannies and excesses of one another. The *Al Bureed* remarks that the collision between the two communities in Delhi has proved that the unity between the Hindus and the Musalmans can be compared only to a mound of clay and not to a rock of stone. The *Rahnuma* says that the statement of the Congress leaders regarding the disturbances has exposed the misrepresentation and communal partiality of the Arya Samaj press regarding the origin of the disturbance. It advises the parties to arrive at an amicable settlement instead of going to court. It will save them the trouble and expenses of litigation and will speedily restore happy relations between them. Writing in a similar strain the *Hamdam* ascribes the disturbance to the presence of such refractory elements as the Jats and the Pathans and asks the authorities to deal properly with them. In another article the same paper regrets that the Arya press is utilising the occasion for their anti-Islamic propaganda. The *Hind-i-Jadid* throws the entire responsibility for the disturbance on the Hindu-Muslim press and remarks that it has not only dealt a severe blow to the common national cause but has also strengthened the hands of our enemies. The *Al Khalil* avers that the deep-rooted ill-will between the Hindus and the

Musalmans is now hard to eradicate, and remarks that if communal strifes continue the British Government in India will become impotent. The *Vartman* holds that the communal outburst at Delhi was not the abberation of a stray vagabond but was the result of an organised attempt on the part of the Musalmans to plunder the Hindus. Even educated and leading Musalmans had a hand in it. It says: What mischief may not the followers of that religion cause to the Hindus, the accredited leader of which can openly assert that even a depraved Musalman is better than Mahatma Gandhi? It is the duty of the Muslim leaders to subject the *goondas* to social boycott and get them arrested. The *Prem* remarks that the bloodshed at Delhi will cause deep pain to every Indian who has any regard for his country and religion. The repetition of a Nadirshahi massacre in this era of freedom is extremely deplorable and brands India with a stigma. The prevention of the repetition of such occurrences is the crying need of the hour and the leaders will do well to suspend other activities and concentrate all their efforts on the restoration of fraternal relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans. Writing in a similar strain the *Kartavya* remarks that the fighting at Delhi has lowered our head and cast an indelible blot on both the Hindus and the Musalmans. Such incidents afford the bureaucracy an opportunity to declare that India is unfit for *swaraj* and that if it withdrew she would be thrown into the abyss of anarchy and bloodshed. The *Aj* thinks that it is not those who indulged in insensate fighting nor the Police which did nothing to stop the disturbance, but it is those who in the name of religion and organisation supported misconduct and spread communal bias who deserve to be wholly blamed for the unfortunate fracas at Delhi. It is they who are the virtual enemies of the society and theirs is the responsibility for the loss of human life.

Bengal revolutionaries.

Referring to the notice issued by the Bengal revolutionaries to the Bengal Police officers, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The suspicion with which the Police is looked upon in this country would soon spread the belief that behind the alleged notice is a master mind bent upon discrediting the Indian nationalist agitation. It is unfortunate, therefore, that two such representative newspapers like the *Pioneer* and the *Englishman* should have taken the identical view that this notice is an inevitable result of the Saha resolution. Nothing is more natural for the jaundiced eye than to see everything yellow. It is for the Government to go steady, to use the utmost discrimination before it lets loose the dogs of law upon the people, especially upon leaders whose hold upon the imagination of the public is undoubted.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Our present troubles cannot be solved by a speech of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru or a laboured article of Mahatma Gandhi in *Young India* or the patch-pact of Deshbandhu Das. Better understanding by the Hindu of the Musalman and *vice versa* is the only solution of our troubles. The present disturbances have their root in ignorance. Once the masses are enlightened, the fuel that feeds the flame of communal strife can be cut off. The only manner in which the masses can be so enlightened is by teaching them the unity side of Islam and Hinduism. The *Hamdam* deplores the action of the Saharanpur Hindus in filing civil suits against the convicted Musalmans whose families are starving and wonders why the authorities did not allow the Musalmans to bring similar suits. The *Mashriq* says that Englishmen have now fully realised the weakness of Indians and they know that unity and toleration can never exist between the Hindus and the Musalmans. If the Government wishes that harmonius relations may be established between the two communities, the easiest way is to grant equal rights to both. The *Oudh Akhbar* does not countenance the practice of the Musalmans of taking deputations to the Governors and begging for special concessions for their community and remarks that instead of troubling the Governors they should themselves settle their affairs with the Hindus as it will make them self-reliant. The *Gayanshakti* complains that the treatment of the Musalmans towards the Hindus is most detestable. The Hindus have so far been patient; but the Musalmans should realise that even patience, endurance and forbearance have a limit. No one can remain happy by quarrelling with his neighbour. If the Musalmans want to make their lives happy they shall have to abandon their present tactics.

Muslim organisation.

A correspondent writing to the *Mashriq* dwells upon the imperative necessity of reorganising the Muslim League and remarks that cooperation with the Congress

Committee can only be useful when the rights of the Musalmans are not trampled down. The Servants of India Society and the Liberal Federation are for the benefit of the Hindus only inasmuch as we have not even heard of any member of a Sewa Samiti helping any Musalman in distress. The Musalmans have now well realised that it is injurious to their interests to be guided by any other community and that their Hindu brethren have on every occasion taken full advantage of the so-called unity. The *Hamdam* expresses its gratification at the suggestion of Maulana Shaukat Ali that the Musalmans should eat only *chatni* and bread on Monday and the saving thus effected should be utilised for the Muslim organisation and hopes that the Musalmans will heartily respond to the appeal.

Congress politics.

The *Hamdam* is gratified that Maulana Muhammad Ali has disappointed his enemies who expected that after his release he would launch a vigorous opposition against the Council entry and would thus have no time to devote himself to the real task of the country and remarks that those who find it difficult to carry out in practice the Ahmedabad resolutions should resign from Congress Committee. In another article the same paper suggests that Mr. Gandhi should be pressed to accept the presidentship of the next Congress and remarks that in case of his refusal Mrs. Sarojini Naidu will be the next best person for the office, as she is a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, and has rendered conspicuous service to the Indians in the Colonies. The *Zulqarnain* protests against the spending of the Congress fund, which is a joint fund of the Hindus and the Musalmans, for the upliftment of the 'untouchables' whom the Hindus claim as belonging to their community. The Congress should equally help both the communities and should not adopt a policy which is calculated to strengthen the one at the expense of the other. The *Grambasi* remarks that instead of infusing fresh life into the workers and giving an impetus to the non-cooperation movement, the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee has resulted in scattering the national forces, augmenting the estrangement between the two Congress parties and inflaming the fire of mutual jealousy. The *Vartman* expresses the conviction that the constructive programme in itself cannot create the required enthusiasm among the people and emphasises the need of carrying on an aggressive agitation side by side with the constructive programme. The *Abhyudaya* strongly protests against the revival of the campaign of boycott of schools and colleges by the no-changers and remarks that it is nothing but religious fanaticism on their part to lay stress upon the boycott of schools and colleges, especially when there is even no trace of national schools in the country. This action will cause pain to many a true and honest worker who will be compelled to vacate the Congress offices. It draws the attention of Mr. Gandhi towards this and hopes that he will energetically intervene and stop the revival of the boycott of educational institutions maintained or aided by the Government.

The Swaraj Party.

Referring to Lord Olivier's speech the *Pioneer* says: If the words of the Secretary of State mean anything they can only be interpreted as a warning that the Cabinet and the British public have no intention of being bluffed or intimidated into any surrender to a veiled threat of violence. And whatever Swarajists and their sympathisers may pretend, it is with the British Parliament that the ultimate decision rests, under the Government of India Act, when and to what extent a further instalment of self-government may be safely conceded. At present it must be clear to everyone who can take a detached view of the situation, the omens are not favourable, and to this the fatuous tactics of the Swarajists have very largely contributed. Commenting on the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council the same paper says: The unsuccessful attack by the Swarajists, taken in conjunction with recent happenings in Bengal, affords another example of the persistence with which they allow their hostility to the Government to overcome all other considerations. The true democratic spirit of which they profess themselves enamoured, would be exceedingly loath to invite the interference of the High Courts in the work of the legislature. A desire for the evolution of a fully responsible Indian Parliament is surely inconsistent with actions which, were they successful, would inevitably place such a Parliament in a position subordinate to the judiciary. In a leading article the *Leader* characterises the recent statement of Mr. Moti Lal Nehru as the declaration of war on behalf of the Swaraj Party against Mr. Gandhi. The no-changers are to be totally eliminated from the Congress. This is the aim and the object of the Swarajists. They are

out to capture the Congress and to send Mr. Gandhi and his party into the wilderness. This is the fate reserved for 'the other brother.' Well may the 'enemy' look on with approval not unmixed with amusement at the 'fighting brother' raising his hand to strike down the 'other brother' who has been resisting his apostacy and has thus incurred his wrath. Commenting upon the recent speech of His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces at Malkapur the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks: From the time the Central Provinces Government has suffered crushing defeat at the hands of the Swarajists it has been vigorously trying to condemn their policy and prejudice the voters against them. But in the absence of any pledge on their part to grant *swaraj* the Central Provinces authorities can hardly succeed in their attempts to influence the voters against the Swarajists.

Constitutional advance.

Referring to the activities of the Indian delegates in England the *Pioneer* says: Had all Indian politicians united to work the reformed constitution loyally and to develop it on constitutional lines within the limits of the Government of India Act, they would have had a far better prospect of a sympathetic consideration of their claim for an immediate advance, and would, at any rate, have been able to convince public opinion at Home that a very substantial advance could not in justice be withheld after the expiry of the first decennial period. But the non-cooperators seem incapable even of healing the schism within their own ranks, let alone effecting a fusion with the Liberals and National Conventionists. If India has to wait for *swaraj* until her politicians are united, she will have to wait for it till the Greek Kalends. The *Leader* says: The best antidote to the spirit of racial domination is to abolish the system which breeds and feeds it. No solution of the Indian problem can prove effectual which does not make the Central Government responsible to the Legislative Assembly in the entire sphere of internal administration. Referring to comments in the English press the *Weekly Observer* says: The disinclination to take any forward step in the direction of self-government is transparent in such opinions, and whatever these good papers might say, there can be no doubt that they are alarming themselves needlessly and are merely acting as obstinate supporters of a now completely lost cause.

Tarkeshwar *satyagraha*.

The *Hindustani* protests against the action of the Government in supporting the Mahant and arresting the *satyagrahis* and remarks that when law forbids interference in religious affairs the Government should not throw obstacles in our way of reforming our temples. The *Hindu Gazette* warns the Hindus against the propaganda of the Mahant and exhorts them to support the *satyagraha* campaign with volunteers and money.

Situation in the Punjab.

Referring to the Sikh extremist papers' action in publishing mendacious statements regarding the action of the Punjab Government the *Pioneer* says: Surely it is not too much to urge that when such gross irresponsibility is displayed by journalists in this country, serious doubts are permissible as to the adequacy of the existing law to deal with what is a plain menace to the tranquillity of peaceful citizens. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that it is in pursuance of the old "Divide and Rule" policy that Sir Malcolm Hailey has got the Shiromani Sikh Reform Committee established in opposition to the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. By this action he has shown to the world that he can create division even in such a rigid and solid organisation as that of the Sikhs. Signs indicate that repression will reign *in excelsis* in the Punjab. Sirdar Mangal Singh has indirectly stated that in the event of repression proving unbearable the Sikhs will resort to violence. If such a thing happens the responsibility for it will be on the shoulders of the Government.

The Calcutta Corporation.

The *Leader* condemns the policy of the Swarajist members who dominate the Calcutta Corporation in giving more posts to the Muhammadans and says: No nationalist Hindu is opposed to justice being done to Muhammadans or others in the matter of appointments to the public services, but "justice" to one community ought not to involve injustice to another and communal interests should not be promoted at the sacrifice of public interests and the interests of those already in service. But the Swarajist policy in Bengal is to eliminate the Hindus altogether from the public services, on the plea that their future welfare requires that they should be forcibly deprived of opportunities of entering them.

Mr. Gandhi.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* fears that Gandhi is really *charkha*-mad when he expects that the *khaddar* lying unsold in various Congress centres should be purchased by a millionaire or by the thousands who gather to hear a nationalist speak. It is not possible to expect such sacrifice from people who have not the wherewithal for their daily food. The majority of the population in India are poor and poverty cannot fling away a few annas more on cloth simply because *khaddar* has to be worn.

Passports to Indians.

The *Hindi Kesari* refers to the refusal of passports to the Khilafat deputation and to Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta of Benares and remarks: India is a big prison and the passport authorities are its warders. It is therefore gratifying that the Swaraj Party is presenting a Bill before the Assembly, the passage of which will undoubtedly bring about the necessary improvement in the matter of passports.

United Provinces Council.

The *Leader* offers its respectful congratulations to His Excellency the Governor for summoning a meeting of the Legislative Council in September next but it asks why the meeting should be held at Lucknow and not at Allahabad. The *Pioneer* says: Surely any thoughtful person must see that the time for effective protest has gone by. Allahabad has been presented with a *fait accompli*. Even if the Governor decided to humour Allahabad by holding the September session of the Council there, Allahabad would merely be in the position of gratefully accepting the crumbs that fall from Lucknow's table—until the new Chamber is completed. For ultimately where the Council Chamber is, there will the legislators be gathered together. It is better to accept the inevitable than to persist in an undignified kicking against the pricks.

Muslim Waqf Act.

The *Al Bashir* criticises the finding of the United Provinces Waqf Committee and remarks that the first blunder of the Government was to appoint Nawabzada Muhammad Yusuf as the member of the Committee, when he had opposed in the Council the enforcement of the Waqf Act; moreover, he is an interested person being himself the trustee of a big Waqf property. The European officials cannot be competent judges of the question of *Shariat* and the findings of a small committee can have no value in the face of the resolution passed by the Council. If the Act is not enforced in these Provinces then the day is not far when a party like the Akalis will rise amongst the Musalmans also which taking the law in its own hands will bring all the endowments under its control.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* remarks that the Reforms Inquiry Committee and the Taxation Committee have been appointed by the Government of India with a wicked object. The object of the former is to throw dust into the eyes of the public and to strengthen the roots of the existing baneful administration and that of the latter is to plunder the poor Indians in broad daylight in the name of the good of the country by enhancing taxation.

NAINI TAL:
The 2nd August, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 31 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 9th August, 1924.

The Khilafat.

THE *Pioneer* says: Muhammadans have become more than a little weary of contributing their money without any clear idea of the purpose for which it is to be used, or any guarantee against wasteful or unbusinesslike methods of dealing with it. They have realised that money has been poured out like water in the cause of the Khilafat, yet there has been nothing to show for all this expenditure. Indeed, for all the good that it has done to the cause for which it was subscribed, the money spent might just as well have been thrown into the sea, and who can wonder if doubts assail even the most orthodox as to whether any further contributions would not go the way of previous instalments, and achieve no practical result? The *Haqiqat* views with disfavour the resolutions adopted by the Khilafat Working Committee for the internal organisation of the Musalmans and lays stress upon strengthening the existing committees instead of widening the scope of their activities which is likely to jeopardise their very existence. The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that the Khilafatists are rendering no useful service to their community at present and advises them to confine their activities to the question of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and Khilafat only. The *Al Bureed* says that people have had enough experience of the organisation of Khilafat volunteers and the establishment of committees. They have proved a total failure. It is simply waste of energy and capital to reorganise them.

The Iraq affairs.

The *Medina* remarks that the Iraq agreement is only a stepping stone to the permanent retention of Iraq by Great Britain who hopes to exploit the name of Amir Feisal in her intrigues, but the sentiments of liberty of the people of Iraq and Mosul have dashed to the ground all such schemes. The *Hamdam* says that the debate in the House of Commons regarding the Anglo-Iraq agreement reveals a dark blot on British statesmanship. There are few instances in history of throwing a heavy chain of slavery round the neck of a nation under cover of high-sounding assurances and pledges. It is the imperative duty of the self-respecting Arabs to rouse their countrymen to the sense of danger of European interference in their internal affairs.

The Indian debate in the House of Lords.

According to the *Pioneer* the resumed debate in the House of Lords on the Indian situation added little or nothing to the knowledge either of the situation as it appears to observers in England or of the manner in which the Labour Government propose to deal with it. Once more the House was called upon to listen to a colourless debate. Lord Chelmsford's lucid and straightforward statement of the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the activities of the revolutionaries and wreckers should effectually remove any misapprehensions and will be welcomed by sober opinion in this country. The *Leader* in a spirited article headed "The men of yesterday and the day before" says: Ex-pro-Consuls and ex-satraps had a field day in their own favourite chamber when the debate on Lord Peel's motion was resumed. The debate should satiate the most reactionary of I. C. S. officers and English newspapers in India. The two notes struck throughout the speeches were that the British services in India must get increased emoluments and get them quick, and that no constitutional advance should be made. The future depends upon the policy Britain will elect to follow from now onwards. The signs of the times justify any one in predicting that there cannot for much longer be peaceful government unless its basis is widened and it is transformed into a popular government, both representative and responsible. The atmosphere is not on the side of reactionaries in England. If the India of 1924 has to be saved from her own extremists, she has also to be saved from the 'Tchinoviks' on the side of the Government. An honourable and a prosperous future will be hers only if both are defeated and if peaceful constitutional progress is neither opposed nor delayed. To us it is evident that a stronger agitation in and on behalf of India will have to precede the next big move forward on Britain's part. Not, let us say at once, agitation by the method of non-cooperation, and not even of obstruction. Our faith is strong in sustained, purposeful determined constitutional

agitation. To go back upon the present is unthinkable; to stand still is perilous. We must move forward. England has to make up her mind to hasten less slowly. And it is the duty of educated Indians who think of and feel for the country to strain every nerve to persuade her to make up her mind to take the next big step without avoidable delay. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Except that the Diehards had opportunity to spit their pent up venom against this unfortunate country, and therefore, of clearing the air and clarifying the vision of such Indian nationalists as still vacillate into possessing faith in British promises of self-government to India by homeopathic doses, the Lords debate has no value at all. The vernacular Press is disappointed with the result of the debate. The *Hamdam* says that the debate gives no indication of any reform or change being effected in the political condition of India. The Labour Cabinet is sure to adopt the traditional policy of the British love of prestige and ambition to rule and no sympathy is now likely to be shown for the genuine aspirations of the Indians. The British Government wants to have full control and firm possession over the gold mines of India even to the extent of depriving the sons of the soil of their natural rights. The *Medina* remarks that Lord Olivier's speech has sprinkled salt over the wounds of the Indians. Such unstatesmanlike utterances are sure to create a political awakening in the country. It is due to the communal disturbances only that British statesmen are now indulging in threats against us. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* regrets that all the expectations of the Indians from the Labour Government have proved false and the assurances given by the latter are now becoming a thing of the past. The Labour Government is reverting to the policy of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Olivier's statement has destroyed the confidence which the Liberals still reposed in Great Britain. Writing in a similar strain the *Al Khalil* opines that all the lip sympathies expressed by British statesmen can never materialise in practice. The *Hindustani* in a lengthy article accuses the Labour Government of adopting an Imperialistic policy and has no hope of India's emancipation during its régime. As long as we are not powerful enough to obtain self-government it is idle to expect any favour at the hands of the English. The *Aj* insinuates that there is a political move underlying Lord Olivier's flattering eulogy of Mr. C. R. Das and the Swaraj party in the House of Lords. The Labour Government is desirous of winning over the Swarajists and it is with a view to achieve this end that Mr. Das has been invited to England. It is, however, convinced that a true patriot and shrewd politician as Mr. Das is, it will not be possible for the Labour Government to convert him into a cooperator by delusive tactics. The *Vartman* remarks that Lord Olivier's speech has pleased no political party in England or in India. A Government which wants to please everybody can command the confidence of no one. Lord Olivier's statement that Mr. C. R. Das and his colleagues believe that the anarchists can bring the Government to its senses by throwing bombs at the Police is full of mischief and contains an indirect threat. But the Swaraj party or any other political party in India cannot be frightened by such threats.

The Lee Commission.

Referring to the vilification set on foot in the vernacular Press of Southern India against the Madras Government, the *Pioneer* says: With a certain type of mind and in a section of the Press which cares less for accuracy than for the fomenting of hostility towards the Government, the maligned British official can do no right. Possibly it is felt that if only his reputation for efficient administration can be undermined, it will be easier to resist the recommendations of the Lee Commission for the amelioration of the conditions of his service, as well as to press the demand for more rapid Indianisation. The *Aj* vehemently protests against the recommendations of the Lee Commission and remarks: Is it possible to conceive of a more derogatory and humiliating position that taxation should be imposed upon us without the consent of our representatives and the Secretary of State may squander it according to his own sweet will? The existing system of taxation is nothing but an organised loot. The doubling of the salt tax last year and the enhancement of the emoluments of the civil servants this year are glaring instances of the usurpation of the Indian money and its gross abuse respectively. The action of the Secretary of State for India in giving effect to the increase in the emoluments of the civil servants as recommended by the Lee Commission is unjust and inhuman. It implies that the British Parliament elected by the British public can sell us if it likes. Such a position is surely unbearable. To perpetuate our helplessness in every possible manner and then to expect cooperation from us is equivalent to squeezing out oil from stone.

The Delhi riots.

Referring to the unemployment caused by the Delhi riots, the *Pioneer* says: Thus not only do disturbances of this kind involve a distinct set-back to the cause of India's political progress, but they bring in their train widespread economic distress, as well as a bitterness of feeling which remains for long a potential cause of further trouble. The *Hindustan Times* takes to task Hakim Ajmal Khan for holding the Musalmans to be at fault without any reasonable ground and regrets that it is only the Gandhi-worshipping Musalmans who are persecuting the members of their own community. The *Medina* says that Hakim Ajmal Khan by paying undue regard to the feelings of the Hindus has made truth subservient to expediency. He proclaims from house tops the faults of the Musalmans but has nothing to say against the Hindus.

Bengal revolutionaries.

The *Pioneer* says: Mr. C. R. Das's performance at Serajganj has long been regarded as indicating his desire to reconcile mild disapproval of the anarchical campaign with retention for the Swarajists of the practical support of its organisers. The reason for this is not far to seek, but in the present state of things such a policy carries with it condemnation not on the ground of its stupidity, but because of its essentially implicit encouragement of a very dangerous subversive movement that must be regarded with grave anxiety by all who wish well to the progress of Bengal. Commenting upon the notice issued by the Bengal anarchists the *Oudh Akhbar* doubts its genuineness and remarks that if it is true it forebodes trouble to Calcutta and that it is idle to think that the public will fail to help Government officers. The *Hamdam* regards the notice as a huge joke, but for the sake of precaution warns the leaders to realise their duty and keep back the Bengal youths from following such a suicidal course. The paper attributes economic causes to such activities. The *Medina* remarks that the present system of government, in spite of many shortcomings and defects, is a very firm and strong one and as long as it is in possession of material force it is useless to overawe the Westerners. It is an historical trait of British mentality to show no mercy and justice to the weak and to make reason subservient to power. If the recent notice issued by the President of the Red Council in Bengal is not a huge joke it will teach the Anglo-Indian Press that the responsibility for this new revolution does not lie on Mr. Gandhi or C. R. Das but on the British officials themselves.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Medina* deplores the fate of the Indian Musalmans and remarks that the Western Government in order to crush the spirit of the Musalmans has subjected them to utmost tyranny and in framing laws has kept only those principles in view which afford opportunities of progress and prosperity to the Hindus. The *Hindustan Times* views with apprehenison the spread of pan-Hinduism to China and Japan with a view to establishing a Hindu *raj* in India and remarks that such moves on the part of the Hindus are very injurious to the Musalmans and to the British rule in India. The Musalmans can obtain no help from outside, hence for the maintenance of the British rule in India and for safeguarding the rights of the Musalmans cooperation between the two is very necessary. The *Prem* congratulates the Muslim leaders on condemning in unequivocal terms the activities of Khawaja Hasan Nizami and expressing their unqualified disapproval of the Bhopal Apostacy Law. The *Abhyudaya* remarks: All praise to Maulana Muhammad Ali for his emphatic and unambiguous condemnation of the activities of the Muslim *goondas*. If other Muslim leaders also follow the example of the Maulana in reproaching the *goondas* unsparingly and bringing them to book we have little doubt that it will contribute very materially to the restoration of harmonious relations between the two communities.

Hindu organisation.

The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the need for the organisation of the Hindus has now been grimly realised by even those who originally opposed it or were indifferent towards it. It cannot be gainsaid that *sangathan* is a *sine qua non* for eradicating the evil effects of years of emasculated existence of the Hindus and infusing manliness into them. It is time that the session of the Hindu Mahasabha were held with a view to lay down an efficient programme for carrying on organisation work.

Congress politics.

The *Medina* describes the Poona speech of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru as a declaration of war against Mr. Gandhi and remarks that it has rekindled the smouldering fire of dissension. It is only civil disobedience and not Council entry which can compel Great

Britain to accept the demands of the Indians. In another article the same paper supports the election of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as the next president of the Congress and remarks that her services and sacrifices in the cause of her country fully entitle her to this position of honour and distinction. The *Hamdam* regrets that up to this time little attention has been paid to the constructive programme and that the mutual dissensions are dealing a severe blow to the prestige of the Congress and are strengthening the hands of the enemies. The *Haqiqat* protests against the speech of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and condemns the Swarajists for putting to disgrace the greatest personality to which they owe their present influence and popularity. The paper doubts the success of the policy of obstruction and remarks that the Swarajists are sure to suffer a humiliating defeat as nobody is likely to support them against Mr. Gandhi. In another article the same paper disapproves the election of Mr. Gandhi as the next president of the Congress on the ground that his programme cannot be acceptable to all the parties and supports the election of Dr. Ansari or Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The *Al Khalil* finds no element of surprise in the recent speech of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru at Poona and remarks that the Swarajists being apprehensive of their expulsion from the Congress are anxious to maintain their existence and secure a majority to capture the Congress. None has any faith in *charkha* and *khaddar* and it is idle to think that they will ever become universally popular. The *Aj* opines that Mahatma Gandhi's position is far above that of the Congress president. To offer him the presidentship of the Congress is to lower him down. If Mahatma Gandhi is elected as the president this year, where shall we get an equally able president next year? It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the choice for the president must fall on other persons besides the Mahatma. The *Satya* avers that Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's declaration of war against each other can be prevented from being effectuated if the former permits the Swarajists to enter the Councils and the Swarajists hold it binding upon them to spin regularly every day. A give-and-take attitude on the part of both the parties alone can avert the impending calamity. The *Hindi Kesari* opines that the non-believers in the *charkha* and the boycotts are committing a huge blunder in resigning from the Congress executives in view of their inability to abide by the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee. It points out that these resolutions are of a recommendatory and not mandatory nature and that the Swarajists are therefore not at all bound to resign. It advises the Swarajists to try to capture as many seats in the Congress executives as possible otherwise the no-changers' move which failed at Ahmedabad will succeed at Belgaum and the Congress will be converted into a veritable *khaddar-khana*. The *Abhyudaya* notes with regret that the resignations of members from the Congress executives caused by the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee have resulted in the closing of the Congress Committees in many places where all Congress work has practically stopped. The *Bhavishya*, on the other hand, holds that it is incumbent upon members who cannot abide by the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee to resign from the Congress executives. As these resignations are not due to any feeling of hostility on their part the paper has reason to hope that they will remain Congress workers in one form or the other.

The Swaraj party.

The *Leader* continues to attack the Swaraj party. In a leading article headed "The Swarajists at war," it refers to the attitude of the Swarajists towards the Rent Bill discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council, and says: The Swaraj party has two policies, one inside the Councils and another outside. In addressing public audiences the Swarajists wax eloquent on their determination to wrest *swaraj*, to demolish the bureaucracy and to achieve other wonders. But inside the Councils they display lack of backbone, worship expediency and defend their innumerable inconsistencies by asserting that consistency is the virtue of an ass. How long can they go on at this pace and yet retain public confidence in their promises, pledges and policy? At another place the paper says: The Swarajist policy is a policy of topsy-turvydom and is probably understood only by its leaders. There is neither logic nor sense in it. Every triumph of autocracy has been proclaimed by the Swarajists as their victory. In another article it refers to the defeat of the Swarajists in the Bombay Legislative Council and says: The original policy was not to court defeat but to inflict defeats on Government, but now they appear to be revelling in defeats. These successive reverses in the course of two or three days cannot but affect the morale of the party in the Council. The *Indian Daily*

Telegraph is afraid that the Swarajists in Council would soon have to present themselves before the public as cooperators—responsive or hired—even as the Liberals were in the previous Councils. The paper suggests that the Swarajists must soon be absorbed by the Liberal party, unless they have a better programme than attacking Gandhi outside the Council and responsively cooperating with the Government within, which means indulging in academical discussions, debating society, voting—for the Government does its deed, leaving the Councillors to say their say.

Constitutional advance.

The *Leader* draws attention to an article by Lord Ronaldshay in the July number of *Nineteenth Century*, specially towards the portion dealing with diarchy, and says: The spirit in which the system has been worked is quite different from the intention of those who invented this transitional device, and the result is that Indians of all shades of opinion are fed up with it and want full responsible government in the provinces and also responsibility in the centre. Experience has shown that the possession of autocratic powers by the Governors is a real obstacle to constitutional government, and if it is seriously meant to advance India towards responsible government they should have no more powers than constitutional Governors possess. It concludes the article by saying: What India wants primarily is that Indians should be masters in their own household, however this may be effectuated. Referring to the Punjab Council resolution regarding the release of Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, the *Pioneer* says: With an obliquity of vision that can but amaze the impartial observer Indian legislatures seem bent on playing into the hands of those who are opposed to Indian aspirations for responsible government by providing the British people with convincing evidence of their unfitness to exercise even the powers entrusted to them under the Government of India Act. The *Rising India* says: Bankruptcy of the legal mind of the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England characterises the latest of what is called the Extraordinary Gazette of the Government of India. The Swarajists at least ought to open their eyes to the iron-hand of autocracy shelved under the silken glove of Indian constitution. Lord Reading's Viceroyalty has been a gigantic failure—a régime of certifications, vetoes and prorogations. It questions the Swarajists and their leaders whether anything is still needed to unmask the autocratic character of the reformed constitution—their main object of Council entry as expressed in the Swarajists' manifestoes issued last year. The *Oudh Akhbar* describes the recent rules published in the *Government of India Gazette* regarding the presentation of supplementary demands in the Councils as retarding the progress of the Reforms and remarks that it is useless to expect any good at the hands of a Government which without pondering over the consequences of its actions can act contrary to the Government of India Act for the purpose of strengthening its hands. In another article the same paper criticises the *Pioneer's* comments on Mr. Sastri's statement and supports the demand for provincial autonomy which has been put forward by the Liberals. It takes to task the Anglo-Indian Press for siding with the Government and altogether ignoring the claims which India has upon them. A correspondent writing to the *Agra Akhbar* doubts the fitness of the Indians for *swaraj* and remarks that if *swaraj* is established the present communal tension will eventually develop into a civil strife of vast magnitude.

Bombay Legislative Council.

Referring to the motion regarding restriction imposed on Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, the *Pioneer* says that thoughtful men, who desire above all things India's peaceful and orderly progress, and who are not obsessed with the Swarajist admiration for the "patriotism" of political criminals, will welcome the rejection of this preposterous resolution. The present is not a time when any Provincial Government can afford to run unnecessary risks merely to gratify the perverted instincts for hero-worship of Mr. Das and his admirers.

Situation in the Punjab.

In a leading article headed "Sir Malcolm Hailey and the Akalis" the *Leader* says that the replies given by Sir Malcolm Hailey to a number of addresses presented to him at Amritsar give some indication of the policy he intends to pursue to fight the Akali movement. The principal weapons with which he presumably intends to defeat it is propaganda and counter-organisation. His replies were themselves in the nature of propaganda. His plan of attack seems to be to undermine the Akali movement by propaganda, to organise the loyalist Sikh and non-Sikh opinion against it and then to strike a smashing blow at it, if necessary. If there is real solidarity among the Sikhs this policy has not much chance of success. But if a reaction has set in among them and the futility of the present policy is being

realised by the Akalis themselves, then the well directed and carefully organised offensive of Sir Malcolm Hailey may succeed. It would be difficult to meet it, for its ways will be subtle and its resources almost inexhaustible. One thing the Governor of the Punjab has made clear and it is that he means to fight and not to surrender. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Sir Malcolm Hailey has rattled the sword to his heart's content. He has hugged the loyal Sikhs in the Punjab and made violent gestures to the Akalis that will certainly never cow down the martial spirit in them. The Hailey policy is plain. It might even transcend the O'Dwyer policy in the Punjab, for while Sir Malcolm can make more phrasy speeches than his predecessors, there is no mistaking the sternness behind the man. He has begun with a determination to fall. What can the Haileys do more than what has been done at Guru-ka-Bagh and Jaito? Martial races are not conciliated by this kind of threat. By all means fawn upon the loyal Sikhs, but there was no need to bark and yell at heroes who have vowed to suffer in silence and in a spirit of martyrdom. We shall have a troubled Punjab during the Hailey régime. That is settled. The *Pioneer* says: The prompt action taken by the Punjab Government to deal with the mischievous activities of certain members of the tenth Akali jatha should have a beneficial effect on the moderate elements among the Sikhs who are now trying to convince their community of the true character of the Akali movement, and on the rank and file of the Government's own officials. The *Vartman* remarks that the leasing out of the Guru-ka-Bagh to Mahant Sundar Das on the expiry of the term of Sir Gangaram's lease implies another struggle at the Guru-ka-Bagh. There will now be three Akali fronts—the Jaito, the Bhaipheru and the Guru-ka-Bagh. It appears that the bureaucracy wants to dismember the Sikh organisation and destroy the Gurdwara agitation by launching out attacks in many centres at one and the same time. The Sikhs will have to make vigorous preparations to face these attacks. All the Sikhs in the province and outside it must organise themselves into one compact body and carry on their struggle with a skill in order to frustrate the manœuvres of the bureaucracy and bring them victory.

Proscription of Hindi readers.

The Hindi Press protests against the proscription of Mr. Ramdas Gour's Hindi readers. The *Aj* describes the action of the Government as treacherous to the nation and contends that the readers are not at all seditious. It remarks that those who advised the Governor to proscribe them did not themselves read or understand them well otherwise such a blunder would not have been committed. None of the readers proscribed contains anything about the existing Government, nor does a single sentence in any of them savour of sedition. The proscription of the invaluable literature of any nation amounts to daylight robbery. In another article the same paper remarks that the proscription of these readers constitutes an attack on national education. But this action of the Government cannot frighten us. Those who have the slightest knowledge of history know that autocratic rulers in every country have been behaving in a similar manner. Nowhere could this autocracy continue for ever nor will it continue for ever in India. It is, however, worth considering how strong that foundation of the Empire is which can be shaken by teaching a particular book to children of five or six years old. The *Pratap* remarks that by proscribing the Hindi readers of Mr. Ramdas Gour the United Provinces Government has given evidence of its folly and irresponsibility. We have not been able to find anything objectionable in those readers even from the official standpoint. Almost all the matter in them has been borrowed from other Hindi books and journals. If it was objectionable why were not those books and journals proscribed which originally contained it? Here is a sample of the perversity of the Government. The *Bharat Jiwan* characterises the order of proscription as an act of despotism pure and unadulterated.

Improvement Trusts.

In a leading article the *Leader* says: The Government have been starving the Trusts for at least a year and a half and betrayed such a lamentable lack of decision and clear vision that they have not been able or have not had the courage to decide either that the Trusts shall live a healthy and vigorous life or shall perish without prolonged agony. We have never made a secret of the conviction that we have consistently held, firstly that the operations of the Trusts should not be abandoned or suspended, and secondly, that they should not be made over to municipal boards. If, however, they are to be neglected and starved as they have been, on the convenient plea of want of funds by a Government which is unwilling to abolish a single one of the many superfluous and very costly offices filled by

Europeans of the so-called all-India or Imperial services, and which if we are not grievously misinformed is quite ready to increase its annual expenditure on salaries and allowances by many lakhs of rupees as recommended by the Lee Commission, then it becomes a question even with such convinced advocates of the Trusts as ourselves whether there is any sense in keeping up the name and the form and the show instead of taking steps to set special committees of the respective municipal boards as Sir John Hewett did and to transfer the work to them. To us it will be a retrograde and regrettable contingency. But even that will be more sensible than to keep up the Trusts only to hang them in mid-air as it were. This circumstance by itself should suffice to convince every unprejudiced person of the benevolent attitude of the present provincial Government towards the step-child. The *Haqiqat* remarks: The Improvement Trusts have proved a curse to the people. There has been enormous waste of public money with little gain to the people who on the other hand have suffered much at the hands of these Trusts. It is gratifying that the Government has now realised the necessity of turning its attention towards them. It would be better if they are abolished and their functions transferred to the municipal boards. If, however, the Trust Committee decides to maintain them, their chairmen should be honorary and the subordinate staff should be paid low salaries.

Political propaganda.

The *Leader* refers to an article in the *London Times* in which it is asserted that the most searching test of a system of government is the health of the people, and asks: Would not the most damaging condemnation of the system come from the health conditions of the Indian people? Malaria, plague, cholera and influenza have been levying a heavy toll on the population of the country. Indian publicists have been laying stress on the close connection of poverty and pestilential visitations. But the defenders of the system have been singing the song of the growing prosperity of the people under bureaucratic rule. Judging by the test laid down by the *Times* we have no hesitation in saying that India is ill-governed. The *Pratap* is convinced that the freedom of Tibet has fallen a prey to British control and apprehends that the Tehri State might be crushed along with Tibet just as the weevil is also ground along with wheat.

NAINI TAL:
The 9th August, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 16th August, 1924.

The Anglo-Russian agreement.

THE *Pioneer* is very doubtful whether the agreement will be ratified when it is formally laid before the House of Commons at the next session of Parliament and says that the Treaty appears to be so nebulous in its provisions and so pernicious in its tendencies that Opposition members, whether Liberal or Conservative, should have an easy task in holding it up to ridicule. It is not by such chimercial methods that the rehabilitation of Europe can be promoted, but rather by the solid and substantial proposals of the Dawes Report, which are now being considered by the Allies and Germany at the London Conference. The *Leader* welcomes the agreement as a definite step forward in the direction of the pacification of Europe on which the Labour Government has set its heart. In another article the same paper says that Labour has gained its first victory in the pacification of Europe. The *Oudh Akhbar* views with satisfaction the agreement between Russia and England and hopes that both the Powers will in future refrain from doing anything prejudicial to the cause of each other. The Bolshevik agents also will no longer carry on anti-British propaganda in Asia.

The Indian debate in the House of Lords.

The Indian debate in the House of Lords continues to engage the attention of the vernacular press. The *Vartman* remarks that the debate leads to the conclusion that it is impossible for the Indians to secure any further constitutional advance before the statutory period. The ungenerous attitude of the British diehards towards the Indian demand will aggravate the prevailing discontent in the country and it is likely that their illiberal policy may place them in an awkward position at the time of the next great war which is now inevitable. The *Haqiqat* describes the debate as a warning to Indians to remain content with the present Reforms and banish from their minds the idea that Great Britain will ever be willing to loosen the grasp of its iron claws. Such debates can produce little effect on the liberty movement in India. The *Medina* says that the members of the House of Lords have been ever conservatives to the backbone and have no sympathy for the subject races. If the hot plains, thick jungles, desolate valleys and the half naked and foul-smelling people of India are disagreeable to the Civil Servants, they will be well advised not to come to this poor country. The *Oudh Akhbar* advises the British Government to accept with open heart the Indian demand for complete self-government as such gifts alone can make India willing to bear the additional burden which is to be thrown over it as a result of the Lee Commission Report. A failure to do so is likely to aggravate the present unrest and to force the people to resort to extreme measures to achieve their goal.

The Reforms Enquiry Committee.

Commenting on Mr. Chitnavis' evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Committee the *Pioneer* says : It is a pretty picture but far from convincing, and the emergence of the Committee into the glare of publicity suggests that the familiar game of formulating decisions regardless of evidence and facts is going to be played by more than one of the members. Commenting on the evidence of the representatives of the United Provinces Liberal Association the same paper says: The proceedings of the Committee will rapidly degenerate into a farce if evidence of the kind given hitherto continues to be poured out. The *Leader*, on the other hand, in a leading article headed " Liberals and Constitutional Advance " considers that the Liberal representatives stood this test of searching cross-examination very well. What the Government ought seriously to consider is not whether *an advance* is possible under the present constitution but whether full responsible government in the provinces and responsibility in the central Government is possible under it. If it is not, as we contend it is not, it ought to amend the Act in accordance with the demand of moderate Indian opinion. It is no use beating about the bush and wasting valuable time and also public money on doubtful enquiries. Indians are essentially of a conservative bent of mind and when once responsible government

is established the revolutionary and disruptive forces which threaten the peace of the country will collapse. The feeling of distrust which exists against the agents of the existing system and manifests itself in several unpleasant and sometimes undesirable ways will disappear. A system which breeds hatred and disaffection on account of its being out of tune with popular sentiment and which is regarded as based on force and not on consent stands self-condemned, and the sooner it is put an end to the better for all concerned. We have no doubt that Britain will be the gainer by the concession of self-government to India. The gain will be spiritual as well as material.

Indians in the Colonies.

In a leading article headed "Disappointing and Unsatisfactory" the *Leader* says: Almost every Indian who will peruse the statement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, will, we think, agree with us in voting the result as disappointing and unsatisfactory. The only net gain that can be recorded is that the Immigration Ordinance is not to be proceeded with. But we are constrained to regard it as a temporary gain. The hope of India as an unfree member of the Empire receiving justice from any government in England, at least on the subject of Indians overseas, is scanty and remote. In another article the paper says that if anything can succeed in inducing the Governor of Natal to withhold his assent from the ordinance just passed by the Provincial Council of that Colony, of course 'notwithstanding the protest of the Indian community', it will only be a protest by the Government of India supported by the Secretary of State. May we hope that this protest will be forthcoming?

The Delhi riots.

The *Hamdam* regrets that as a sequel to the Delhi disturbances the Hindu and the Muslim papers with utter disregard of all political considerations are vigorously trying to contradict each other's statements, and that the most pernicious influence of the disturbance has been the slow but gradual infusion of the germs of ill-will and animosity into the body politic. The *Al Bashir* lays the responsibility for these disturbances at the door of the Government and asks why such things do not so frequently happen in Indian States. It concludes that the British Government's existence has not proved useful in maintaining peace and order in India and that on account of the present undesirable situation the Government does not deserve to be congratulated when it is an admitted fact that the establishment of any government is primarily for the sake of maintaining peace and order. The *Aligarh Gazette* takes Hakim Ajmal Khan to task for issuing a statement injurious to the Musalmans and prays that God may save the Musalmans from such enemies. The *Tabligh* throws the entire responsibility for these disturbances on the shoulders of the Hindus and remarks that the fracas was to a certain extent the result of sudden enforcement of the order of the Deputy Commissioner prohibiting the Musalmans from taking cows through the Hindu quarters.

Bengal revolutionaries.

Referring to Lord Lytton's Dacca speech the *Leader* asks whether His Excellency's statement foreshadows a change in policy and a régime of repression for Bengal, or only merely an intimation to the revolutionaries that the Government is determined to fight them to the finish and will not be frightened by methods of terrorism? The paper pities the young revolutionaries and says: There is a vast field of patriotic service which continues to be neglected for lack of a sufficient number of self-sacrificing men. It was largely the influence of Mr. Gandhi which for a time gave a quietus to the cult of the bomb, but the failure of his non-voilent movement has once more revived the party of violence. But revolutionary movements cannot be successfully fought by means of a negative policy of repression. In fact such a policy creates new recruits for it. The problem which now faces Bengal and which may later on face other parts of India can be solved not so much by strength as by wise statesmanship. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses its gratification that the notice of the President of Red Bengal has failed to disturb Simla and hopes that the Anglo-Indian press, which is ever ready to make a mountain of a molehill, will take a lesson from the views expressed in Simla. Repression and impolitic high-handedness only result in increasing the number of Government's enemies, and if there is any smouldering fire of revolution in Bengal it can only be put down by adopting a conciliatory attitude. The *Nejat* believes that a policy of assassination and pillage will be equally condemned by all peace-loving Indians as well as the non-co-operators but expresses its doubt whether Simla or Downing Street will draw any moral from this.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on the *Muharram* celebration the *Pioneer* says: The very fact that it is thought that disturbances involving injuries to a number of persons can be dismissed as of relative insignificance because, apparently, they were attended by no fatalities, furnishes the plainest possible commentary on the acuteness of the tension between the two communities, which indeed is a matter of common knowledge, notwithstanding the most strenuous attempts in interested quarters to disguise it. Commenting on the *Muharram* riots at Amethi the *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: The Hindus strongly feel that Muslims are taking advantage of their weakness and the British *raj*, based on law and order, looks on when the Granth Sahib is torn and the idol is pulled out and Hindu shops are looted. The *Mashriq* has no faith in the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity and does not hope that the stoppage of cow slaughter on the part of the Musalmans will succeed in cementing happy relations between the two communities as then the question of Hindi and other questions of similar nature will be brought forward. There can be no peace unless all the Musalmans become renegades. The *Arya Mittra* contends that the religion and the civilisation of the Hindus and the Musalmans are so antagonistic to each other that it is impossible to weld these two communities together into one homogeneous whole. The *Hamdard* exhorts Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues to suspend all other activities and concentrate their energies entirely on the restoration of Hindu-Muslim unity, because unity is the root of all political work and no political progress can be made until Hindu-Muslim unity is established on a permanent basis.

Hindu organisation.

The *Gayanshakti* regrets that the *shuddhi sabhas* are without funds even when it has been universally recognised that their existence is indispensable for the organisation of the Hindus. That organisation work should suffer for paucity of funds betrays the ghastly indifference of the Hindus towards the organisation of their community, especially when it is considered that the Hindus are a rich class. It is time that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya set in order the existing state of affairs and secured the cooperation of Mahatma Gandhi in organising the Hindus.

Congress politics.

The *Prem* supports the election of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as the President of the Belgaum Congress remarking that her magnificent services to the cause of Indians in South Africa fully entitle her to the office of the Congress President. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is an embodiment of Hindu-Muslim unity and under her leadership the prevailing communal dissensions which have eaten into the vitals of the nation will be materially removed. The *Vartman* defines *swaraj* as complete independence and remarks that it is the duty of the leaders to fix complete independence as the goal of the country in the Belgaum Congress and place such a programme before the national soldiers as will accelerate their advent into the battlefield. The *Bharat Jiwan* regrets that some of the most influential and able leaders have resigned from the Congress Executives in compliance with the spinning resolution of the All-India Congress Committee. It is convinced that these resignations will cause irretrievable injury to the country and suggests that the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee should be so modified as to enable those who have resigned to withdraw their resignations and rejoin the Congress Executives.

The Swaraj party.

The *Pioneer* says: If the examples of the Calcutta and Bombay Corporations are considered, it is difficult to support the view that the responsibilities of office have sobered the Swarajists' majority in power. The *Haqiqat* expresses its surprise at the inactivity of the no-changers, while the Swarajists are vigorously carrying on their propaganda and are by every possible means trying to triumph over them. It exhorts the no-changers to counteract the Swarajists' activities and doubts if Mr. Gandhi can defeat the Swarajists without the active support and cooperation of the no-changers who are sitting idle as if paralysed. The *Pratap* remarks that it is a delusion on the part of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and other Swarajist leaders to think that the country is with them and that they can easily capture the Congress. The soul and the strength of the country is not behind the Swaraj party, which in itself is not a solid organisation and is tottering like a house of cards. The interests of the Nationalists and the Swarajists are not allied to each other and even in the Swarajist group Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mr. Patel cannot pull on together for a long time. The *Kartavya* holds that there is some mystery in the grant of a passport to Mr. Das seeing that even Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta and Mr. Arjuna Lal Sethi were refused passports by the Government. Is it that

the British Ministry wants to win over Mr. Das and enter into a compromise with him? The *Bharat Jiwan* views with apprehension the proposed visit of Mr. C. R. Das to England and remarks that just as the snare of the Reforms was spread last time in order to destroy the strength of the Congress by dividing the Extremists and the Moderates, similar attempts are at present being made in England with the object of creating a split in the ranks of the non-cooperators. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Mr. Das may bring back with him to India a new dose of Reforms or a few privileges for the Swaraj party. The *Anand* remarks that Mr. Das' proposal to visit England and interview the authorities there shows that either his non-cooperation does not now exist or its form is changed.

Situation in the Punjab.

The *Pioneer* asserts that a large section of the Akalis, as has been clear to all but the wilfully blind, have been looking to nothing less than the revival of Sikh rule at Lahore. They have been encouraged in this aspiration by men whose real aim has been to enlist them in the cause of the Congress, the excellence of their organisation, and the fanaticism of their rank and file being envied by the Congress leaders. Commenting upon the speech of Sir Malcolm Hailey at Jullundur the *Oudh Akhbar* observes that sweet words alone cannot be effective in wiping away the mischievous propaganda from the Punjab. If he really desires a calm atmosphere, bereft of all peace-disturbing elements, he should adopt a generous and statesman-like policy, without showing any inclination to follow the footsteps of O'Dwyer. A correspondent writing to the *Agra Akhbar* advises the Akalis to benefit by the conciliatory attitude of Sir Malcolm Hailey and approach the Government to enact a piece of legislation for the better management and reform of the Gurdwaras. The *Anand* infers from the recent utterances of Sir Malcolm Hailey in the Punjab that he intends to undermine the Akali movement by propaganda and counter-organisation and predicts that this move of Sir Malcolm Hailey is bound to meet the same fate as that of the Aman Sabhas. The *Kartavya* remarks: Now that the Mahant is to take possession of the Guru-ka-Bagh the Akalis will have to carry on a struggle there in addition to those at Jaiton and Bhaipheru. It appears that the object of the Punjab Government in thus increasing the centres of struggle is to weaken the Akalis by dividing them into batches. It is time that the Congress which professes to sympathise with the Akalis actively helped them. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the irresponsible bureaucracy of the Punjab has not yet come to its senses. On the one hand it pretends willingness to enter into a compromise with the Akalis, and on the other it is still persuing its coercive policy with an iron hand. We fail to understand why the Punjab Government is lowering its own prestige by committing repeated blunders. Experience should have taught it that the Akali agitation cannot be crushed by repression.

Muslim Waqf Act.

The *Al Bashir* condemns the report of the Waqf Committee and remarks that the entire community views with disgust and hatred the committee appointed by the Government. It should be clearly stated in the Council why the Muslim members of the committee are opposed to the enforcement of the Act and what are the influences under which the Government has been forced to put it off. The *Naiyar-i-Azam* remarks that when the costs of establishment create a lawful charge on the Waqf property it is but essential that audit expenses should be met by it. We pity the understanding of the European members of the committee who opposed the enforcement of the Waqf Act at a time when similar causes have given rise to the Akali agitation in the Punjab.

State scholarships.

The *Al Bashir* is surprised that none of the four recipients of State scholarships in the United Provinces is a Musalman and asks why the Musalmans are usually ignored on such occasions. It takes to task the Muslim members of the Council for their criminal silence in this connection and remarks that they are not in the Council simply to realise allowances but they have also a duty to perform to the people whom they represent. The *Hamdam* in a similar strain deplores the indifference displayed by Government towards Muslim education and remarks that it is a sign of India's slavery that its youths have to cross the seas to make researches in the history of their own country.

Bolshevism.

One Mr. Satya Bhakta writing in the *Pratap* remarks that Socialism is the only means of the emancipation of humanity. The organisation of our society on socialistic lines will prove beneficial to the country. It is, therefore, gratifying that a socialistic

organisation called the Indian Communist Party is soon going to be established with a view to achieve this end.

Political propaganda.

A correspondent named Trivedi writing to the *Sudharak* remarks that it is the policy of the Indian bureaucracy which has brought the British administration into disgrace and is digging its roots. The British Empire is at present without any prop and its backbone is broken. It is time that the bureaucracy opened its eyes and mended its methods otherwise it may be swept away by the on-flowing tide of Indian awakening. The *Vartman* remarks that it is the British capitalists who have destroyed the trade and industries of our country. It is a matter of great shame to the Indian traders that even knowing that it is the foreigners who have destroyed the trade of their country they unhesitatingly indent goods from foreign countries for a little economic gain to themselves, although it results in the starvation of crores of Indians. It is these Indian traders who in addition to the foreigners are digging the grave of indigenous trade and industries. Thanks to the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, the *swadeshi* movement has now received an impetus and foreign exploitation cannot continue for long.

NAINI TAL:
The 16*th August*, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

MAILS BRANCH
23 SEP 1924
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 33 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 23rd August, 1924.

London Conference.

THE press in general expresses its satisfaction at the successful termination of the London Conference. According to the *Pioneer* the agreement is unquestionably the most important event that has happened since the Armistice. The first Labour Premier of Great Britain is to be congratulated upon a notable achievement, and no statesman, to whatever party he may belong, will be disposed to grudge him the meed of praise that is his due. The settlement of Europe, with all that that settlement implies in the gradual restoration of normal economic conditions and the prospect of a revival of trade, is too important a matter to be made the sport of party politics. The *Leader* says that a new era has dawned on Europe and it may now be hoped that the work of pacification and reconstruction will proceed apace, and will be accompanied by drastic reductions in armaments. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald must be at the present moment one of the happiest men in Europe. He can justifiably be proud of his great achievement. He has brought closer to each other two great countries, France and Germany, and has also established once more the moral supremacy of Great Britain. In another article the same paper says: The European problem is by no means solved but the way to a pacific settlement of the outstanding issues which vitally affected Britain, France, Germany and Italy has been found. The capitalists who began the war could not win peace. But the Socialists have opened the road to it. We wish them every success in their high and humanitarian enterprise. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the London Conference has solved the German problem to the satisfaction of all parties. The paper pays a tribute to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and says: England is still searching for the man who might be said to have won the war; but there is no doubt who has brought peace: it is the first Labour Premier of Great Britain. The *Hamdam* describes the agreement as a remarkable achievement of the Labour Government and congratulates Mr. MacDonald on successfully solving the difficult and complicated question of European politics.

The Sudan.

The *Pioneer* says: There is no love lost between the Sudanese Arab and the Egyptian. The inevitable conclusion is, therefore, that in the absence of the British troops the firing of the Sudanese guards would not have ended where it did. The paper supports the strong action taken by the British authorities in Sudan and says: Sooner or later the establishment of Egyptian rule in Sudan would mean a rising which the Government would be utterly unable to control. Then not only would Sudan lapse back to the old state of the Mahdi days, but the very urgent question would arise as to how Egypt was going to protect her own borders. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* has reason to believe that the telegraphic agency does not send out all the news from Sudan and says that the Sudanese situation is grave and is fraught with serious consequences if not handled with sympathy and a spirit of concession to the self-determination of a resolute nation. The *Weekly Observer* says: The recent incidents in Sudan show that the British, in Egypt as well as in other countries, are sitting on a gun powder magazine. According to the *Leader* the disorders indicate that the existing system is not a popular one. Probably the national spirit is as active there as it had been in Egypt. The *Haqiqat* remarks that the outbreak in Sudan has exposed the falsity of the British propaganda that the Sudanese do not desire to throw in their lot with the Egyptians. Sudan being an inseparable part of Egypt the British statesmen will be well-advised to deal with the question in a broad-minded spirit. The *Hamdam* says that the spread of agitation throughout the country is a clear proof of the fact that the profession of a benign and sympathetic rule in Sudan by the British statesmen is misleading. The possibility of the recurrence of mutiny and disorder can only be averted if the causes of unrest and discontent are removed and the legitimate demands of the country are conceded.

The Iraq affairs.

The *District Gazette*, Aligarh, dwells upon the necessity of the British guidance in Iraq as the democratic system of Government granted to her is a new thing for the Arabs and remarks that if during their present period of progress and advancement British

help is withdrawn its inevitable result will be maladministration and anarchy. The *Hamdam* resents the bomb-throwing demonstration in Iraq by the British to overawe the people and deplores that a Government which claims to be the most civilised one adopts such methods to cow down the people. We are sure that the Iraq people if they have the least Islamic sentiments left in them will express their deepest abhorrence of the nation which instead of creating facilities for the progress and improvement of their country devises means to devastate and plunder it.

The Reforms Enquiry Committee.

The *Leader* says that the mass of weighty and expert opinion expressed before the Reforms Committee cannot be dismissed as worthless. There is only one wise and statesmanlike course to take and it is to make a courageous advance. If dyarchy has failed, as it has certainly failed, it was due to inherent defects, and no useful purpose can be served by running down the Ministers who honestly tried to work it to the best of their ability. If the British Government and Parliament are not to go back on their pledges and promises, there is no other honourable course open to them but to abolish dyarchy and establish full responsible government in the provinces, and responsibility in the centre. Commenting on the memorandum presented to the Reforms Enquiry Committee by the European Association, the paper remarks: If this reactionary document really represents the views of the Europeans in the country then it is idle to complain, as the Association have done, that the necessary spirit of cooperation has been lacking in the working of the reforms. Cooperation cannot be one-sided. The Europeans have shown that they are not only utterly lacking in statesmanship but also that they have absolutely no grasp of the Indian political situation. Referring to Mr. Chintamani's evidence before the Committee the *Pioneer* says that this evidence is entirely of an *ex parte* character, and, until the Government's side of the case is known, final conclusions can hardly be drawn from it. Mr. Chintamani's dyarchical spleen seems to have been so pronounced as to prevent him from seeing vices in any alternative system. The *Haqiqat* apprehends that the Anglo-Indian community will oppose the grant of further reforms and will even recommend the whittling down of the present concessions and remarks that the evidence of the ex-Ministers have fully exposed the defects and drawbacks of the dyarchical system of Government. The *Hamdam* describes the evidence of the ex-Ministers of the Central Provinces as a death knell to dyarchy and a proof of their desire to do away with the present system of government. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the abolition of dyarchy, the establishment of full provincial autonomy and the democratisation of the Central Government is the burden of the evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Committee. This demand is most imperative and anything short of this cannot satisfy the people. The *Swadesh* opines that the Committee has been really appointed with the object of enabling the Government to remove the obstacles it has to meet with in maintaining the Councils and that it is therefore mere waste of time and energy to give evidence before it. The weakness and futility of the dyarchical system is patent alike to the people and Government and it is no good inviting expression of opinion thereon. If the Government of India does not transfer real responsibility to the people Indian politicians should devise means to assume control of administration as early as possible. The *Vartman* points out that the evidence of Moderate leaders before the Reforms Enquiry Committee shows that they have now fully realised the futility of dyarchy and are not only demanding full provincial autonomy but also substantial reforms in the Central Government. Let the Moderates bear in mind that their representations before the bureaucracy will never bear fruit. They can attain rights only when they are ready to sacrifice their all for them. Let them reform the Congress and work strenuously under its banner. Then they will find that nothing on earth can resist their demand for *swaraj*. The *Bhavishya* points out that the evidence before the Committee must prove illuminating to the Swarajists who should profit by the bitter experiences of the Liberals and give up their fancy for the Councils and endeavour to attain *swaraj* by following the path chalked out by Mahatma Gandhi.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Leader* refers to the destruction of Hindu temples in Hyderabad and at Amethi and says that it is such cases of unprovoked outrages that have been driving home the need of Hindu organisation, so that the Hindus may be better able to safeguard the places of their worship and the honour of their women. The *Haqiqat* in a series of articles holds the Swarajists responsible for the communal disturbances at Amethi. It is opposed to the transfer of the Sub-Divisional Officer

and opines that it is calculated to accentuate the bitterness of relations between the two communities. The *Hindustani* takes to task both the Hindus and the Musalmans for want of mutual tolerance on their part and remarks that the Amethi disturbance has betrayed the utter worthlessness of the Police which only played the part of a silent spectator near the temple and took no steps to prevent the riot. The *Hamdam* in a lengthy article dwells upon the advisability of meeting out just punishment to those who have desecrated the places of worship and remarks that if the Hindus and the Musalmans cannot amicably settle their own disputes and afford an opportunity of interference to the bureaucracy they should be prepared to bear the consequences. It is deplorable that when the disturbance takes place the Hindus and the Musalmans alike insist on the appointment of a British officer to decide their cases. If we have no confidence in *swaraj* it is useless to cry for it. Commenting upon the excesses committed by the Hindus against the Musalmans at Jaspur (district Naini Tal), the *Medina* complains that the authorities took no steps to protect the lives and property of the helpless Musalmans. The *Al Bashir* exhorts the Musalmans to support their Muslim leaders in the Congress against the attacks of the Arya Samajists who are trying to create hatred between the Congress Musalmans and the Hindus and remarks that the united opposition of the Arya Samajists will prove useful in reforming the ideas of the Muslim leaders and bringing them to the right path. The *Anand* says that the demolition of the Hindu temple and the looting of the Hindu shops at Amethi by Muhammadans on the occasion of the *Muharram* show that while Muhammadans would not miss any opportunity of suppressing the Hindus the latter have not even at this late hour realised the need of self-protection. It is the weakness and simplicity of the Hindus which is the cause of their misery. It is not yet too late for the Hindus to organise themselves into a solid and self-reliant community. The *Pratap* remarks that by breaking idols in the Hindu temples and treading upon the Hindu sentiments as was done at Amethi and Shambhal the Musalmans cannot create respect for themselves in the heart of anybody. It is true that it is the cowardice of the Hindus which encourages the Musalmans to perpetrate such atrocities but it is equally true that the repeated high-handedness of the Musalmans will remove their cowardice.

Congress politics.

The *Haqiqat* pays a tribute to the patriotic services of Maulana Hasrat Mohani and suggests that being a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity he should be elected the president of the next Congress as it will be a fitting appreciation of his patriotism. The *Satya* protests against the resolution passed by the Delhi Congress Committee that those who participate in communal organisations are ineligible for the membership of the Congress. It apprehends that it will result in an attack on the rights of the Hindus only as the Muhammadans are already carrying out their organisation under the guidance of the Khilafat Committees. The same paper opposes the election of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as the president of the next Congress remarking that she has made no sacrifices for the country and that her services in South Africa were confined to mere speechification. If it is necessary, it remarks, that the president of the next Congress should be an Indian lady Shrimati Kasturi Bai will be the fittest person for the this office and after her Bi Amman. In another article the same paper remarks that Maulana Hasrat Mohani's party which has complete independence for its goal is now gaining strength in the country and that if England continues to treat the Indian demand with indifference there is little doubt that the Congress also will be compelled to fix complete independence as its goal.

The Swaraj party.

Referring to Mr. Das' address delivered at the Swaraj Conference at Calcutta, the *Leader* says: It may be described as a masterly jugglery of words which elucidated nothing except that the Swarajist leader has developed the art of camouflage to perfection. If after all this sophistry and special pleading people are not convinced that they continue faithful to their original policy and feel that they have committed a "*volte face*", it will not be for lack of the art of advocacy on the part of the Swarajist leaders. In a leading article headed "The Swaraj Party Fund" the *Leader* says that the Swaraj party will become a mere clique caring more for money than principles. The rot has already set in as demonstrated by the meeting recently organised in Bombay by a section of the Swarajists to condemn the attitude of the party in the Council in connection with the Rent Act. On the other hand the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Mr. C. R. Das' speech comes as a welcome fresher to clear the atmosphere

after certain recent wild utterances of Swarajist leaders about their programme being in opposition to Gandhi in the country. The spirit of resistance to the Government, the complete destruction of the edifice so as to build afresh, and the explanation of any change of tactics to the need for facing the enemy must all appeal to the public. The *Advocate* says that Mr. C. R. Das has cleared the wrong notions which were prevailing in the minds of the people by the recent speeches of the Swarajist leaders. The *Pioneer* criticising the Swarajists' programme says that the open and avowed aim of the Swarajist party is to destroy the existing constitution both in the Government of India and in the Provinces. That is enough for them for the moment; sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. The only conclusion that the British people and the British Parliament will come to is that India is not fit for any form of self-government for at least a generation and that the policy laid down by Mr. Montagu must be temporarily held in abeyance until she comes to her senses.

Situation in the Punjab.

The *Desh Bhakt* accuses Sir Malcolm Hailey of being ever hostile to the Akali movement and takes to task those who cooperate with the Government in subjecting the Akalis to tyranny and oppression. It exhorts the Indians to help the Akalis with men and money. The *Prem* remarks that Sir Malcolm Hailey wants to undermine the Akali movement by propaganda and counter-organisation but the chances of his success are remote, because the Akalis are fully aware of the diplomacy of the Government. The *Vartman* refers to the declaration of Sir Malcolm Hailey that he would suppress the Akalis by all means possible and observes: When even Ahmad Shah Abdali and Nadir Shah failed to destroy the Sikhs we do not know what makes Sir Malcolm Hailey so positive in his assertion. Perhaps he does not know that the Sikhs are a terrible community. When they have taken up a cause they will die for it but never forsake it. The Akalis are impatient to make the sacrifice which Sir Malcolm's repressive policy may necessitate on their part for they know that sacrifices in a right cause never go in vain.

Lord Lytton and Indian women.

The *Leader* says: While it is not possible to defend the language used, which was of too sweeping a nature, we do not think that Lord Lytton intended to cast a reflection on India's daughters as is tried to be made out. Too much ought not to be made of an indiscretion of language. Englishmen, however, ought to know, especially those holding high and responsible positions, that Indians are extremely sensitive in matters where the honour of their womanhood is concerned, and should be very careful in the language they employ. At another place the paper does not think that His Lordship intended to insult Indian womanhood, still it is necessary for him to explain what he meant and to clear the misapprehension that is being sedulously spread. The *Pioneer* says that the very notion that Lord Lytton intended to insult Indian womanhood can only be regarded as preposterous, and Mr. Das' silence on this point is far more damaging in the eyes of all level-headed persons, in India or in Great Britain, who refuse to allow their judgment to be warped by the orgy of passion and unreason that is now dominating political Bengal, than the Governor's silence in the face of an absurd and baseless insinuation which he can hardly treat otherwise than with the contempt it deserves. Referring to the agitation in Bengal the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the situation is one of extreme difficulty. The paper opines that it would considerably enhance the reputation of Lord Lytton individually and the Government of which he is the head, if he makes a suitable apology. It is even safer to recall Lord Lytton over this incident than to incense the population by arresting Mr. Das or Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The *Maha Shakti* says: A greater insult to both the manhood and the womanhood of India is hardly conceivable. In the recklessness of some of his recent utterances His Excellency had thrown Lord Curzon into shade. In his latest exploit he has surpassed himself. The *Pratap* remarks that by stating in his Dacca speech that Indians, in order to discredit the Police, can get their women make even allegations of criminal outrages against it, Lord Lytton has given evidence of his knowledge and wisdom. These are our rulers who do not know what they utter. Indian women attach the greatest value to chastity and it is inconceivable that they, of all others, should make false allegations of criminal outrages. To make such an absurd statement is the height of folly on the part of Lord Lytton and it is a misfortune of India that even such foolish persons can hold the highest offices in this country. The *Swadesh* describes Lord Lytton's statement as altogether baseless and insulting to Indians. If Indians had any spirit Lord Lytton would have found it impossible

to occupy the office of the Governor for a single moment after expressing such absurd views. But Indians are a lifeless people and anybody can therefore abuse or kick them with impunity. Have Indians become so degraded morally that they will not compel Lord Lytton to withdraw his statement?

Release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

The Vernacular press welcomes Maulana Hasrat Mohani on his release from jail. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that there are few Muslim leaders who are as true patriots and votaries of freedom as the Maulana. To consider all questions from the Indian as opposed to communal view point is his chief characteristic. The *Vartman* says that his name is inseparably connected with the ideal of complete independence and young India has great hopes from him. His release will infuse fresh life into the country and impart new strength and vigour to the national movement. The *Aj* points out that a true patriot and ardent nationalist as Maulana Hasrat Mohani is his release will create new enthusiasm among the people and give an impetus to the national struggle. The *Pratap* describes him as the angel of freedom, and says that his courage and firmness will serve as beacon lights to the youths of the country and will encourage them to raise aloft the banner of liberty. The *Hamdam* expresses its gratification at the release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani and remarks that he is a great advocate of liberty and his distinguished personality should be a source of pride to the Indian Musalmans. The *Hindustan Times* says that in the matter of sincerity and self-sacrifice Maulana Hasrat Mohani holds a higher position than even Mahatma Gandhi and we wish that he should turn his attention towards the protection and propagation of Islam and try to frustrate the dangerous designs of annihilating Islam in India.

Liberty of press.

The *Hamdam* views with apprehension the frequent application of the penal code by the Government officials against the newspapers and remarks that it will deal a death-blow to the liberty of the press in India and shake the financial stability of the newspapers against which action is taken. The *Swadesh* says that the Press Act has been repealed only nominally and that the press continues, as helpless and as enfettered as ever before, since the penal and preventive sections of the ordinary law are being freely utilised to suppress the liberty of the press. Not content with this the authorities are unhesitatingly prosecuting journalists for libel and defamation and a number of important papers have already been victimised.

Agra Tenancy Act.

The *Mashriq* says that it will be dangerous for the Government itself to enact any piece of legislation calculated to render the tenants free from the control of the zamindars. It will not only give a chance to the Swarajists to incite the tenants to agitate but the Government itself will lose the loyal services of the zamindars and will be instrumental in giving rise to Bolshevik activities in the country. A zamindar correspondent writing to the *Hamdam* advises the zamindars to hold a conference before the Council session and submit a memorial to the Government embodying their views regarding the contemplated amendments in the Tenancy Law. The *Abhyudaya* says that the report of the Committee appointed to consider the Agra Tenancy Bill seeks to make the zamindars the absolute masters of the *kisans* and denies the latter the right to stand on equal terms with the latter. The worst effect of the Committee's recommendations will be that there will be no new *dakhil-kar* tenants in future. If these recommendations are accepted the condition of the *kisans* of Agra who at present enjoy more independence will become similar to that of the *kisans* of Oudh and like the zamindars the *kisans* will also become mere puppets in the hands of the Government. The *kisans* of Agra should stand up to defend their rights.

Muslim education.

The *Al Bashir* complains that the United Provinces Government in utter disregard of all rules and regulations awarded a State scholarship to Hindu candidate, who was overage, in preference to a Musalman and remarks that it is simply foolish on the part of the Musalmans to indulge in still praising the Government which treats them in this way. In another article the same paper suggests that 30 per cent. of the Government grant-in-aid to the Anglo-Vernacular schools should be set apart for the education of the Musalmans and remarks that we do not want any concession from the Government but only demand our legitimate rights which the Government should have no hesitation to concede.

Political propaganda.

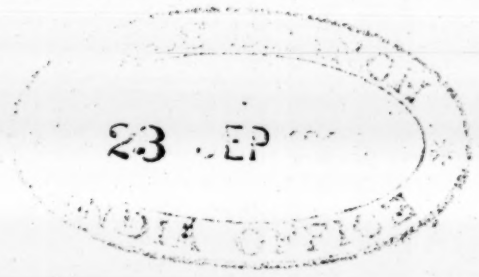
The *Hindustani* attributes the rise in the price of food-stuffs to the export of grain and accuses the Government of taking no preventive measures. It further remarks that the British Government is so avaricious that it drains wealth out of India and mercilessly subjects the people to utter poverty and starvation. It will be beneficial for the Government itself to stop the exportation of food-stuffs as starvation will certainly give rise to dacoity and disturbances and make the situation in the country still more critical.

Socialism in India.

The *Aj* publishes a contributed article in which the writer, *Satya Bhakta*, describes Socialism as the panacea for all the ills of the world and urges that socialistic organisations should be started in India too if the lot of the poor here is to be ameliorated. He states that an organisation by the name of "Indian Communistic Party" is going to be started and asks all persons interested in the matter to correspond with the Manager of the Socialist Bookshop, Cawnpore.

NAINI TAL:
The 23rd August, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.



PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 34 of 1924.

FOREIGN 23 SEP INDIA OFFICE

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 30th August, 1924.

London Conference.

THE *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates Mr. MacDonald on his marvellous success in solving the most complicated question of European politics and remarks that British prestige which has suffered much during the last two years has been bolstered up by his ability and statesmanship. The *Aj* remarks that Mr. MacDonald deserves to be congratulated on having settled the Reparation problem satisfactorily. It is to be hoped that the unjust treaty of Varseilles will now soon sink into oblivion and the European nations will again deal with one another on terms of equality. The *Surya* says that by persuading the French Government to agree to the evacuation of the Ruhr Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has contributed to the establishment of peace in the whole of Europe. It will be no exaggeration to describe this settlement as the triumph of British principles. The *Abhyudaya* opines that the London Conference has paved the ground for the work of pacification and reconstruction. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has achieved what the biggest Capitalists and Liberal statesmen of Europe could not do. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that all praise is due to the British Premier for the success of the London Conference. It is to be hoped that no further complications will arise and the present settlement will contribute to the development of German trade, although complete peace is impossible until the final solution of the Reparation question.

The Sudan.

The *Medina* characterises the Sudan incident as the outcome of the British policy of imperialism and is sceptical about a peaceful solution of the question. The *Najat* does not believe that the Sudan disturbances were engineered by the Egyptian extremists and finds no truth in the assertion that the people of Sudan desire to remain under the British rule. It hopes that the Sudanese will succeed in their struggle for liberty. The *Aj* writes: The Socialistic Labour Government of Britain has swallowed up the Sudan. Another grave injustice has been perpetrated to undo an existing injustice. Whether the Sudanese like it or not they will be taught civilisation at the point of British bayonets and the mills of Manchester will utilise their cotton. The Socialistic Labour Cabinet has outdone even the Conservatives in its ill-treatment of coloured races.

Anglo-Russian agreement.

The *Pioneer* says: If the Labour Government chose to regard the ratification of the Treaty as a vital issue, their defeat and resignation may be looked upon as a practical certainty; and it is very doubtful whether even their success in settling the Reparation question will outweigh, in the minds of the electors, their insistence on a Treaty with the Soviet from which Great Britain can derive no advantage. The *Medina* says that the Anglo-Russian agreement will spell disaster to the Muslim States of Afghanistan, Persia, Egypt, Arabia, Iraq and Palestine which will fall a prey to British imperialism. The British alliance with Russia does not forebode any good to Turkey either. It is possible that in the event of Turkey's aggressive action on the Mosul question, Russian interference may not come as a surprise. Writing in a similar strain the *Al Bureed* says that the alliance between England and Russia is surprising considering that the former pursues the policy of capitalism and territorial aggrandisement while the latter aims at the destruction of both, and apprehends that the agreement augurs ill to the Muslim world.

The Mosul question.

The *Oudh Akhbar* questions the propriety of Britain's action in referring the question of Mosul to the League of Nations and remarks that the Turks did well in refusing to submit the question to the League which is a net spread by Great Britain for enmeshing weaker nations. The *Medina* remarks that peace cannot be completely established between Turkey and England unless the Mosul question is solved. The Labour Government has fallen a victim to jealousy and prejudice and has falsified all expectations.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Medina* is doubtful whether the stoppage of Colonial imports into India to revenge the wrong done to the Indians can force the White Colonists to do away with the 'distinction of colour and race' and remarks that under such circumstances there is no wonder if the 'Red Bengal' and the Swarajists rise up in India to destroy imperialism. The *Hind-i-Jadid* criticises the statement of the Secretary of State for Colonies and regrets that his views are identical with those of the foregoing Ministers and are calculated to convince the Indians of the futility of their demands as long as they remain slaves in their own country.

O'Dwyer-Nair libel suit.

The *Leader* congratulates the Secretary of State for India and says: Lord Olivier has done wisely and well officially to dissociate himself and his Majesty's Government from the astounding views propounded by Mr. Justice McCardie in the O'Dwyer-Nair action on the emloyment of force to quell civil disturbances.

The Reforms Enquiry Committe.

The *Pioneer* in a leading article headed "A Premature Investigation" says that the public proceedings of the Reforms Enquiry Committee have strengthened the view that an attempt at this stage to examine the working of the Reforms with the serious intention of effecting changes, whether in forward or backward direction, would be premature. The contention that this enquiry is premature and unnecessary is potently confirmed by the evidence now presented to the Reforms Committee. The provisional conclusion is that it has yet to be seen whether democratic government as understood in the West is at all suited to the East; for even politicians professing democratic principles, when endowed with the power of ministerial office, unconsciously adopt the outlook and attitude of the autocrat. The *Leader* says: The proceedings of the Reforms Enquiry Committee must have made it clear to all patriotic Indians, except those who are blinded by narrow party spirit, that the Liberal leaders who agreed to work on the Committee have been rendering inestimable service in exposing the rottenness of the existing constitution, sweeping away the cobwebs of official objections, clarifying issues and making out a strong case for a radical revision of the constitution. The utility of the enquiry might have been enhanced if the Swarajists had not boycotted the enquiry, but it will be some time before they can be expected to do the right thing in the right manner. In the meantime the Liberals must continue to shoulder the burden of carrying on the national fight in all constitutional ways open to them. The *Surya* says that the memorandum submitted before the Reforms Enquiry Committee by the United Provinces Liberals was very strong and important. Pandits Hirday Nath Kunzru and Gokaran Nath Misra's evidence was remarkable for profundity and maturity of thought.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Medina* deplores the communal riots in connection with the *Muharram* and endorses the decision of the Congress Committee that the entire Congress programme should be suspended and whole-hearted efforts should be made to unite the Hindus and the Musalmans. If misunderstandings are removed and the mischievous activities of the Arya Samajists are put a stop to then the problem of Indian emancipation is practically solved. The *Zulqarnain* regrets the present communal tension which jeopardises national progress and adversely affects the economic and commercial activities of both the communities.

Hindu organisation.

The *Surya* points out that three years' bitter experience of non-cooperation has convinced the leaders that there can be no substantial unity between the Hindus and Musalmans without the organisation of the former. The forthcoming session of the Hindu Maha Sabha should refuse discussion on controversial questions and devote itself entirely to organisation work.

Congress politics.

The *Vartman* says that there is no doubt that every true Indian nationalist is a votary of complete independence and he does not aspire after anything short of it but it is impossible for the Indians who have for years been under the yoke of subjection to jump from the state of bondage to that of complete independence at a bound. So long as dominion self-government is not established in India and so long as we do not attain complete independence through it, the Congress should frankly fix dominion self-government to be its goal.

The Swaraj party.

Commenting on the tactics of the Swarajists in the Bengal Legislative Council the *Pioneer* says: The Swarajists are encouraged in their wrecking tactics by the delusion under which they labour that they have only to shatter the existing constitution in pieces, and they will be in a position at no distant date to remould it nearer to their hearts' desire. It is probable that their action will compel the Governor of Bengal to take over temporarily the administration of the Transferred subjects; indeed, it is difficult to see what other course he can adopt in the circumstances. The King-Emperor's Government must be carried on, and irresponsible Swarajists who place obstacles in its way are merely demonstrating to the British Parliament —the ultimate Court of Appeal—their utter unfitness for any further instalment of responsible government. And no one doubts that it will be carried on whatever the Swarajists may do. Probably they will try to destroy Council Government in Bengal altogether by creating a succession of deadlocks, as they have done in the Central Provinces. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that all the expectations entertained from the Swarajist Conference at Calcutta have been falsified. The Swarajists are trying to capture the Congress but their efforts in this direction are likely to prove futile as Mahatma Gandhi still wields the same influence in the country. The *Bhavishya* considers that the proceedings of the Swarajist Conference have shown that the Swarajists agree with all the items of Mahatma Gandhi's programme except the one relating to *charkha* and on this point they are anxious to enter into a compromise with the Mahatma. It maintains that the Swarajists are not different from the non-cooperators' move as they have identical aims though their methods vary to a certain extent. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the new programme of the Swaraj party as laid down at the Calcutta Conference is judicious and practical. It keeps in view the interests of the country in all respects and contains nothing which calls for opposition. The *Bharat Jiwan* also approves of the new programme as being practical and efficacious, but considers its attempt to capture the Congress and thereby oust Mahatma Gandhi as full of danger. The Swaraj party will lose its own influence and also cause harm to the Congress and the country if it attempts to weaken the Mahatma's hold over the public mind. The *Aj* says that the programme laid down by the Swaraj party at the Calcutta Conference will occupy a prominent place in the history of the party. Its policy which had so far been uncertain has now assumed a definite shape. We, however, regret that it has given predominence to work inside the Councils over that outside them.

Lord Lytton and the Indian women.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Lord Lytton has explained at last—and explained nothing. His attempt to teach English so that people may distinguish between "Indian men" and "men of India" is not likely to carry conviction. And he has spoiled the grace of an explanation by cheap sneers at his political opponents, unworthy of a Governor but quite characteristic of the small mind that alone could have committed the indiscretion that has brought on him the disgust of all India. The *Leader* hopes that no more will be heard of Lord Lytton having insulted the manhood and womanhood of India after His Excellency's letter to Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore. This assurance should lay low the dust of bitter controversy and give a set-back to the attempt to create 'an atmosphere of resistance' in pursuance of the avowed policy of the Swarajists. The *Pioneer* says: To every educated Englishman Lord Lytton's meaning was perfectly clear from the very beginning. That any insult to Indian womanhood was intended or even implied in His Excellency's words was too ludicrous for serious discussion. Lord Lytton's sole offence was that he failed to gauge the mentality of the Swarajist leaders and to realise that they would seize the opportunity with avidity to read a sinister meaning into his words and to make political capital out of it with those who were less able than themselves to appreciate the *nuances* of the English language. The vernacular press continues to condemn in strong terms Lord Lytton's remarks regarding Indian women. The *Desh Bhagat* in a strongly worded article condemns Lord Lytton's speech as a wanton attack on Indian women and remarks that it is due to the administrators of the type of Lord Lytton that the police has become bold enough to tyrannise over Indian women. During his régime he will reap the consequences of his insults to Indian womanhood as the Bengali women being brave and heroic will allow him no peace. The *Medina* remarks that probably he has been driven to abuse the Bengalis on account of being irritated by the Swarajists. We may have had many grievances against the Englishmen but we never came across any instance in which an Englishman indulged in abusing Indians. The *Hamdam* describes Lord Lytton's remarks as

not only opposed to decency and chivalry but also to statesmanship and wisdom and remarks that no protest can have any effect upon him as he is the representative of a Government which pays little regard to public opinion, whose rule is based on military and naval force and which does not hesitate to throw bombs on unarmed people. The time will soon come when the united voice of India will be raised against the present system of Government in which the susceptibilites of subject races are so lightly treated. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* says that Lord Lytton is devoid of all the noble sentiments and good qualities and that by attacking the honour of the Indian women he has reflected only his own meanness. The *Aj* says that Lord Lytton has disgraced his office by his remarks traducing Indian women. The strong protest made by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu against those remarks will find echo in every Indian heart. Lord Lytton should either express regret for his words or vacate his office. It is due to the helplessness of the Indians that he can disparage Indian women with impunity. The *Bharat Bandhu* remarks that Lord Lytton's attack upon the Indian women cannot but create resentment and indignation among Indians. It appears that he has thought Indians to be beasts. If he has any gentlemanliness in him he should at once withdraw his remarks and apologise with a sincere heart. If he does not do so the matter should be brought before the Bengal Legislative Council and the Assembly. The *Bharat Jiwan* writes: Is it possible to conceive of a more insulting allegation than that made by Lord Lytton? That he should have the courage to do so shows that the honour of Indians has been of late at a discount. If Indians have any manhood in them they should retaliate against this insult and prove that they are still self-respecting.

Political crisis in Bengal.

The *Pioneer* in a leading article headed "The Wreckers' Triumph" says: The wreckers have triumphed, and have annulled the Reformed constitution in Bengal as they had already annulled it in the Central Provinces. For the immediate consequences of their action they care nothing at all. Mr. Das and his coadjutors are welcome to whatever satisfaction they may derive from the success of their tactics. They will find in due course that a great disillusionment is in store for them. The decision as to the time and extent of any further constitutional advance rests with the British Parliament and the British people, and those who have followed intelligently the trend of British opinion in regard to Indian affairs are well aware that the Swarajists' gestures and postures have not created a favourable impression. The Swarajists have played into the hands of the "Die-Hards." The *Leader* disapproves of the action of the Bengal Legislative Council in rejecting a second time the demand for Ministers' salaries. It was a blunder on the part of the Governor of Bengal not to have insisted on the resignation of the Ministers. They should have themselves resigned immediately after the previous adverse vote. The postponement of the evil day has done no good to anybody; it has merely served the unfortunate purpose of exposing Lord Lytton's proneness to unconstitutionalism, it might be under the influence of irritation. At another place the paper says: Mr. Das' party cannot absolve themselves of the serious responsibility of having done a grave public disservice by the frenzied pursuit of a thoughtless and mischievous policy. Always devoid of magnanimity towards political opponents at either end, they equally lack prudence and foresight and are among the unwisest of Indian public men. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: There is no justification for any surprise at the result specially after the revealing evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Committee. If the action is taken to defy public opinion it will not hesitate to pay back in the same coin. Not a single Bill can hereafter pass the Bengal Council—that is to say if the members of the Council have self-respect and the spirit that we associate even with the worm when trodden upon—Lord Lytton will deliberately tread upon the Council when he takes charge of the ministerial portfolio. Of one thing there is no doubt: no one in India cares for what British newspapers say or even for what the purblind Secretary of State may say in repeating parrotwise the notes put before him. There is only one solution. That is to yield to the pressure of public opinion. This would mean that the Government have real affection for the people. So long as the Government do not feel that they have to rule the people according to their wishes the present unnatural situation must continue.

Release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

The *Medina* congratulates the Musalmans on the release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, one of the greatest and sincerest patriots and advises them to derive practical lessons from his strong character and perseverance. It apprehends that the British policy will not allow

him to remain outside the jail for a long time. The *Arya Varta* expresses its gratification at the release of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, and remarks that in near future his views will become popularly accepted because they embody a programme compatible with the sentiments and capabilities of the people.

Liberty of press.

The *Shakti* describes the prosecution of a number of nationalist journals for libel and defamation as a serious attack on the liberty of the press and says that a vigorous and widespread agitation will have to be started afresh for its vindication. When the law courts fail to do justice, when the executive act arbitrarily and when the people are oppressed it is impossible that the press can forego its right of criticising them.

Agra Tenancy Act.

The *Al Khalil* remarks that the amendments proposed by the Select Committee in the Rent Act aim at doing away with the proprietary rights of the zamindars. It is opposed to the granting of life interest in the land to the tenants and advises the zamindars to hold meetings and organise associations to bring pressure upon the Government so that their descendants may not be reduced to beggary.

Muslim Waqf Act.

The *Rahnuma* expresses its indignation at the report of the Waqf Committee and exhorts the Muslim members of the Council to have the Waqf Act enforced at once as the Musalmans cannot long tolerate to see the ruination of their Waqf property. The *Zulqarnain* insinuates that some Muslim members of the Council being themselves trustees of big Waqf properties oppose the enforcement of the Act so that they may not be deprived of the chances of misappropriating the Waqf funds. It exhorts the Musalmans to launch an agitation for the enforcement of the Act. The *Al Khalil* says that the recommendations of the Waqf Committee betray the existence of a great conspiracy to misappropriate the Waqf fund. It holds such zamindar members of the Council responsible for it as are in possession of big Waqf properties and urges that an agitation should be started throughout the province to get the Act enforced at once.

Improvement Trust.

The *Azad* says that the Improvement Trusts have squandered the public money without benefitting any body except a few high paid officials. They would have served many useful purposes and accomplished many works of public utility if they had been conducted on right lines. As regards the costs of establishment it remarks that they should not be disproportionate to the work done and suggests that one Chief Engineer is quite sufficient for all the three places.

Political propaganda.

The *Medina* remarks that the Labour Government has reverted to the old policy of imperialism which is alone responsible for disturbances, pillage and unrest in Iraq. The Mosul question will put an end for good to the British friendship and it is possible that the nationalist Turks may have a recourse to arbitrament of sword in getting back this piece of territory. The armed demonstrations and the rebellious activities of the Sudanese are the direct result of the Premier's parliamentary speech. If the Labour Government wants to keep intact the British honour and prestige, it should do away with its anti-Muslim policy and put an end to the present difficulties and troubles of Great Britain by adopting a conciliatory attitude in the Near East. The *Aj* publishes a contributed article by "Ugra" and "Suman" in honour of the *Janamashtami* festival in the course of which they invoke Lord Krishna to appear on earth once again in a terrible form and tell the proud atheistical demons that God exists and knows well how to pour vials of fire on oppressors.

NAINI TAL:
The 30th August, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 35 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 6th September, 1924.

London Conference.

THE *Haqiqat* hails the agreement between the Allies and Germany as the harbinger of an era of peace and order in Europe and hopes that it will lay afresh the foundation of economic reconstruction. The *Najat* pays a tribute to Mr. MacDonald for solving the most complicated problem on which alone depended the peace of Europe. It is, however, doubtful of an honest observance of the terms of agreement on the part of the avaricious European nations and apprehends that the pent up Franco-German ill-feeling will burst up one day like a volcano.

The Sudan.

According to the *Leader* news from Sudan shows that there is an influential section of the Sudanese who favour union with Egypt and are opposed to the present régime. If the people of Sudan really want to ally their destiny with that of Egypt, the British Government will have to reconsider their policy sooner or later. The *Hamdam* characterises the British policy in Sudan as contrary to all principles of justice and morality and apprehends that if Zaghlol Pasha has recourse to drastic measures for the fulfilment of his demands peace and order in Egypt will be endangered. It regards the claim of Great Britain on Sudan as an example of that greed which European Powers often display against the weak Eastern nations on the strength of their military power and better organisation and remarks that if the European statesmen persist in their obstinacy the time is not far off when the entire Eastern world will rise against them. The *Oudh Akhbar* says: It is wrong to call it a mutiny when it was only a demonstration for the attainment of their legitimate rights. Sudan is a fertile part of Egypt and any attempt to separate it from the latter is doomed to failure. If Great Britain wants to have its position secure in Africa it should not lose the sympathy of Egypt.

The League of Nations.

The meeting in Genoa has directed attention towards the affairs of the League. The *Leader* welcomes the appointment of M. Motta of Switzerland as the President of the Assembly and says that the Assembly of the League is likely to exercise increasing moral influence over the affairs of Europe with the restoration of normal affairs. If its members discharge their duties with independence and impartially and courageously uphold the claims of justice in a spirit of international righteousness, its authority is bound to grow. Otherwise the noble ideal for the realisation of which it has been founded will remain a pious dream of theorists and political philosophers. The *Medina*, on the other hand, describes the League of Nations as an instrument in the hands of the Imperialistic nations of Europe to serve their own ends and views with satisfaction the action of the Turks in refusing to submit the question of Mosul to the League. They have not fallen a prey to the fraudulent justice of the League and have adopted an attitude befitting an enlightened and self-respecting nation.

Reforms Enquiry Committee.

The *Aligarh District Gazette* describes the failure of the Swarajists to participate in the Reforms Enquiry Committee as a grave betrayal of their principle. Their real object is not to see their country on the road to progress but only to manufacture agitation against the existing Government. The *Haqiqat* is sceptical about the success of the Government in continuing to work out the present Reforms after the defects of the dyarchy have been exposed and remarks that the only way in which the Parliament can appease the Indians is to grant provincial autonomy. The *Hamdam* says that the silence maintained by the Labour Government as to its future policy regarding the Reforms has made the question all the more intricate and aggravated the disappointment of the thinking people and remarks that if the country unanimously supports its leaders and is prepared to undergo all kinds of sacrifice the Government can be forced to grant *swaraj* to it. Commenting upon the evidence of the Musalmans before the Reforms Enquiry

Committee the *Medina* concludes that they will not support the demand for *swaraj* as long as there is an apprehension of their rights being trampled upon. The mischievous activities of the Arya Samajists have created dissatisfaction and apprehension in the minds of the Musalmans, who now have no faith in their countrymen and under the circumstances it is impossible to secure further Reforms. The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that the unanimous condemnation of the dyarchical system of Government by the ex-Ministers goes a long way to prove that the views of Mr. Gandhi and the people of his way of thinking regarding the Reforms were quite correct and that the agitation launched against the Reforms was justified.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Hamdam* throws the entire responsibility for the communal disturbances on the Hindu organisation movements and avers that happy relations can be restored among the Hindus and Musalmans if Mahatma Gandhi exerts himself in checking the spirit of the Hindu Sabha and the entire Congress machinery is moved against the mischief-mongers. It further advises the Congressmen to exclude all the members of the Aman Sabhas from the Congress. The *Haqiqat* resents the rejoicings of the Anglo-Indian press over the deplorable disturbances at Gulbarga and remarks that it is publishing exaggerated account of the riot simply to prejudice the Berar question. The *Mashriq* interprets the establishment of democracy in India as a Hindu *raj* and advises Maulana Hasrat Mohani to concentrate his attention on the organisation of the Musalmans as Hindu-Muslim unity in the real sense of the term is impossible. The *Abhyudaya* refers to the loss suffered by the Hindus during the communal disturbances at Gulbarga and Bhagalpur and remarks that it is impossible for the country to make any real progress unless and until the Hindus are strong and organised. The organisation of the Hindus is indispensable, for the establishment of *swaraj* and the effacement of Hindu-Muslim disturbances. The *Kartavya* holds the Muhammadans responsible for almost all the last *Muharram* riots in various places and says that leaders themselves are to blame for these disturbances inasmuch as they have not the courage to condemn those who take the initiative in these matters. It urges that joint Hindu-Muslim committees should be established at all places to take preventive and precautionary measures against communal riots, otherwise they are sure to extend into every part of the country.

The Swaraj party.

Commenting on Mr. C. R. Das' recent statement the *Pioneer* says: It remains to be seen whether the Constitutionalists will play into the hands of the Swarajists by adopting as their programme a watered down edition of the Swarajists' policy, or whether they will take their stand boldly on the side of the Reforms and steady progress and warn the electorate of the inevitable result of following the Swarajist lead For if the Swarajists succeed in wrecking the reformed constitution everywhere, the only possible result will be to strengthen the belief which is gradually growing up even among Englishmen, who have welcomed the Reforms and who have been confidently looking to India to make the experiment a conspicuous success that Indians are not yet fit to exercise even the responsibilities entrusted to them under the Government of India Act, much less for any further constitutional advance. In another article the paper says that there are, indeed, plain indications that the success of the Swarajists' wrecking tactics in Bengal is already beginning to lose its robust faith in India's fitness for an immediate constitutional advance. The *Leader* replying to the above criticism says that the Constitutionalists will not stand aloof from the Government, it is true, but they have worked the Reforms and reached the conviction that they have to be reformed urgently and radically. They have been working to this end and will continue to do so undeterred by the taunts of opponents by no means disinterested that they are making of themselves a feeble edition of a more aggressive party. It complains that the policy of the British newspapers is still one of uncompromising resistance to educated Indians' demands. The Liberals' method is quite different from that of the Swarajists' if the latter can be said to have a considered method at all, for they are no believers in wrecking and all that sort of thing. Commenting upon the Swarajists' Conference in Bengal the *Medina* accuses them of sacrificing truth and honesty to liberty and politics and remarks that Mr. C. R. Das is a political time-server and has nothing in common with the non-cooperators. To him non-cooperation only means to make the government impossible for bureaucracy. But surely this cannot give us *swaraj* nor can the country expect any good from such politicians. They have put an end to the non-cooperation movement and brought the country to the same stage against which

non-cooperation struggled for three years. The *Vartman* regrets that at the Calcutta Conference also the Swarajist leaders have failed to enter into a compromise with the majority party of the Congress. The Swaraj party has no definite programme before it even now. The statement that it will adjust its programme to the requirements of the situation is not sufficient to keep the flag of any agitation flying. The political struggle of 30 crores of persons cannot be maintained by activities in the Councils alone. The *Surya* doubts whether the Swarajists will ever be able to carry out the programme laid down at the Calcutta Conference. It contends that the Swarajists have no definite programme at all and change their policy to suit their ever-changing aims. They have really come round to the policy of the Liberals, but still never hesitate to abuse the latter to serve the ends of their party.

Indian independence.

One Bal Krishna writing to the *Pratap* remarks: Complete independence alone can be the goal of Indian politics. Freedom is the characteristic of the age. Distribution of power is a sign of the times. To go against it is to court self-destruction. If we do not endeavour to attain complete independence, we shall be courting self-annihilation.

Lord Lytton and the Indian women.

Lord Lytton's explanation has been generally considered to be unsatisfactory by the vernacular press. The *Haqiqat* says that the real aim of the Swarajists in raising so much hue and cry against the speech of Lord Lytton is to start a propaganda against him and the Ministers as Mr. C. R. Das and his comrades are bent upon utilising every weapon just or otherwise in attacking the Ministers. The *Hamdam* regards the explanation of Lord Lytton as mere hair-splitting and remarks that the wrong can be rectified only by an unconditional apology. Writing in a similar strain the *Najat* also lays stress upon an unconditional apology and remarks that it is idle to expect any such thing from him as the members of the bureaucracy are mostly devoid of moral courage. The *Oudh Akbar* describes Lord Lytton's explanation as a lame excuse and remarks that the distinction made by him in 'Indian men' and 'men of India' is an after-thought to pacify the feelings of the Bengalis. The *Vartman* remarks that in his explanation Lord Lytton has tried to whitewash his conduct. His attempt to conceal his offence instead of expressing his repentance is indicative of his cowardice and weakness. It will only intensify the agitation until Lord Lytton openly apologises for his indiscreet words. The *Aj* says: The fine grammatical distinction drawn by the noble Lord between 'Indian women' and 'women of India' to justify his remarks does not satisfy us. It is inconceivable that even the best scholars of English could not correctly interpret the words used by His Excellency. The truth is that in his inordinate love for the police he did not weigh his words but uttered them carelessly. But now that he has expressed regret for his conduct and assured that it was not his object to insult Indian womanhood it is our duty to accept it. The *Gramvasi* remarks that no condemnation of Lord Lytton's attack on Indian womanhood can be too strong. The temerity with which his Lordship has given utterance to utterly irresponsible words show what indifference, contempt and hatred civilians cherish in their hearts towards India. It will be an insult to India if such a man retains office any longer. His Lordship's explanation is a mere twisting of words and seeks to conceal the truth from the public. The *Shakti* says that Indians will surely feel indignant at the disparaging remarks of Lord Lytton against Indian women but there is nothing to be wondered at if members of the bureaucracy which gets many ill-deeds committed by the police in this country and which perpetrated all possible atrocities under martial law utter such mean statements in order to humour the police and conceal its faults. Indian women bore many brutal atrocities but did not come out even to appear as witnesses. And such attacks on them! If the misdeeds or faults of British women were exposed the bureaucracy would have recourse to the defamation or racial hatred sections of the Penal Code. Mr. Kelkar and others have been fined for libelling Collectors but the Governor of Bengal has not been punished for libelling a whole nation.

Political crisis in Bengal.

The *Hamdam* regrets that owing to the resignation of Mr. Fazal-ul-Haq the scheme framed for the progress of the Muslim education in Bengal will have to be postponed for some time and remarks that to give practical proof of the failure of Reforms was more necessary than the promotion of communal interests and as it is the present system of Government only which is causing greatest loss to the communal interests, it is necessary that India should insist on the grant of responsible

government to eradicate the evil. The *Oudh Akhbar* says, that when generosity has failed there is absolutely no hope that any 'fool-proof constitution' as suggested by the *Pioneer*, will ever succeed in India and the efforts to force any such constitution upon the Indians which is opposed to their demand for liberty is doomed to failure. It is a sheer deception to expect that the pre-Reform era can revert again and autocracy can again be the order of the day. The *Haqiqat* takes to task the Muslim members of the Bengal Council for supporting the Swarajists against the Ministers and remarks that the resignation of the latter can never bring *swaraj* to India. The Musalmans should know that their community will suffer if the Ministers are forced to resign. The *Aj* is gratified at the decision of the Governor of Bengal regarding the transferred subjects and the Council. It remarks: If this show comes to an end for good we shall be all the more pleased. The good of the country lies in the dissolution of the Councils. The Central Provinces and Bengal have shown the way to other provinces. In another article the same paper says that the Swarajist victory over the question of the salaries of Ministers in Bengal is as much due to the labour of the Swarajists as to the recital of their bitter experiences by ex-Ministers before the Reforms Enquiry Committee. The Bengal Government is reaping the fruits of its doings. It is indeed gratifying that dyarchy has been killed and the Councils have been prorogued in Bengal and the Central Provinces. *Swaraj* will come much nearer to us that day when martial law will be openly declared in place of the present underhand military administration.

Mr. Gandhi.

Commenting on Mrs. Besant's conversation with Mr. Gandhi the *Leader* says: If Mr. Gandhi agrees to join her Convention and to help her in the carrying out of her plan then Mrs. Besant will deserve to be congratulated on her success. If Mr. Gandhi has reconciled himself to the idea of going up to the British Parliament with a scheme of self-government and to ask it to sanction it, then he must be presumed to have abandoned the principle of non-cooperation. For the sake of unity he would not mind keeping his own convictions in abeyance. There would be nothing surprising if Mr. Gandhi were to join hands with Mrs. Besant and help her in the realisation of her scheme. Stranger things have happened. However, we must wait for the further development of Mr. Gandhi's politics. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* in a leading article headed "Gandhi's Sacrifice" says: Having made the great sacrifice for political union, he has been pursuing the idea in interviews with Mrs. Besant and Mr. Sastri. If a common platform could be found for all the various political parties to meet for one year and present a united front to Britain, the dream of *swaraj* may soon become a reality. We have, however, our own doubts whether the Liberals would be prepared to follow Mr. Das: their enthusiasm began and ended in first accepting dyarchy and then in condemning it. The *Advocate* hopes that the united strength of Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Besant will bring a solution to the intricate problem of communal unity.

Liberty of press.

Resenting the action recently taken against the editors of certain newspapers the *Haqiqat* says that the repeal of the Press Act has simply proved a fraud as from the armoury of laws the bureaucracy has furnished itself with weapons which can quickly put an end to the life of a newspaper. At first the editors were prosecuted under section 124, but when this measure failed to produce the desired effect libel suits began to be filed against them to destroy the financial stability of the newspapers. It is now necessary that a Press Association to safeguard the rights of the press should be established in India and a vigorous agitation should be started against this new tyranny of the Government which should be forced to amend these sections of the Indian Penal Code having a direct bearing on the liberty of the press. The *Kartavya* maintains that though the Press Act has been repealed the press continues to be hampered as much or even more under the ordinary law. If journalists are to be prosecuted even for honest criticism there can be no free press at all in the country. If the autocratic bureaucracy is not to slacken the least its policy of repression it had better suppress all papers once for all.

Freedom of Nepal.

A correspondent writing in the *Pratap* remarks that although it is said that the treaty recently concluded between England and Nepal recognises the independence of the latter, yet it is not so, otherwise it must have kept its ambassador in foreign countries. It is to be hoped that Chandra Shamsher Bahadur, the Prime Minister of Nepal, will

keep himself safe from British designs and make the Maharaja Dhiraj of Nepal really free and independent.

Jubbulpore rape case.

Deploring the rape committed by a British soldier upon an Indian woman at Jubbulpore the *Desh Bhagat* in a strongly-worded article asks the Indians to be disillusioned of the belief that the Englishmen do not outrage Indian women. If the Indians have any self-respect in them they should kick at the life of slavery and support the nationalists in their struggle for India's emancipation. With the presence of the bureaucracy the perpetration of such tyrannies will continue and *swaraj* is the only means of preventing them. The *Aj* deplores the cowardice displayed by a number of Indians in not rescuing an Indian woman from the hands of a European who committed rape upon her before their eyes in broad daylight. This shows that though nominally alive Indians are a lifeless people for all practical purposes. We request the leaders to take early steps for the removal of the cowardice of the Indians which is the root cause of the country's ills.

Agra Tenancy Act.

Mr. Sangam Lal Agarwal writing to the *Abhyudaya* says: The publication of the Agra Tenancy Bill in the Government Gazette is in effect a declaration of war by the United Provinces Government and its representatives against the cultivators. This Bill will make the cultivators the slaves of zamindars for ever. They will do well never to acquiesce in this enslavement. Let the cultivators start a well-organised, wide-spread and vigorous agitation for their protection and the Government-*cum*-zamindars company will be compelled to expiate for their evil intentions.

Proscription of Hindi readers.

The *Aj* disapproves of the action of the Government in disallowing Mr. Sangam Lal's resolution regarding the proscription of Mr. Ram Das Gour's Hindu readers and remarks that a perusal of the arguments advanced by the President of the Council for disallowing the resolution makes us laugh and we pity the advocates of Government on finding them stooping so low in supporting an injustice. The action of the President means that the rulers may act arbitrarily but the Provincial Parliament cannot even protest against it.

The United Provinces capital.

The *Leader* is exercised over the question of the transfer of a part of the Secretariat from Allahabad to Lucknow. In a leading article headed "Allahabad" the paper says: The present position is anomalous to the point of being ridiculous. There is therein not only a callous disregard of the interests and the sentiment of Allahabad but, in truth, also a flouting of the authority of the Government of India. If the Government of India's decision be adverse to Allahabad, there will then be an agitation for the separation of the combined provinces so that the whole of the major province of Agra with its thirty-six districts may not be permanently consigned to the inferior and humiliating position of a mere out-house of the city of Lucknow. In another leading article the paper says: This time Allahabad, and with it the province of Agra as a whole, must make up its mind to see the thing through. Either relief will be afforded it, or it should determine to organise a really big agitation for the restoration of Agra to the position of the old North-West Province. The *Pioneer* says: The change of capital is scarcely a matter of paramount concern except, perhaps, to the parochially-minded. The time for an effective protest was when Sir Harcourt Butler transferred the seat of the Council to Lucknow and the United Provinces Legislative Council voted the money for the construction of a new Council Chamber in that city.

The Amethi riots.

The *Mashriq* refers to the Amethi disturbances and justifies the action of the Sub-Divisional Officer in issuing orders against the Hindus, accuses the Deputy Commissioner of being overawed by the threats of the Swarajists and remarks that he is too weak to discharge the duties of a Magistrate. It regards the suspension of the Sub-Inspector as quite unjustifiable, and advises the Government to take measures against those who create communal hatred through their speeches and writings.

Political propaganda.

The *Swadesh* publishes a contributed article in which the writer, Ramnath Lal Suman, says that though the Indians themselves are responsible for the present degraded and miserable condition they blame God for it and doubt even His very existence. They

are, however, mistaken, for when did God tell them to barter away their liberty and become the slaves of an irresponsible and alien community of shopkeepers. If they want to behold the terrible form of God they should turn their attention to the Russian fields and at its revolution or to the Great War and the anarchical activities of the Bengali youths in the Bengal Partition days. But they cannot behold these sights because their blood has been cooled by centuries of slavery. The *Vartman* remarks that the contention of freedom-loving persons of dependent countries that they can carry on their struggle of freedom by every violent means should be held to be much more constitutional than those wars which are often fought among free countries on account of their policy of imperialism and territorial aggrandisement and in which combatant nations shed sinful blood at the altar of selfish interests. The *Prem* publishes a contributed article in which the writer Bhuvan Bhaskar puts in a plea for the commemoration of the patriots, who though described by the bureaucracy as anarchists and murderers were nevertheless moved to sacrifice their lives by a sincere desire to uproot injustice and inequality and emancipate their motherland and establish true peace and universal love in the world.

NAINI TAL:
The 6th September, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 36 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 13th September, 1924.

Egypt and Sudan.

THE *Bharat Dharma* says that the declaration of the British Government that the Sudanese prefer to remain under its protection despite their revolt illustrates the saying that might is right, otherwise the Sudanese have made it abundantly clear that they hate the British and want union with Egypt. The *Aj* is not at all surprised at Zaghlul Pasha's decision not to interview the British Premier in connection with the Sudan question. It has now become clear that the Sudanese want union with Egypt. But their desire is being crushed by military force. In these circumstances it is impossible for the Prime Ministers of Egypt and Britain to be able to hold friendly negotiations regarding the Sudan question. The *Haqiqat* remarks: Though for political reasons the British statesmen may not accept the legitimate demands of the Egyptians in the matter of Sudan, it is an open secret that the Sudanese want to throw in their lot with the Egyptians. The obstinacy displayed hitherto by the British statesmen is likely to increase the unrest in Sudan and strengthen the tension between Great Britain and Egypt.

Struggle for liberty in Morocco.

The *Oudh Akhbar* describes the reverses encountered by the Spanish armies against the Riff people as the defeat of imperialism and remarks that the humiliaton of Spain should serve as a warning to the civilised world. The *Hamdam* is gratified at the continued success of Abdul Karim and remarks that he is fighting for the right cause while the Spaniards want to enslave the Morrocans and usurp their country.

Rebellion in Khost.

The *Medina* describes the Khost rebellion as the result of some foreign intrigue and wire-pulling and remarks: We cannot express any opinion regarding the Russian attitude but we are well aware of the diplomatic moves of Great Britain, whose vast Empire is not the result of any conquest but only of such activities and intrigues. It will not, therefore, be improper to say that the Westerners have resorted to their old methods in the case of Afghanistan also. A correspondent writing to the *Hindustani*, on the other hand, regards the Khost rebellion as the result of Bolshevik activities and remarks that the latter with a view to injure the relations between England and Afghanistan have given publicity to the news that the Government of India is helping the tribesmen against the Amir. Had the Indian Government any desire to encourage anarchy in Afghanistan it would not have detained the sons of Yakub Khan in India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to rioting in Kohat the *Pioneer* says: This occurrence serves once more to emphasise the acute tension which prevails between Hindus and Muhammadans at the present time, and how small a spark suffices to bring about a conflagration. From the Frontier to Southern India, and from Calcutta to Bombay, the slightest untoward incident may cause an outbreak, and the occurrence of any religious festival means anxious precautions on the part of the responsible officials until the festival is over. But the plain truth is—and everybody knows it—that Hindus will not trust a Muhammadan officer, and Muhammadans will not trust a Hindu, while both communities repose confidence in the British official whose impartiality is above suspicion. In the face of facts like these, which are notorious, the contention that India can do without the British official at a pinch, and that there would be no difficulty in replacing all of them by competent Indians, is not merely untenable, but positively ridiculous. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Hindus are certainly large in numbers and they have undoubtedly the correct spirit to suffer for their gods and their religion. Religious feelings are not confined to the followers of the Prophet. The revelation has burst upon all that Hindu-Muslim unity can never come by one section making all the sacrifices and the other section enjoying all the fruits. At another place the paper says: People who cried themselves hoarse only the other day, "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai", "Hindu-Muslim-ki-Jai" are ready to fall at each other's throat. Hindus want that Muslim officials should go: Muslims want that Hindu

officials should go, with the result that the Europeans would remain. And yet we are all agreed that the Lee loot must be prevented! What a contradiction? Indian politicians have failed. British bureaucracy will remain for long. The *Brahmachari* opines that the Hindus committed a serious blunder in trusting the Musalmans too much, with the result that they have suffered the most under the guise of the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity. Hindus must realise that they have first to organise and strengthen themselves before they seek union with the Muhammadans, otherwise they will be courting self-annihilation. The *Gyan Shakti* holds that the Gulbarga riot definitely explodes the myth once for all that it is the English who set the Hindu and Muhammadan communities by the ear in this country and shows that the Muhammadans of their own accord want to crush and swallow the Hindus. It asks with what force can the Nizam now demand the restoration of Berar. The *Surya* charges the Hindus with being guilty of fatal cowardice in putting up with the ever-increasing atrocities of Muhammadans, including outrages upon their women and children, and says that the Hindu-Muslim unity is a mere dream in view of such acts and tendencies on the part of Muhammadans. Hindus vainly prattle of non-violence when they have not the strength and power to punish perpetrators of atrocities on them. The *Satya* is dissatisfied with the statement of Mr. Gandhi that while the Musalmans may demolish a thousand Hindu temples he will not raise his finger against a single mosque and remarks: The sermon of *ahinsa* (non-violence) has emasculated the Hindu nation. Mr. Gandhi is bent on preaching the same sermon which is most unfortunate for the Hindus. We do not want such religion as prohibits us from raising our hand against tyrants, oppressors and *badmashes*. The true religion is the religion of the Vedas which enjoins us to raise our hands to bring to book the *goondas* of Delhi and Gulbarga. Hindus at present do not stand in need of Mahatma Gandhi's advice. They have to follow the teachings of Lord Krishna and Lokmanya Tilak. The *Hamdam* regrets that the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements are at last bearing fruit according to the wishes of their founders and the Hindus on the strength of their number and wealth are trying to secure new rights at the expense of the Musalmans. It is to be deplored that they are now playing in the hands of the enemies of their freedom and are organising themselves against the Musalmans. The local authorities to serve their own interests show partiality to the stronger party though it is the prime duty of the Government to safeguard the rights of the weak and to bring to justice the oppressors. The *Nejat* lays the entire responsibility for the communal disturbances at the door of the educated class who by patronising the mischief-mongers encourage them to commit excesses. No Musalman can ever deny the right of the Hindus to organise themselves or to convert others to their faith but it is only the spirit underlying the movement which is apprehended to be a direct challenge to the interest of Muslim India. The *Al Khalil* regards the communal riots as an organised attack of the Hindus upon the Musalmans and regrets that most of the Hindus professing to be Congressmen are openly taking part in *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. It advises the Musalman leaders to expose the anti-Muslim activities of the Hindus. The *Al Bashir* describes the Gulbarga riots as the result of Arya Samajists' propaganda which is intended to create hatred among the peaceful subjects of the Native States and hopes that His Exalted Highness will take necessary steps to protect his people from this baneful influence.

The Swaraj party.

The *Pioneer* says that Mr. Gandhi's recent communication to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru can only be interpreted in one way. It means the absolute surrender of Mr. Gandhi and his followers to Mr. Das and the party who favour entry into the Councils, in order to wreck them. With regard to the efforts to bring about unity among different sections of the politicians, the paper says: It is difficult to believe that Mr. Das and his followers, flushed with their victory in the Bengal Council, will forego their wrecking tactics and their coquetting with revolutionaries at the behest of the Liberals. The *Leader* is afraid that disappointment will await Mrs. Besant if she attaches any serious importance to the views of such an unbalanced and fickle politician as Mr. Das. The *Aj* remarks that the country is suffering a great loss because of lack of a definite definition of *swaraj*. It is the main cause of communal and political differences in the country. If *swaraj* is explicitly defined there will be little room left for differences of opinion regarding the means for the attainment of *swaraj* and our opponents will hardly get an opportunity of serving their selfish ends by misinterpreting *swaraj* and setting one community against another, one professional class against another, the capitalists against the

labourers and the labourers against the capitalists. The same paper says that although we are not the advocates of Council entry or supporters of the Swarajists yet we must say that the charge levelled against them that they did not abide by their promise is unjust and baseless. Wherever they were in a majority they honestly fulfilled their promises and left no room for complaint. It will be universally admitted that they have created such an ugly situation for dyarchy that its end must be regarded as a settled fact. The *Vartman* observes that it was improper on the part of an influential leader like Mr. C. R. Das to have stated in his recent interview with a press representative that the Indian problem could be solved by constitutional means and the need for *satyagraha* would never arise. We are convinced that in the end we are bound to come into conflict with the existing laws and it is in view of this contingency that Mahatma Gandhi has placed the ideal of *satyagraha* before us.

Boycott of British goods.

Referring to the decision of the Bengal Congress Committee to boycott British cloth the *Abhyudaya* remarks that the weapon of boycott of British goods is an infallible one. It can do only good and no harm to the country. If the boycott of British goods is started in an organised manner in other provinces too, much of poor India's wealth can be saved from being drained to England and at the same time our indigenous industries will receive a much desired impetus.

The Lee Report.

In a leading article, headed "The Lee Report and the Legislature," the *Pioneer* says: A study of the Report by a dispassionate critic should enable the Indian members of the Legislature to find very valid arguments for withstanding the clamorous condemnation of its proposals. We have no doubt that, taking the cue from that fervent admirer of the British official, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a large section of the Legislative Assembly will attempt to justify opposition to the Government's acceptance of those proposals on the ground that the question of the position of the Services can be settled only when the demand for a "further advance" has been met. At another place the paper says: It is safe to assume that if Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's amendment were carried, and if the Labour Government in a moment of weakness decided to give effect to it—fortunately a very unlikely contingency—there would be such an exodus of British officials on proportionate pensions that there would be some difficulty in carrying on the administration, and anything approaching efficiency would be quite out of the question. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* retorts by saying that nothing of the kind will happen. British officials will not go in large numbers for the simple reason that they can never get such salary anywhere else, and if they did, there are Indians who will fill their places with credit and with considerable relief to the tax-payer. At another place the paper says that the United Provinces Council raises its level of political thought and conceptions by its vote against the Lee recommendations. It is impossible for any Indian, landholder or Liberal or Swarajist, to acquiesce in the 'loot' as it has been called. We are glad that an authoritative vote has been given against the Lee recommendations in the name of the United Provinces. The legislators have thus the satisfaction of sending forth their curse on an impending calamity that almost threatens to be inevitable. The same paper adds that if British youths do not care, India would go in for American youths or German youths who know to speak and write the English language. There will be any number of youths rushing for passage the moment the sound of the rupee rings in their ears, especially when they find retired civilians living like Nabobs in England. We wish Indian youths of talent had such opportunities to amass wealth. After reading the speech of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, all that the services can say is: "Et-tu-Brutes: then die the Lee report." The *Hamdam* takes exception to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's remarks that the civilians are the backbone of India and that those who are opposing the recommendtions of the Lee Commission are causing great injury to India's demand for Dominion status and remarks: The greatest achievement of the Indian Civil Service is that during the hundred years of its rule India has been reduced to penury and destitution and its industries have been ruined. The people of the country which were once prosperous owing to its agriculture and commerce do not now get sufficient food to eat nor sufficient cloth to clothe themselves. They cannot manage to bring up their children for whose primary education there is not even sufficient money in the Government treasury. While they are in this state of penury the members of the Indian Civil Service are intent only on their own comfort and luxury and being dissatisfied with their high emoluments are determined to place another burden on the Indian Exchequer. They are also directly

responsible for creating the present atmosphere of unprecedented communal tension. Every Indian believes that if these English men leave India for good all dissensions and disturbances will be wiped away from the country.

Lord Lytton and Indian women.

The *Pioneer* says: It is impossible to feel anything but contempt for the unscrupulous manner in which Lord Lytton's alleged insult to Indian womanhood in his Dacca speech has been, and is still being, exploited for political purposes in Bengal. To every Englishman, and, we feel sure, to a great many Indians who have a sense of decency and propriety, the agitation has been positively nauseating from first to last. It is a discreditable business of which Mr. Das and his associates ought to be thoroughly ashamed. The *Mahashakti* says: Born in India and brought up for a considerable period of his life in this country too, Lord Lytton seems to have had a more abundant share of Indian's loaves and fishes than of Indian's culture, and that he has expressed his gratitude to India by only insulting her sons and daughters, instead of doing something worse, is a fact for which it seems to be rather our turn to be grateful and glad. In another article the paper says: Knowingly or unknowingly, His Excellency has been the unfortunate means of causing pain to millions of people over whom he has been placed in authority; and it behoves him, situated as he is, not less the prestige of his position, to plainly admit this fact and apologise like a gentleman, as he is. The *Satya* insinuates that Dr. Tagore's letter to Lord Lytton was an inspired one which provided the latter with an opportunity to clear his position and remarks that even after all this Lord Lytton could not realise his real object. His explanation has served no useful purpose. The *Shakti* says that Lord Lytton's explanation shows that his words were liable to misinterpretation and that he committed a blunder and asks whether the bureaucracy have ever thought that the words of Indian speakers are similarly capable of misinterpretation and that they too were liable to commit blunders.

Political crisis in Bengal.

The *Haqiqat* condemns the Muslim members of the Bengal Council for proving unfaithful to their community and taking side with the party of Mr. Das and remarks that the Swarajists' intention of forming a new Ministry in Bengal is the clear indication of the fact that they do not want to wreck the dyarchy but only to remove the Muslim Ministers. The Governor of Bengal has betrayed a great weakness in not sanctioning the salaries of the Ministers by exercising his special powers. If he had done so he would not have been put to so much trouble and shame. The *Aligarh Gazette* regrets that the Muslim members of the Bengal Council have totally ignored their communal interests in this connection and have given proof of their extreme short-sightedness by joining the Swarajists.

Gulbarga riot.

The *Abhyudaya* reproaches the Hindus of Gulbarga for not defending their temples against the attacks of Musalmans. If the Hindus are not prepared to sacrifice their lives for the protection of their temples and idols they had better raze to the ground their temples and throw their idols into the Ganges. The Hindus of Gulbarga have lowered the head of the entire Hindu population in the country. By their love of life they have laid an axe at the root of Hinduism.

Mr. Gandhi.

The *Hamdam* expresses its gratification that Mr. Gandhi now regards the cooperation between different political parties of India as essential for the attainment of *swaraj* and remarks that there can be nothing more pleasing to the country than the removal of mutual dissensions. The *Vartman* says that Mrs. Besant's interview with Mahatma Gandhi is not devoid of diplomacy. Mrs. Besant is at present in the background and it is with a view to regain her leadership that she has once more changed colour and succeeded in securing a certificate from Mahatma Gandhi for admission into the Congress. The *Pratap* points out that the virtual dissociation of the Swaraj party from the national programme, the admission into the ranks of non-cooperators of unscrupulous vagabonds and above all the inclination of Mahatma Gandhi to retire from the political field have all contributed towards the decay of the non-cooperation movement.

Hindus in Nepal.

The *Bharat Dharma* regrets that although the Nepalese are Hindus, the Hindus of India have practically cut off all relations with them and urges that in order to complete their organisation they should not leave the Nepalese outside their pale. It urges that the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Congress should not fail to pay attention in this direction.

Newspapers and Hyderabad State.

The *Partap* says that one can understand the ban imposed by the Nizam on nationalist papers like the *Maharatta* and the *Swaraj*, but the banning of a liberal organ like the *Servant of India* is certainly inexplicable and indefensible. Autocracy if it is easy of explanation is not autocracy at all. The Nizam demands the restoration of Berar and promises to confer *swaraj* on her. But such are the actions which characterise his intention to confer *swaraj*. Referring to the prohibition of the entry of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* into the Hyderabad State the *Abhyudaya* wonders how the Nizam can confer *swaraj* on others when he cannot tolerate any criticism of his administration. Is it for this respect of public opinion that the Nizam claims the restoration of Berar?

Agra Tenancy Act.

The *Bharat Bandhu* says that if the recommendations of the Committee on the Agra Tenancy Bill are accepted the position of the tenants will be worsened and urges that if the Government be not prepared to amend the Agra Tenancy Act so as to promote the interests of the *kisans* the latter and their well-wishers should start a vigorous agitation. The *Oudh Akhbar* describes the findings of the Committee as unsatisfactory to the zamindars and remarks that the first mistake committed by the Committee is that instead of making necessary amendments in the original Act, it has drafted a new Act, which will take years to be enforced.

Tension in Lucknow.

Referring to the Hindu-Muslim feeling in Lucknow the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The effect of such rumours, as of stones being thrown on temples, must necessarily be to rouse the angry Hindu populace. We sincerely hope that the authorities are on the alert and that they will take care to contradict any wild rumour set afloat with the greatest promptitude. Rumours are the sparks that set ablaze communal feelings. The *Advocate* says: The feelings of the two communities have not yet subsided in Lucknow and it is advisable that the leaders of both the communities should come forward and make a peaceful compromise which is the desire of every peace-loving citizen and save Lucknow from its evil days. At another place the paper says: The relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans have become very strained at Lucknow and it is feared every day that a riot may take place in the city and people may witness the scenes of Gulbarga at Lucknow. More than a century have passed away the relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans have all along been very cordial and friendly at Lucknow. The strangers were often surprised to see such good relations existing between them and used to say that Lucknow is blessed in every way. We have grave doubts that our past glorious tradition may not be blotted one day. It is the duty of the leaders of both the communities to come to a settlement and have all these things settled for ever.

Muslim Waqf Act.

The *Hind-i-Jadid* fails to understand why the enforcement of the Act has been postponed when its importance and the need of its enforcement have been urged in public meetings and remarks that it was impolitic to include such members in the Committee who were themselves trustees of big Waqf properties and who for their personal interests influenced the other members of the Council to put off the enforcement of the Act.

The United Provinces capital.

The *Leader* has been devoting considerable space to this subject. In a leading article the paper refers to a reply given in the Legislative Council with regard to the removal of Public Works Department Secretariat and asks why should not the Government in the interest of efficiency and economy—the two fearsome words put into the poor Ministerial mouth—take one wholesale decision and remove to Lucknow everything including the High Court, in one big jump. There will in such a big operation be courage, straightness and imagination. And the pro-Allahabad sympathies of the present Governor will receive their final vindication. Referring to Nawab Muhammad Yusuf's motion in the Council, the paper derives some consolation from the fact that the resolution was defeated by one vote only and says that the advocates of Allahabad have done very well on the present occasion. If the Council had been left a free agent, without undue official pressure, there would never have been a majority for the Government. In all fairness should not the Government now cry halt? At another place the paper says: The question of capital is a touchy matter, and the maintainers of 'law and order' would be well advised if they themselves did not start upsetting all law and order in such a barefaced manner. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* which champions the cause of

Lucknow says: We make a present of the debate in the Legislative Council to the disgruntled politicians in search of opportunities to discredit the Government of Sir William Marris. It showed that the landlords are asserting their native common sense and that where efficiency and economy are concerned, wobbling sentiment would not be allowed to play. The *Indian World* of Cawnpore humourously remarks: As the capital is moving westward, who knows a fortunate fancy of a future Governor may have a favourite turn to Cawnpore as well. Let us Cawnporites pray for such a favourable occasion.

Muslim deputation to H. E. the Governor.

The *Haqiqat* resents the *Leader's* comments on the Muslim deputation and remarks that by describing Muslim demands as unacceptable it has trampled down the rights of the Musalmans. We cannot accept self-government which may lay the foundation of majority rule by annihilating the minorities and for the sake of unity we cannot be expected to give up our communal interests. The *Hamdam* remarks that His Excellency has disentangled himself from the difficulty by expressing only lip sympathy with the Musalmans and that by indulging in logical arguments he has ignored the practical side of the question. The Musalmans do not ask for any concession and they are insisting upon their demands because their countrymen taking undue advantage of their majority are usurping their legitimate rights.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* publishes a contributed article in which the writer, Satya Bhakta, socialistic announces that a communistic party or organisation has now been openly established in India. Its main object is to remove the grievances of the poor *kisans*, labourers and the educated classes. The programme of this party is to organise the *kisans*, labourers and clerks in the cities. Propaganda work will be carried out through pamphlets and leaflets in order to preach the principles of socialism. When organisation has been completed attempts will be made to capture the Councils and all land, factories, mines, forests, railways and all other necessaries of life will be transferred to popular control. An appeal is made to *kisans* and others to get themselves enrolled as members of this party. The *Bharat Dharma* publishes an article showing that Bolshevism is not so bad, immoral and oppressive as it has been represented to be by the British press, which did so because of Russia deserting the Allies in the Great War. Now that the Bolshevik Government has shown that it is inferior to no civilised and powerful State in evolving order out of chaos and reducing its principles into practice even the British Government has thought fit to conclude a treaty with it. It is a mistake to disallow the entry of Bolshevik literature into India. At any rate the Soviet Government is not a bugbear or a dangerous thing. The early stage of social progress is always attended by the incidents which are recorded as the dark record of Bolshevism.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article illustrating the difference in the view-point of the orientals and occidentals the *Bharat Dharma* remarks: Modesty, humility and politeness, etc., have been considered as the virtues of women in India, whereas in England it is held to be a mark of culture to dance in a state of nudity or placing hand round the neck of a person other than her husband. In India it is a sin to touch a person other than one's husband, whereas in England it is indicative of lack of culture if the husband enters a private place where his wife is in the company of another person. It is a sight worth seeing how the Europeans overstep the bounds of decency so far as kissing is concerned. They kiss even their sisters and mothers. Indian girls tie themselves only to one husband for purposes of this world and the other, while European women can enter into ten or twelve marriages and break them all in a single day. This being their view-point there is nothing to be wondered at if the Europeans under the influence of their home impressions should cast aspersions on Indian women. The rulers will do well to understand the sentiments of the ruled to obviate difficulties in administration.

NAINI TAL:
The 13th September, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

MAILS BRANCH
21 OCT. 1924
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 37 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 20th September, 1924.

Hedjaz affairs.

THE capture of Taif by the Wahabis has directed attention towards the affairs of the Hedjaz. The *Leader* says that the plight of King Hussain seems to be desperate and he appears to be seeking British aid against Ibn Saud who is practically at the gate of Mecca. It cannot be denied that British interests in the Near East will be seriously affected if King Hussain goes, for with his disappearance the position of his two sons in Iraq and Trans-Jordania will also be shaken, and the British scheme of a friendly Arab hegemony will also collapse. As in Turkey so in Jazirat-ul-Arab the British may be compelled by force of circumstances to give up that which they were unwilling to yield to justice and reason. The recent raids in Iraq from the Turkish side, followed by the declaration of martial law, and the tottering position of King Hussain, indicate that the Near East situation is once more in the melting pot. The *Medina* characterises the British policy in Arabia as calculated to spread dissensions among the Arabs in the guise of the so-called 'Arab Federation', and insinuates that the Sharif's refusal to sign the Hedjaz agreement was the result of Bolshevik intrigues. If there is any truth in the rumour that an agreement has been effected between the King of Hedjaz and the Soviet Government, Great Britain should rest assured that the days of her avaricious policy in the Near East are numbered.

Egypt and Sudan.

The *Vartman* remarks that the people of Egypt, the Egyptian Cabinet and the Khedive are all unanimous on the question of the Sudan and are determined to rescue it from the grip of the Imperialistic Britishers. Zaghlul Pasha's departure from England without interviewing the British Premier means that the fire of rebellion is to be kindled again in Egypt. There can be no lasting peace or compromise until the Egyptians have secured complete independence.

Civil War in China.

The *Aj* insinuates that the European nations have a secret hand in the civil war in China and says that it is the duty of the Indians that they should neither allow any army to be sent from India to participate in this war nor any money to be spent over it from the Indian exchequer. India does not now want to spend a single shell or shed a single drop of blood for the Empire.

Struggle for liberty in Morocco.

The *Pioneer* says: It would be as well for everyone concerned if the whole situation could be straightened out, particularly with regard to the protection of foreign citizens within the borders of the Spanish zone in Africa. It seems that the realisation is being steadily driven home to Spain that her Moroccan Protectorate is a wholly unprofitable venture. That it would pay her to abandon Morocco can hardly be disputed. The *Nejat* is gratified at the victories of the Riffs and apprehends that the Christian Powers will now soon intervene under the pretext of restoring peace and thereby throwing obstacles in the way of the people who are struggling for liberty.

Execution of Niamatullah.

The *Hamdam* attributes Niamatullah's assassination to his participation in the Khost rebellion and refutes the allegation that he was stoned to death on the ground of religious differences. It takes to task the Ahmadia community for giving a religious colour to his execution. The *Medina* resents the appeal of the Ahmadia sect to the Christian Powers without ascertaining the real cause of Niamatullah's execution and remarks that if his death turns out to be the result of some political intrigues the Qadyanis should congratulate the Amir on his enlightenment that he saved a Muslim country from a great danger. Qadyanis are known all over the world as British spies and it admits of no doubt that they are pro-English and have a long-standing grudge against Afghanistan. A correspondent writing to the same paper advises the Amir to inflict deterrent punishment on Qadyanis and expel all those persons who by propagating their false faith are injuring the interests of Afghanistan.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Discussing the cause of the riots in Lucknow the *Indian Daily Telegraph* complains that the Muslim hooligan has killed the movement for *swaraj* in India by his excesses. Hindus have lost faith in the vaunted efficiency of the British Government that can only look on when Musalman rowdies at odd street corners threaten and assault them. The Lucknow riot has shown that there is only one solution to Hindu-Muslim problem: the Hindus must bundle in a corner their glorious religion of *Ahimsa* and organise their society from today until they are able to present before the Muslim hooligan his Hindu prototype who will give him blow for blow with equal mercilessness. The Muslim hooligan can be held in check only by fear not by reasoned persuasion that will not penetrate his thick skin. After all religion is not for the Muslims alone. India is the home of the Hindus. And it shall remain the home of the Hindus. The stronger party in India must now and for ever be the Hindus. Hindu *sangathan* alone will obtain recognition of this and once the Musalman rowdy knows that he has to live here under the sufference of Hindus, he will learn to behave. If Hindus will obtain *swaraj*, then let them join the *sangathan* movement. The enemy to *swaraj* is not the British, it is the ill-educated or half-educated Musalman. Gladstone prescribed for them a bag-and-baggage line in Europe. Hindus cannot prescribe for them a bag-and-baggage line in India but they must be educated all round. Referring to this article the *Pioneer* says that the deplorable riots at Lucknow appear to have driven all semblance of coherence and consistency out of the editorial columns of the local Swarajist journal. After quoting from the article the paper says: Every thoughtful Hindu and Muhammadan knows perfectly well, even if for political reason some of them refuse to admit it publicly, that it is only the British official and the British soldier who can hold the balance even between the two communities—though probably the Muhammadan would have less to fear from the withdrawal of the British from India than the Hindu. The *Hamdam* exhorts the Musalmans to sink all their differences and organise themselves to counteract the anti-Muslim activities of the Hindus and remarks that if the Musalmans are organised the Hindus will be forced to cooperate with them. The *Al Bashir* resents Mr. Gandhi's comments on the Gulbarga disturbances. The weakness of Mr. Gandhi will prove prejudicial to his mission but it will at least have one good advantage that every Musalman will now come to know that it is folly to acknowledge any one of a different nationality as his leader. The *Hind-i-Jadid* reproduces from the *Bande Matram* a letter of "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Kabul exhorting both the communities to be reconciled to each other. The Hindus have now a good opportunity of helping Afghanistan and therby earning the gratitude of their Muslim brethren. All dissensions will be removed if both the communities live peacefully and wage a crusade against tyranny. The *Gyan Shakti* asks the Government to legislate special enactments and take special measures for the protection of Hindus and their temples. It also wonders why the Ali brothers who are such advocates of Hindu-Muslim unity have not so far condemned Muhammadan atrocities. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks that if the Muhammadans will continue to perpetrate atrocities on the Hindus there can be no Hindu-Muslim unity. Hindu leaders instead of being eager to patch up a hollow unity will do well to organise their community strongly and this will of itself ensure lasting unity between Hindus and Muhammadans. The *Bharat Jiwan* commenting on the Gulbarga riot exhorts the Hindus to no longer put up with Muhammadan insults to their temples, women and children but to sacrifice even their lives in their defence. The *Swadhin* ascribes the ever recurring communal riots to the ignorance and religious fanaticism of the Muhammadans and the weakness and moral degradation of the Hindus and urges the leaders of both the communities to remove those defects and thereby prevent Hindus and Muhammadans from falling victims to the diplomacy of a third party and enable them to weld themselves into one free nation.

The Reforms.

The *Bharat Dharma* doubts whether a further instalment of Reforms will be granted to India before 1929. The appointment of the Reforms Inquiry Committee was only a clever device to gain time and quieten agitation. When such has been the policy of the pro-Indian Labour Government who knows what will be the fate of the Reforms in case any other party comes into power in the next Parliamentary election. The only remedy against the bureaucracy lies in civil disobedience. But this is impossible so long as the Swarajists and the No-changers are divided and the bureaucracy takes advantage of their disunion.

Considerable interest is being taken in the scheme for the re-union of all parties on the Congress platform. The *Pioneer* says: It remains to be seen whether this latter stipulation will be palatable to the Swarajists or the Liberals; though as Mr. Gandhi lays stress upon his "unconditional surrender" he may, perhaps, be disposed to modify it if there is sufficient opposition. In a leading article headed, "A Confession and a Moral," the *Leader* comments upon Mr. Gandhi's climb down and says: What new combination of political forces will arise out of the vast wreckage of public life left behind by the non-cooperation movement it is not very easy to say, but there is no doubt that each political party which wants to advance towards the common goal feels, more or less acutely, the handicap of discordant forces, divided counsels and conflicting methods. It complains that in spite of the terrible price that has already been paid the policy of shortsighted and suicidal extremism is being continued by the Swarajists, and Bengal and the Central Provinces have been deprived of even the measure of popular control and influence over public administration that had been conceded to them under the Reforms Act. In another article the paper says: The 'creed' and constitution of the Congress will have to be amended. A Conference can be brought about representative of all the parties in equal numbers and presided over by a non-party man of the position of His Highness the Aga Khan or Sir Syed Ali Imam. It may pave the way for a better understanding among parties leading it maybe to united action. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the British Government will do well to accept the scheme of Mr. C. R. Das for the grant of *swaraj* to India. If it fails to do so and does not agree to make India free who knows what means India may adopt for her liberation. The existing calm in India is but the stillness preceding a volcanic eruption. The British should catch time by the forelock otherwise they will wring their hands as they did in the case of America, Canada and Africa. The *Medina* insinuates that the congregation of the Hindus of all shades of opinion on the Congress platform is a clear indication of their intention to oust the Musalmans from it. The *Hamdam* describes the appeal made by Mr. Gandhi to all the political parties for joining the Congress as a death-knell to the non-cooperation programme and appreciates the sacrifice which he has made in giving up all his principles with a view to secure political unity among people of different shades of opinion. It remarks that the problem of Indian emancipation can only be solved if happy relations are restored between the two communities and the dissensions prevailing inside the Congress are removed. The *Hindustani* is sceptical about the success of Mrs. Besant in making the next session of the Congress a united congregation of all the political parties for the purpose of drafting a united demand for self-government and remarks that any attempt to achieve *swaraj* is doomed to failure unless the Hindus and Musalmans are reconciled. The *Aj* expresses disapproval of Mrs. Annie Besant's National Convention and its method and remarks that as India is not a British Dominion, the methods of British Dominions cannot avail her. We should give up reliance on the British Parliament and the idea of framing a constitution to be presented there. On the other hand, we should cultivate and depend on self-help. We hold the present time to be inopportune for such a convention and hope that the Congress will not join it. The same paper points out that there is a great need at present to reconsider the situation in the country and to frame a new programme. The country wants a new programme for it neither likes the somersaults of the Swarajists nor the inactivity of the No-changers. It would be better if this programme were framed before the Belgaum Congress. The *Vartman* remarks that it has now become necessary to suspend the boycotts and organise the various political parties into a united body. The British bureaucracy is bound to yield to a united organisation and a common programme. The *Bharat Jiwan* welcomes the efforts to bring all Indian political parties on one platform in the next Congress session at Belgaum, although it recognises that in doing so the country will have to bid farewell to non-cooperation and *satyagraha* which though difficult are the only effective means of the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Aj* strongly disapproves of the decision confining the membership of the Congress to those who can spin two thousand yards of yarn every month and describes it as closing the door of unity. It says that the way to unity is that the Congress may be left open to all as heretofore, and hopes that unity will be restored in the ranks of the Congress till the Belgaum Congress.

Congress politics.

The *Anand* says that though it is most likely that the new movement in Bengal regarding the boycott of British goods may gain in strength for some considerable time, it cannot

Boycott of British goods.

succeed ultimately without arrangements being made for cheap production in the country itself. The *Aj* heartily supports the resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Bengal Hindu Sabha that on all religious occasions Hindus should use *swadeshi* cloth as the use of foreign cloth is against the injunctions of the Hindu religion and urges that Hindu Sabhas in other provinces should emulate the example of the Bengal Hindu Sabha.

Lee Report.

The *Leader* congratulates the Assembly on its rejection of the Lee recommendations. The chief point is that the recommendations of the Lee Commission are unacceptable to the country and this view the Assembly has faithfully represented. The paper is convinced that efficiency of administration does not require a continuation of British recruitment. The verdict of the Assembly is reasonable and is in consonance with the opinion of the country generally. If the authorities should act as they are credited with the intention of doing, they will only be giving one more proof of the unsatisfactoriness of the present constitution and of the imperative necessity of such a reform of it as will render such exercise of authority by the executive contrary to the will of the legislature an impossibility in future. The *Pioneer* says: The communal riots at Kohat and Lucknow are a significant commentary on the contemptuous rejection by the Indian Legislative Assembly of the Lee Commission proposals for remedying the grievances of the British official. Has it never occurred to our critics that the mere fact that such disturbances are possible furnishes a convincing argument against the capacity of Indians to do without the British official? The *Hamdam* applauds the speech of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in the Assembly and remarks that as the Lee Commission was forced upon the country in defiance of public opinion its recommendations deserved to be rejected. Let us see how the Government, after its rejection, can manage to justify an expenditure of 15 millions annually for the enjoyment and gratification of the bureaucracy in a country where important schemes for educational progress have been put off for want of money and where the poor are oppressed by heavy taxes. The Indian politicians instead of wasting their energy on details should concentrate on changing the present system of government. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the success which Pandit Moti Lal Nehru has achieved in rejecting the recommendations of the Lee Commission will lose its effect after the Lucknow disturbances and his supporters will now ponder over the question whether they should keep the I. C. S for some time more in the country. The shock felt by the I. C. S at the result of the debate in the Assembly will be counteracted and disappointment will now give place to hope. The *Haqiqat* views with satisfaction the result of voting in the Assembly on the Lee Commission debate and asks whether the Viceroy will not exercise his special powers on this occasion. The *Vartman* opines that the Lee Commission Report is nothing but a despicable conspiracy against the interests of the country and that it is impossible that the Legislative Assembly should support a resolution based on such deceit and conspiracy.

Gulbarga disturbances.

The *Al Bashir* pays a tribute to His Exalted Highness the Nizam for giving proof of his toleration by ordering that all the temples and mosques should be repaired at the expense of the State and remarks that no parallel to this can be found in British India where the accused persons are prosecuted and both the communities are taxed to pay the expenses of the punitive police. It is also a matter for gratification that the Commission appointed by the Nizam to enquire into the disturbances will also take into account the conduct of the police and the local authcrities. In British India, on the contrary, the shortcomings of the police and authorities are suppressed so that their prestige may not be lowered. This fact alone throws light on the system of administration and justice of both the Governments. The *Kartavya* says that the anti-Hindu feeling of the Nizam must have greatly influenced the fanatical Muhammadans in perpetrating atrocities on the Hindus at Gulbarga. In view of the preponderance of the Muhammadan members in the Commission appointed by the Nizam to enquire into the riots it doubts whether its decision will be satisfactory and whether the culprits will be condignly punished. It remarks that if Mahatma Gandhi were to devote himself to Hindu *sangathan* he would do much to solve the question of Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Kohat tragedy.

The *Pioneer* says: If British officials were replaced in any considerable numbers by Indians, there would be an appalling increase in the number and extent of these communal

riots throughout the country. There can be no two opinions as to the cumulative effect of evidence of this kind upon British public opinion, no matter how much in this country political leaders may affect to ignore it or to brush it aside. In a leading article, headed "The Kohat Tragedy," the *Leader* says: Neither the civil nor the military authorities were able to afford protection and the fact that the Hindus insisted on leaving the town and that practically all of them have left for the Punjab shows that they have no confidence in the local authorities. Whatever the real cause or causes of the trouble, the failure of the local administration to prevent the wholesale looting of Hindu houses and shops and the burning of their houses certainly requires a sifting inquiry. Whether the provocation was offered by the Hindus or the Muhammadans, the authorities cannot be exonerated from their share of responsibilty. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: No Hindu in India can read the harrowing tale from Kohat without horror and a sense of personal degradation that his great religion has reduced him into effiminacy and nervelessness. In number the Hindus count two hundred and thirty millions in India: and yet in daily life they live at the mercy of the seventy millions of Muslims. This must cease. If Hindus fail to protect their property and their womenfolk, then they must perish as a nation and Hinduism must disappear as a religion.

Lucknow disturbances.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* blames the Musalmans for the disturbances in Lucknow. In directing attention to the "sorry Hindu plight," the paper says: After all that is said and done, with the triumphant shout from the rulers about the meaning and significance of communal riots, the peaceful patrolling of the military in the streets of Lucknow condescending to remove the wounded, the death-dealing rowdies stealing through the by-lanes after their ruffian attack, the Hindus have learnt a severe lesson, namely, that they have only themselves to depend upon. The clash between the great religion of love of the Hindus and the martial teaching of the Muslim, the Hindus are helplessly living at the tender mercy of the butcher with his knife and the vagabond with his *lathi*. Peace will dawn tomorrow, thanks to the British soldier. The message of the Amethi and Lucknow riots to every Hindu is ringing above the *lathi* blow: it is to turn to *sangathan* as the only and the last hope. The *Leader* is deeply grieved and says: It is a thousand pities that not all the efforts at conciliation succeeded in easing the feeling and that the culmination should have been so unfortunate. Of course the opponents of Indian political advance will make out of the occurrence all the capital they can. The *Haqiqat* lays the entire responsibility for the Lucknow disturbances at the door of the Hindus and deplores the excesses committed by the latter. It advises the authorities to bring the mischiefmongers speedily to justice to avert the danger of any further disturbance. Writing in a similar strain the *Hamdam* asserts that it were the Hindus who compelled the Musalmans to retaliate. The taking out of the *Ram Dol* procession was simply an innovation to provoke the Musalmans and in spite of the prohibitive orders of the Magistrate the Hindus held a meeting at the Chhedi Lal *dharamshala* and roused the feelings of their community by delivering provocative speeches against the Musalmans.

Proscription of Hindi readers.

The *Aj* refers to the reply of the President of the Provincial Council to Mr. Sangam Lal's letter in which he had argued that his resolution regarding the proscription of Mr. Ram Das Gour's readers was admissible and remarks: The President's reply is not only full of unsound arguments but also impertinent words. In our opinion the President is wholly ignorant of his duty and of the rights of the members of the Council. He was appointed to train the members in Parliamentary methods, but his behaviour shows how much he himself knows those methods. Indeed, the good of the province lies in the suspension of this Council like those of Bengal and the Central Provinces.

Muslim Waqf Act.

The *Al Bureed* says that the mere enforcement of the Muslim Waqf Act cannot be effective in eradicating the evil and advises the Musalmans to supplement the working of the Act with some more efficacious methods for the protection of the endowments. It apprehends that the Muslim organisation which the Ali brothers are endeavouring to establish will bring most of the Waqfs under its control and the Waqf money will not be spent according to the wishes of the endowers.

The United Provinces capital.

The *Leader* continues to agitate over the capital controversy. In a leading article, headed "Breach of Faith", it quotes the comments of the *Aj* of Benares and says: The Government who are trying to get around plighted words in a subterranean way must

be made to feel the weight of outraged public opinion and prevented, as far as possible, from committing one more breach of faith. If the people of these provinces want that their Government should be progressive, they ought strongly to oppose the move of the Government to entrench itself in the midst of indigenous conservatism with a view to exploit it for its own reactionary purposes. The Government should be prevented from developing more unhealthy tendencies by living in a less independent atmosphere. The utmost effort should be put forward to check the provoking, wanton and unrighteous process of wrecking Allahabad. It is time that the whole province woke up to the far-reaching implications of the issues involved. Let the bureaucracy which wants to achieve its purpose by counting on the existence of inter-provincial jealousies feel the weight of a united public opinion. The *Echo* says: The fetish of "expediency" has been worn threadbare and can no longer delude the people. As for "economy" while the present office buildings at Allahabad will remain vacant new buildings will have to be constructed for housing the offices at Lucknow at a huge waste of public money. So the less one speak of economy the better. Of course, it must be admitted that Lucknow has its amenities of life, and officers need recreation after their day's work, but then instead of the mountain going to Mahomet, Mahomet can and should come to the mountain. Besides there is the sentiment of the people of the major provinces. The *Indian World* remarks: While fully sympathising with weeping Allahabad at her enforced widowhood, it may be said that it is now too late to cry over spilt milk as the process of capitalising Lucknow has already advanced too far, and it is in the fitness of things, just for the sake of further retrenchment, that the rest of the Secretariat offices should now be allowed to be removed to Lucknow. The *Hamdam* says that it is futile to oppose the removal of capital from Allahabad to Lucknow when such change is likely to result in increased efficiency in administration and economy. The question of capital is now a settled one and the Allahabad people will do well to accept it quietly. The *Azad*, on the other hand, regards the change of capital as unjustifiable and remarks that the question should be settled once for all to avoid any further controversy. It suggests that in case the seat of Government cannot remain at Allahabad the province of Agra should be separated from Oudh with its capital at Allahabad. Commenting on the Government notification regarding the transfer of the Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Branch, from Allahabad to Lucknow the *Aj* writes: The notification has caused a great stir among the citizens of Allahabad, who are perfectly justified in raising a voice of vehement protest against the decision of the Government. The transfer of the Public Works Department Secretariat is only a part of the decision regarding the removal of the whole capital from Allahabad to Lucknow. The economic situation of the United Provinces is deplorable and it is certainly not in a position to bear the expenditure entailed by transfer of capital. No Governor or Government should have the right to change the capital at his own sweet will and in utter disregard of the economic situation of the country. Such a despotism is fatal to the people It is the duty of not only the citizens of Allahabad but of the whole province to protest against this decision of the Government and carry on a vigorous and effective agitation against it.

Muslim deputation to H. E. the Governor.

Commenting upon the Muslim deputation to His Excellency the *Medina* accuses the Government of criminal negligence in the matter of Muslim education and remarks that it was the duty of a just Government to pay due regard to the maintenance of the past grandeur and educational traditions of the Musalmans. If such is the preliminary stage of democracy and the Government persists in maintaining impartiality, the time is not far when the Musalmans will be ousted from all the departments and offices: and if such is the even-handed justice of the Government, India will become a hot bed of civil strifes. The *Al Bashir* advises the Musalmans of all the provinces to submit similar memorials to their Governments and remarks that the Government is itself responsible for the educational backwardness of the Musalmans as it has failed to fulfil the promises made to them from time to time. The Musalmans should fully understand that if they want to live in the world and give proof of their existence they will have to adopt the same means which are in vogue in the world for making one's existence acknowledged, as nothing can now be achieved by flattery.

NAINI TAL: ZAFAR OMAR,

The 20th September, 1924. *Publicity Officer, United Provinces.*

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 38 of 1924.**

INDIA OFFICE 28 OCT. 1924

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 27th September, 1924.

Hedjaz affairs.

THE Muslim press continues to be perturbed over the Wahabi's attack on Taif. The *Hamdam* discredits the reports of Ibn Saud's atrocities and hopes that in case Great Britain supports Sharif Husain, the Arab tribes who regard Sharif Husain as an usurper will go against him when they find that he has sought the help of a Christian Power. Ibn Saud's success is likely to change the whole aspect of the Khilafat question. In another article the same paper remarks that it will not be easy for the British Government to deal with Ibn Saud as the Wahabis will not become puppets in the hands of the British diplomats. The *Nejat* avers that the occupation of Taif by the Wahabis means the end of the Sharif's government and that considering his past misdeeds it is quite possible that he will soon be leaving Arabian soil on a British ship like the deposed Sultan Wahid-ud-din. The *Al Khalil* condemns Sharif Husain for his manifold deeds of treachery to Islam and insinuates that with the object of making Sharif Husain sign the agreement the English have encouraged the Sultan of Najd to attack him.

Execution of Niamat-ullah.

The *Leader* says that the inhuman and extremely revolting method of putting to death Niamat-ullah Khan must shock civilised opinion thoughout the world. A country in which there is no freedom of conscience and in which non-conformity in religious matters is visited with such condign punishment cannot claim to be civilised. The *Tabligh* resents the hue and cry raised by the Ahmadiya sect over the execution of Niamat-ullah without ascertaining the true facts and remarks that it was due to his religious bigotry alone that the Afghan Government was forced to condemn him.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Recent disturbances and Mr. Gandhi's fast have focussed attention on the communal relations. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's latest article in which he suggests that the original instigation of communal differences comes from Government sources, the *Pioneer* says that perhaps we should not be surprised at this preposterous insinuation from one who invented the phrase " the Satanic Government, " but the frame of mind indicated is not productive of faith in the ability of the forthcoming conference, in which Mr. Gandhi is taking prominent part, to settle communal differences. Mr. Gandhi knows full well that the constant recurrence of Hindu-Muslim quarrels is one of the difficulties in the way of smooth administration, and that the Government should attempt to make trouble for themselves by instigating such disturbances is a patent absurdity. In a leading article, headed " The lessons of the riots " the same paper says that the lessons of the riots are so obvious, so unmistakable, that no intelligent person who is prepared to face the issue squarely without any attempt at dishonest subterfuge can fail to recognise them. So long as leading politicians refuse to be candid and to admit that these religious riots are a serious obstacle to *swaraj* so long as they deliberately shut their eyes to India's vital need of the British official and British soldier who alone can inspire confidence when Hindus and Muhammadans are at one another's throat we have a duty to perform, and we shall not shrink from performing it. The *Leader* remarks: Mr. Gandhi's terrible vow may even affect for a time the mass mind, but will it provide a lasting remedy or bring about a change of heart and broadening of outlook? Is it not time for the fanatics on either side seriously to consider whether the unholy and suicidal game of stirring up strife has not been carried too far and whether they should not listen to the silent prayer of a great and agonised soul which from its very depths cries out for peace and concord and love and charity? At another place the paper says that communal violence not only strikes at the root of religion, but it also menaces political liberty, which both Hindus and Musalmans desire. The *Weekly Observer* says that the recent riots at Lucknow once more confront us with an exhibition of the time-old antipathy of the two communities. It is clear that no political progress in this country can have a permanent value until this question of Hindu-Muslim differences is properly settled. The *Mahashakti* says: The present problem is a product of the

"peculiar conditions" of modern India, and is incapable of solution as long as the two communities concerned are not equally keen upon it. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that while the Kohat and Lucknow riots betray the cowardice and lack of organisation among the Hindus, they also indicate weakness on the part of Government. Will the Anglo-Indian papers, which never tire of impressing the need of the presence of the Englishmen in India, explain why these riots take place under their very nose? Does this mean good government? The *Aj* remarks that it is through national or Indian organisation and not separate communal organisations that disturbances like those at Kohat and Lucknow can be prevented. We must organise civil guards that may include men of all religions and communities pledged to punish the wrong-doer to whatever community he may belong. It is absolutely necessary to remove the atmosphere that makes such horrible riots possible. The *Medina* accuses the Hindus of launching an organised attack against the Musalmans who everywhere displayed a tolerant spirit till goaded to the extreme. It regrets that the Musalmans are still sleeping while the *sangathan* heroes are laying their hands upon them. Our disgrace has now reached its climax and an honourable death is certainly much more preferable to this sort of existence. The *Paigam* dwells upon the necessity of Muslim organisation and remarks that the only question which confronts us now is how to face the present situation and protect the Musalmans from the organised attacks of the Hindus. The *Aftab* deplores the present tension between the two communities and suggests that in every city and town boards consisting of sober-minded people should be established for preventing communal disturbances and that the Government should recognise such boards and render them moral support. The *Prem* strongly resents the ever-increasing atrocities of Muhammadan hooligans against Hindu women and temples and says that Hindus cannot keep quiet for long under such provocation. It urges that Hindus should learn to protect their women and temples, even at the sacrifice of their lives. It wonders why the Muslim leaders do not realise their responsibility in the matter of putting down these hooligans. The *Sudharak* rebukes the Hindus for cowardice in putting up with insults to their women at the hands of hooligans and says that they will soon become extinct, if they show no better signs of life. If they want to live as an honourable people they should teach a salutary lesson to those who dare to insult their womenfolk. The *Swadhin* advises the Hindus in reference to recent Hindu-Muslim riots not to have recourse to reprisals but to respect the religion of Musalmans and their mosques as their own places of worship. They should, however, cultivate strength and courage to meet hooliganism in self-defence as that is the only means of putting an end to communal disturbances.

Akali agitation.

A correspondent writing to the *Zulqarnain* deplores the mischievous activities of the Akalis under cover of religion and remarks that they adopted a wrong course in connection with the Nabha affair and the Birdwood Committee and that by deciding to launch another struggle at Guru-ka-Bagh and Nankana Sahib they are creating fresh difficulties. The *Kartavya* points out that since Sir Malcolm Hailey's advent in the Punjab the Akalis have begun to be repressed all the more and that all efforts towards a *rapproachment* have been abandoned. Though the Punjab Government has several times sustained discomfiture at the hands of the Akalis yet it is not content to leave them alone. We are sure that the Akalis will again emerge successful in the new round of repression by means of non-violent *satyagraha*.

Congress politics.

Commenting on the political unity in the Congress the *Pioneer* says: Mrs. Besant is not likely to have it all her own way in her attempt to stampede the Liberals into a return, on almost any terms, to the Congress fold. The Congress at the present time is dominated by Mr. Das and the Swarajists; and some Liberals, at least, are clear-sighted enough to realise that the Swarajists are the only party likely to gain anything from the presence on the Congress platform of others who will have to walk delicately and keep their own opinions and principles in the background. The *Abhyudaya* says that there is little difference left now among the programmes of the Swaraj party and the Liberal party and the Nationalist party and if all of them were to abandon party factions and join the forthcoming session of the Congress the problem of the country would be solved to a great extent. It is to be hoped that Mahatma Gandhi's call for a united Congress will not fall on deaf ears. The *Aj* remarks that Mrs. Besant is welcome to the Congress if she wants to work with others as a coadjutor and not as a leader. She must come on the terms of the

Congress, which cannot accept her terms. India cannot make a non-Indian her leader in her struggle for political freedom and we hope that Indians will be on their guard against their political destinies being placed in the hands of Mrs. Besant. The *Bharat Jiwan* opines that Mahatma Gandhi's proposal to limit the membership of the Congress to spinners of a certain length of yarn will reduce the number of its members and will affect its representative character and suggests that the proposal should be so amended as to require a certain length of yarn to be sent to the members irrespective of whether it has been spun by them or by others. The *Kartavya* remarks that such a proposal if given effect to will make the Congress lose its national character and influence in the country. The doors of the Congress should remain open for every patriotic Indian. Mahatma Gandhi has displayed only lack of practical politics and access of indiscreet sentimentalism in making such a proposal. The *Prem* welcomes the efforts at bringing all India political parties under one flag and says that this consummation can easily be reached when the aim of each and every party is the liberation of the country. When all the political parties combine to attack the bureaucracy the latter is bound to kneel down and accede to their demands. The *Hind-i-Jadid* expresses gratification at the probable union of the different political parties and remarks that it will be a misfortune if the Moderates and the Swarajists stand in the way of such union. They will be well advised to join the Congress and push forward its constructive programme under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Commenting upon the proposed union of the different political parties the *Rohilkhand Gazette* opines that Mahatma Gandhi has now been probably convinced of the futility of his five-fold boycotts and hopes that the Indians will now no longer transgress the limit of constitutional struggle. The *District Gazette*, Aligarh, describes Mr. Gandhi's efforts as unconditional surrender to the Swarajists. The *Al Bureed* regards his appeal for union as a confession of a defeat on the part of Mr. Gandhi and remarks that the Musalmans on account of the *fatwa* will now find themselves confronted with a grave situation the entire responsibility for which lies on the *Jammait-ul-Ulema* for issuing a *fatwa* merely to support the Congress.

Mr. Gandhi's fast.

The *Leader* says that the hopes of the whole country will be centred on the Hindu-Muslim conference at Delhi. It is the anxiety of all and every that that invaluable life should be spared to the country and the Hindus and Muhammadans and the whole of India should be saved the frequent recurrence of strife. The conference will do well to urge upon all a truce that should be honourably observed by both parties. At the conference every question relevant to the Hindu-Muslim problem, but none else, should be calmly considered with a view to impartial conclusions and if the conference succeeds in achieving this much it will have done real good and Mr. Gandhi will then be justified in breaking his suicidal though holy fast. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the news of Mr. Gandhi's penance is thrilling and will be read with considerable sorrow by all in whom the sparks of humanity have not been extinguished by callous upbringing. The *Advocate* says: Mr. Gandhi's life is too valuable to the country, and God forbid if anything happens otherwise both the communities will have to share the blame. It hopes that the appeal which Mahatma Gandhi has made to the leaders of both the communities to end this internecine quarrel will touch the hearts and they will leave no stone unturned in creating cordial relations between the two communities and putting an end to the communal quarrel. Expressing its regret at the fast of Mr. Gandhi the *Hamdam* appeals to the Hindus and the Musalmans to sink their differences at once.

Swaraj party.

Referring to Lord Olivier's allegations of bribery and corruption against the Swarajist party, the *Pioneer* says: We do not know what was the source of the Secretary of State's information, though it is unlikely that he would make a statement of this kind without adequate ground. The paper justifies the statement by quoting from the first issue of Mr. C. R. Das' journal in which he declared "No method is too mean, if it advances the nation's plans to reach its goal, no method is too sacred, if it retards the rush or checks the sweep of its onward march," and says: A man who is capable of such a sweeping and unqualified acceptance of the doctrine that the end justifies the means need feel no surprise if bribery and corruption are included among those methods which are not too mean for the "patriot" politician to employ in order to attain his goal. The *Aj* remarks that the allegations of bribery and corruption made by Lord Olivier against the Swaraj party are reprehensible and baseless. We regard it as not only meanness, but also wickedness. The *Mashriq* in a communicated article condemns the Swarajists for

trying to wreck the Councils and remarks that they are directly responsible for the suspension of the Reforms in the Central Provinces and Bengal. It takes to task the Liberals and the Musalman members of the Council for proving themselves traitors to the country by siding with the Swarajists who by their activities have antagonised British public opinion. Writing in a similar strain the *Aftab* says that it is futile to attempt to bring the administrative machinery of the Government to standstill by wrecking the Councils. It criticises the lawyer-politicians as seekers after cheap popularity and fame while doing no real service to the Government and remarks that the *swaraj* granted to the Indians before they are fit to receive it will be Vakil *raj* only.

Indian independence.

The *Haldhar* remarks that India does not want parliamentary government on Dominion status or responsible government under the British Empire. It cannot be satisfied with anything short of complete independence. Without complete independence the sucking of Indian blood cannot be prevented. The Belgaum Congress will be well advised to fix the goal of the Congress as the attainment of complete independence by every proper means.

Lee Report.

The *Weekly Observer* says: If the Secretary of State adopts the Lee proposals, as he will no doubt do, for no Government can afford to antagonise the *corps d'elite* which makes government possible, there will no doubt be another outcry that the Reforms are a sham and a fraud. Indeed, owing to the iconoclastic activities of the Swarajists, the Reforms are just coming to fulfil that description, and we much fear that good government will soon have to take the place of responsible government. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that if the recommendations of the Lee Commission are given effect to despite their rejection by the Legislative Assembly, it will only mean that the Reforms are altogether hollow and are a mere make-believe to deceive the world. This will surely cause disillusionment in some quarters and help in restoring unity in the Congress. The *Swadhin* expresses gratification at the rejection of the Lee Commission report in the Legislative Assembly and congratulates that body on the performance of its duty. It has no doubt that the Government will now ignore the Assembly's decision as was already evident from its attitude but it will do so only by offending public opinion. The *Hamdam* is gratified at the rejection of the Lee Commission report and remarks that the principle on which the Commission was appointed was intended to tighten the hold of slavery on India and naturally, under such circumstances, no self-respecting Indian could accept it. The *Azad* says that the Indian members by rejecting the report have truly voiced the sentiments of the country. The British press is offering quite a wrong advice to the Government which will be well advised not to spurn aside the united demand of the Indian politicians.

Kohat tragedy.

Referring to the disturbances at Kohat the *Leader* blames the local authorities and says: It is evident that if the local authorities had taken prompt and adequate action the huge tragedy would not have been enacted. The circumstances lead to a strong presumption that the local authorities miserably failed to discharge their duty of protecting life and property. It urges an immediate, thorough and searching inquiry and says: Will the Government of India order the inquiry that is demanded? Or will they shirk the duty that is clearly theirs? In another article the paper says: Terrible incidents like those of Kohat are a disgrace to any administration and yet they are cited as if furnishing irrefutable arguments in support of the case of the champions of alien-vested interests. The *Pioneer* says: The desirability of arriving at an early conclusion on the causes which led to such a serious breach of the peace will assist the restoration of confidence and enable the authorities to take measures for the prevention of similar outbreaks in future. The *Abhyudaya* points out that the entire responsibility for the Kohat tragedy lies on the Musalmans, their leaders and the Government. During its rule for one hundred and fifty years Government has not been able to spread even so much education among the people as would keep them from fighting among themselves. We want to know what steps the Muslim leaders are taking to stop the highhandedness and fanaticism of the Muslim masses? In another article the paper places the responsibility of various communal disturbances on the Government and wonders whether it is not surprising that these occurrences should occur under the very nose of a Government which defeated Germany and invokes law and order at

every step. Is it to be taken that there is a decline in the power of the Government to maintain law and order and that its army has lost its former efficiency? The *Aj* says: The Kohat incident reminds us of the *Bakr Id* disturbance at Calcutta in 1911 when plundering continued for nine days in Bara Bazar. Sir Edward Baker, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was held responsible for it and was compelled to resign by Lord Hardinge. The Kohat incident is similar to that incident. It has to be seen what steps Lord Reading takes in this connection. The public wants to know how it was possible for the *badmashes* to burn and loot the bazar in the presence of the police and an armed brigade. The *Medina* lays the entire responsibility of the Kohat disturbances at the door of the Hindus who excited the Musalmans by distributing inflammatory pamphlets at a place where the Musalmans have an overwhelming majority. It apprehends that the Hindus on account of their wealth will escape punishment and the innocent Musalmans will be prosecuted. Writing in a similar strain the *Hamdam* says that the Hindus excited and irritated the Musalmans without any cause. The local authorities were grossly negligent in the matter of taking measures to protect the Musalmans and knowing the aggressive attitude of the Hindus they did not take necessary precautions to save the unarmed Musalmans from the firearms of the Hindus. It is the duty of the Government to force the Hindus to admit that India is not for the Hindus only. The Musalmans and other communities also regard it as their home and have a right to live in it.

Lucknow disturbances.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* urges an inquiry into the riots and says: If tomorrow a public inquiry should be made, evidence against the police in the affected area would freely come from Hindus. The demand for a public inquiry is daily growing insistent: if the Government does not care to get the truth, at least the public men might arrange a non-official inquiry. In another article it says: Effacement of untouchability, which Gandhi had placed almost as high as Hindu-Muslim union, has already come into being. This is certainly worth the price which Hindus have paid at least in Lucknow, in broken skulls and bleeding noses. If the Hindus are wise, they will not only welcome the depressed classes but treat them as equals and not as inferiors. At another place the paper says: We all know that it is not by the punctilious performance of the *namaz* or the scrupulous blowing of the *conch* and ringing of bells that we can make our best appeal to God: it is only by loving our fellowmen. And Gandhi's fast has helped to rivet attention to God and the nobler nature of man which ugly passions had disturbed. We do not forget that the Hindus of the city still do not feel that they are quite safe; they have a grievance against the magisterial order on the *arti;* they have not certainly had the protection from the police to which, as citizens, they are entitled. The paper asks whether the British, the self-styled experts in enforcing law and authority, could not specialise in the art of prevention of riots instead of curing them after the epidemic is actually upon society. Referring to the comments of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* on the Lucknow riots the *Pioneer* says: The admission of the Lucknow Swarajist journal, which not long ago was proclaiming from the housetops that there were plenty of Indians capable of manning the Services, and that India could do without the British altogether, are significant. In a communal riot, it seems, the much-maligned Englishman has his uses; and panic terror extorts an admission of the truth which is ignored and even flatly denied in normal times. The *Advocate* says: The cold blooded murder has terrorised the Hindu population. The *Weekly Mazdoor* characterises the Lucknow riots as a sad commentary on the conception of Indian nationalism, and says: We cannot dispense with the idea that the authorities are to a large extent responsible for what has happened, but we are here not to blame them. A *Swarajya* government under the circumstances would have fared otherwise. In *Swaraja*, built out of the mutuality of the communities inhabiting the country, such estrangements would be impossible or only meagre and of subsidiary occurrence. The *Hamdam* says that the authorities are to a large extent responsible for the disturbances at Lucknow. The District Magistrate should not have cancelled the Sub-Divisional Officer's orders which were issued as a precautionary measure to maintain peace in Amethi nor should he have allowed the Hindus to take out the *Ramdol* procession which was simply an innovation. These successes of the Hindus emboldened them and they all of a sudden attacked unarmed Musalmans in Aminabad. The position of the Musalmans is clear from the beginning to the end and blunders of the authorities and the excesses of the Hindus are chiefly

responsible for these disturbances. In another article the same paper regrets that educated Hindus also sided with the hooligans. We admit that the Hindus have a majority but a community cannot become strong by virtue of its numbers only. A handful of Englishmen are ruling over India and they will remain to be the strongest of the three as long as the Hindus persist in adopting an aggressive attitude towards the Musalmans and the latter are forced to retaliate in self-defence. The *Oudh Akhbar* blames the local authorities and remarks that if the provisions of section 144 had been applied from the very commencement of the disturbance, the matter would not have taken such a serious turn and so many lives might not have been lost. Deploring the Lucknow disturbances the *Medina* says that the Hindus want to harass the Musalmans and to gain an ascendancy over them.

The United Provinces capital.

Referring to the Government notification regarding the transfer of the Public Works Department Secretariat to Lucknow the *Leader* says that it shows that the Government are not willing to reconsider, or even to postpone the execution of, their decision notwithstanding the adverse vote of a majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Council and the serious and determined and persistent protest that Allahabad has been making against the unworthy and provoking decision. The persistence of the local Government with their decision is but a proof of the obstinacy generally found in conjunction with weakness and of their sovereign disregard of the claims of fairness. Allahabad keenly feels and strongly resents the treatment that it has been systematically receiving. It is idle to pretend that it has much hope left of its grievance being redressed by the authors of the repeated acts of breach of promise and of deliberate injustice—the local Government. The *Bharat Bandhu* remarks that either the Government should allow Allahabad to remain the capital of the province or it should make a clear pronouncement in case it is minded otherwise. The *Abhyudaya* observes that the United Provinces Government is doing a great injustice to Allahabad, the capital of the United Provinces, in removing the Public Works Department Secretariat to Lucknow in the name of economy to serve its own convenience. The people of the United Provinces and particularly of the province of Agra should fully understand this crooked policy of the authorities and should not allow peace to Government until it is willing to do full justice to Allahabad.

NAINI TAL:
The 27th September, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 39 of 1924.**

MAILS BRANCH
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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 4th October, 1924.

Hedjaz affairs.

THE Muslim press in general welcomes the defeat of Sharif Husain at the hands of the Wahabis. The *Rahnuma* condemns Sharif Husain as an enemy of Islam and hopes that, in spite of Ibn Saud being a Wahabi, the sympathy of the Muslim world will go with him. Writing in a similar strain the *Mansur* is gratified at the success of the Wahabis and opines that efforts will now be made to take advantage of the religious differences and prejudices prevalent in India to excite the Musalmans against the Wahabis and to win their goodwill for the Sharif. The *Haqiqat* avers that Sharif Husain, who is despised by his own people, has little chance of success against Ibn Saud, and that he will now reap the dire consequences of his misdeeds. The *Medina* says that if Great Britain or any other Christian Power intervenes in this struggle the Musalmans should clearly point out that such interference will be tantamount to an ultimatum to the Muslim world, and in that case it will become incumbent upon the Musalmans to adopt defensive measures. Referring to the Premier's reply to questions relating to the fighting in the Hedjaz, the *Pioneer* says: Whether the Sharif or Ibn Saud and his Wahabis are in possession of the holiest of the Holy Places of Islam can be a matter of no particular concern to the British Government and the British people. It is a purely Islamic question in which non-Muslims can have no interest. At the present moment there seems a disposition on the part of political Muslims in India to support the cause of Ibn Saud. This may be partly due to the desire to be on what is obviously the winning side; but it is also due, to a great extent at least, to the unpopularity of King Husain with Indian Muslims on account of his revolt from Turkey during the war. But the Wahabis are Muhammadans whose religious outlook is tinged by a rigid puritanism, and who have a traditional reputation for iconoclasm. The continued support of Indian Muhammadans will probably depend on whether they have outgrown their traditional proclivities in this direction.

The Mosul question.

The *Leader* says: The League is confronted with one of the most thorny problems, but its solution on the principle of self-determination, as suggested by the Turks, appears to be the most feasible. But the British cannot give up Mosul without deciding to evacuate Iraq and there lies the hitch. At another place the paper says: Surely when the question of Mosul has been referred to the League of Nations for decision it is showing scant respect to that august body or confidence in its impartiality to engage in hostilities on the frontiers of Mosul. Is there going to be an appeal to arms to settle the Mosul dispute in spite of the fact that the intervention of the League of Nations has been sought? The Turks have claimed a plebiscite, which is the best way of consulting the wishes of a people, but the British are opposed to it on the ground that the population of the frontier is mainly uneducated and that the tribesmen are hardly competent to deal with such a complicated issue as the question of boundary settlement. This objection is far from convincing and is probably due to the knowledge that if a plebiscite is taken the decision will go against the British. The chances of an amicable settlement do not appear to be rosy and we will not be surprised if hostile activities increase on both sides. The *Hamdam* takes exception to the statement of Lord Parmoor that the question for decision before the League of Nations is only the determination of the boundary line and remarks that Great Britain's demand is only based on her greed for the oil fields of Mosul. If the Turks fail to obtain their right by peaceful methods they will be obliged to resort to war the result of which will then decide the fate of Mosul for ever. The *Medina* says that the League of Nations, which is a civilised association of robbers, cannot give a verdict which may adversely affect the prestige of Great Britain and hence it is idle to expect that it will act with justice. Great Britain has entrusted the question to the League simply to maintain its possession over Mosul without incurring any responsibility for it. The *Aj* remarks that the Anglo-Iraq treaty has totally deprived Iraq of her economic freedom and has conferred such

facilities on the Europeans settled there that in a few days they are bound to claim special rights there. So long as this treaty remains unaltered Iraq, although nominally independent, will virtually become a dependent country. If the Labour Government really wants to treat justly it should amend this treaty.

War in Morocco.

The *Pioneer* says: There is very little doubt that the future course of events in the internal politics of Spain depends upon what happens in Morocco. Success may settle the reins of government firmly in the hands of the Directory, but failure will almost inevitably entail the fall of the Marquis de Estella and his associates, and possibly of the throne as well. The *Leader* says: One of the principles for which the Allies professed to have fought in the Great War was the protection of the rights of small nations against the aggression of the great, but neither they nor the League of Nations have moved their little finger to put a stop to the sanguinary conflict and to induce Spain to respect the independence of the handful of tribesmen who are led not by a barbarian but by one who was educated at Madrid and who has travelled extensively in Europe.

Hindu Muslim relations.

The question of Hindu-Muslim relations continues to be discussed with avidity. The *Pioneer* says: If there were any substantial belief in the possibility of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity in a year or two by intensive propaganda on the part of the leaders of both communities, directed against that ignorant fanaticism which thinks to do God service by flouting the religious feelings of those who worship Him by other rites, it would surely be realised that the shortest road to *swaraj* would be to devote all energies to the removal of this main obstacle at the outset, to the exclusion of everything else. Referring to communal riots the *Leader* says: If energetic steps are not taken to cope with the disturbances they will eventually make administration impossible and then they will probably cause a serious searching of hearts among those who at present are making political capital out of them. These unfortunate riots however convey no other lesson to an Anglo-Indian contemporary than that there can be no law and order in this country without the maintenance of a strong British element in the civil and military services. Whatever lessons the Anglo-Indian papers may try to impress upon the Hindus and the Muhammadans, they have drawn one lesson from these outbreaks and it is that they must increasingly depend upon themselves for the protection of their lifes and property. This is the genesis of communal organisation. The more of these riots there are the greater will be the effort to perfect communal organisations, and a day may come when, each community, recognising the organised strength of the other, will come to a settlement and offer a common front to those who are finding at present their opportunity in communal friction. The *Indian World* says: So long as each and every one of us will not learn without *foreign* pursuasion what we individually ought to do under circumstances which require less intelligence to grasp *individually* than *communally*, democracy should not at all be used as a handle for political progress in this country. So long as homogeneity does not exist in the population, steady and uniform growth of the national instinct is an utter impossibility. The *Grambasi* says that it is idle to expect that the Government whose motto is "divide and rule" will ever do anything towards composing communal differences, for such a step will be surely a suicidal proceeding on its part. It is for the Hindus and Musalmans themselves to realise the disastrous consequences of their mutual strifes and to refrain from internecine quarrels. It is to be hoped that Mahatma Gandhi will succeed in establishing Hindu-Muslim unity, through his self-sacrificing fast. The *Surya* opines that the root-cause of the Hindu-Muslim strifes and dissensions is only to be found in the hearts of the Muhammadans who cherish feelings of hatred against the Hindus. Unless this hatred is got rid of there is little chance of better relations between the two communities. If the Muhammadans want to cultivate friendship with the Hindus they should no longer regard the latter as *kafirs*, fit only for annihilation, should curb their fanaticism, cultivate religious toleration and learn the lesson of culture and humanity. The Hindus also should realise that their cowardice only serves as an incentive to the Muhammadans to perpetrate atrocities on them and that they will be safe only when they are as organised and self-reliant as the Muhammadans. The *Shakti* says that when the British with all their physical force cannot prevent communal disturbances in India all that can be said is that we are either reciting an elegy on the grave of *swaraj* or the death knell of the bureaucratic administration is being sounded. One is tempted to put the question: what is the use of a Government, its army and police when they cannot protect the life and property

of the people. The *Hamdard* urges that the local Government should now turn its attention to the prevention of communal disturbances in these provinces as was once done in the Punjab. The *Nejat* avers that in most cases it is the Hindus who start the disturbances and goad the Musalmans to retaliate. Under cover of religion and with the pretext of reforming the Hindu community they are trying to suck the blood of the innocent Musalmans and annihilate Islam itself. The *Rahnuma* suggests the formation of reconciliation boards composed of influential and patriotic persons to keep the mischief-mongers under control and remarks that both the communities should be free to celebrate their festivals and take out their processions without any restriction of routes. The *Al Bureed* says that the advocates of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements are the enemies of Islam and they have made the question of the emancipation of India subservient to these movements simply to annihilate the Musalmans. The Arya Samajists by their inflammatory literature and propaganda have spread sparks of fire throughout the country. The *Al Khalil* asserts that the communal disturbances are in reality undermining the foundation of the British Government in India. The country is fast losing faith in the British administration. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the adverse comments of the Anglo-Indian press upon the communal disturbances are based upon ignorance and narrow-mindedness. The unity preached by Mr. Gandhi was in fact political and that unity still exists.

Unity Conference.

The *Pioneer* says: The proceedings at Delhi are not regarded seriously by a large body of opinion outside that city, although it would be unfair to credit the members of the Conference with anything but an earnest desire to find a solution to the problem of communal differences. The real difficulty will lie in impressing the views of the Conference on the different sections which the members have undertaken to represent. Whether the result of the Conference can be translated into action may be doubted, for to a very large extent the differences which have arisen are mainly the fruit of the teachings of a large number of those who attend the Conference. The paper is sceptical of any good results arising out of deliberations of the Conference and says: It would be futile to expect that the delegates, no matter how great their goodwill and how single-minded their purpose, will be able, as if by the wave of a magic wand, to transform in an instant the deep-seated subconscious instincts and prejudices which are the ultimate cause of Hindu-Muhammadan dissensions. These instincts and prejudices are the outcome of centuries of growth; and they cannot be eradicated in a day or a year. The Delhi Conference may do good service by affirming the principle of the utmost freedom of conscience and religion. But a great deal of spade-work will be necessary before any very definite results are perceptible. In a leading article headed "The Delhi Conference" the *Leader* appeals to the Hindus and says that they ought to exercise severe self-restraint and say or do nothing to cause offence to their Muslim brethren. The chances of settling the differences in an amicable manner and in a reasonable spirit can be greatly improved if the minds of the members of both communities can be lifted out of their narrow grooves and raised to higher atmosphere of fellow-feeling and goodwill. Our foolish strife is causing jubilation in the ranks of our enemies, and while we fight among ourselves for trifles the interest of the whole country suffers. The problem must be solved by Hindus and Muhammadans themselves and the forces of disruption that are at work must be overcome. The enlightened self-interest of each community demands unity, not of the make-believe but of the genuine variety which can stand any test. In another article the *Leader* hopes that the efforts of the delegates and those of the many others who have taken a noble part in the deliberations of the memorable Conference may be crowned with the success they eminently deserve and the interests of the country so urgently require. It urges that such joint Conference should be held periodically at different centres in the country. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* hopes that the Conference will lead us into something definite from the chaos into which we have walked and which threatens to engulf, in one swift embrace, the work of these many weary years of suffering and sacrifice. At another place the paper says: Should the leaders' meeting, at the call of Gandhi, disperse without an understanding that would appeal to both the communities, then the entire fabric of Indian political agitation would have collapsed. The cry for *swaraj* would be a mockery and Government would laugh at the high-sounding resolutions passed by the Congress, unitedly voicing the sentiments of every shade of political thought in India. The *Advocate* says: There is none who will differ from

Mr. Gandhi's views and if his maxim is practised we are sure that peace will once more prevail in the country. We hope that the deliberations of the Conference will lead to a clear atmosphere which is the desire of everybody. The *Vartman* remarks that Mahatma Gandhi's fast has focussed the mind of India on the urgent need of Hindu-Muslim unity and it is a matter for gratification that the Unity Conference which is being held at Delhi is being attended by leaders of all shades of opinion. Indeed, such a representative gathering must succeed in restoring Hindu-Muslim unity and establishing it on a firm basis. The *Hamdam* exhorts the Musalmans to join the Conference at all costs and frankly and courageously put forward their case before Mr. Gandhi and prove that the root-cause of all these disturbances is the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements. The *Nejat* is hopeful that the leaders will fully realise their responsibilities and duties at this critical juncture and will try their best to make the Conference a success.

Mr. Gandhi's fast.

The *Leader* hopes that before the Conference breaks up it will be able to induce Mr. Gandhi to give up his fast. The country needs all his strength and energy in the task of building up a united nation and in harnessing the energy that has been liberated by his activities in the past to constructive and useful channels. His life is very precious to India and he should not endanger it. The gathering of so many persons belonging to various schools of political thought at Delhi is the most eloquent tribute to his great and inspiring personality. He should therefore listen to their earnest request and give up his fast. In the opinion of the *Echo* there is nothing particularly novel about Mr. Gandhi's announcement of his intention to fast for 21 days as a penance for Hindu-Muslim dissensions. He seeks to impose his ideals, not to win adherents by pursuasion, as witness his instance on spinning. It cannot remove the causes of the Hindu-Muslim conflicts. These are deep-founded on religious differences, differences so profound as to make prolonged peace well-nigh impossible, at least till such time as the masses shall have learnt religious tolerance and Muhammadanism shall have lost its militant character. The *Bhavishya* remarks that in view of the terrible fast which Mahatma Gandhi has imposed on himself it is the duty of the leaders and religious leaders of both the communities to present themselves as early as possible before the Mahatma and to take a solemn vow never to indulge in mutual strifes. They should assure him that in future Hindus and Musalmans will treat each other as brethren and also help each other to the best of their power. The *Anand* says that Mahatma Gandhi's fast appears to have made no impression upon the Muhammadans in general and that it will produce no substantial results beyond being a source of pain to the Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi will be well-advised to give up his fast and devote himself to the organisation of the Hindus. So long as Muhammadans do not want "hearty unity" no number of Conferences can solve the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Arya Mitra* doubts whether Mahatma Gandhi will ever succeed in making an impression upon the heartless Muhammadans by his fast specially when they are determined to demand all sacrifices on the part of Hindus only as has been made clear in the *Muslim Outlook*. It advises Mahatma Gandhi to break his fast and devote himself to the organisation of the Hindus to preserve them as a community. The *Medina* regrets that as a result of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements Mr. Gandhi has been compelled to observe a long and dangerous fast and apprehends that if these movements continue in their present spirit Mr. Gandhi's fast will be productive of no useful result. Regretting Mr. Gandhi's fast the *Haqiqat* implores both the communities to have mercy on him and sink their mutual differences at once. The *Oudh Akhbar* describes Mr. Gandhi's fast as the most effective weapon to counteract the present situation and hopes that the leaders will speedily arrive at a unanimous decision and relieve Mr. Gandhi of the trouble and misery he is undergoing for the sake of the country. The *Nejat* expresses its satisfaction that the news of Mr. Gandhi's fast has electrified the country and the people at this critical juncture have determined to remove communal differences.

Kohat tragedy.

The *Mahashakti* says: The whole affair calls for a sifting enquiry. Such horrors were inconceivable in British India. The possibilities suggested by the Kohat tragedy are hardly in keeping with the prestige of the British *raj*, a fact which, we hope, will be taken duly into account in any action the Government may be prompted to take with regard to the situation. The *Kartavya* blames the authorities for the Kohat tragedy which betrays the inefficiency of the local administration. The paper asks why the authorities who sent thousands of Sikhs into jail in the name of law and order and enacted the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy on the same

ground could not preserve peace and order in Kohat and whether the Government will compensate the Hindus for their losses.

Lucknow disturbances.

The *Leader* is gratified at the settlement arrived at between the Hindus and Muhammadans at Lucknow and asks: May it be hoped that the settlement arrived at will wipe off the effects of the recent bitter strife and restore mutual confidence which has been so rudely shaken by the recent outbreak of lawlessness? The *Anand* says that at the time of the construction of the Aminabad Park the owner of the temple was given an assurance that the religious service in the temple would never be interfered with. It asks how the Muhammadans have acquired the right of saying *namaz* in the park and whether it is right that they, instead of saying their prayer in the adjoining mosques, should insist on assembling in the park for the purpose. The same paper points out that the general Hindu public is dissatisfied with the terms of the Lucknow settlement regarding the withdrawal of prosecutions against the rioters and despairs of the future of the city. It also asks why the *namaz* is not stopped in the park along with *arti* till the dispute is settled by Mahatma Gandhi. One Muneshwar Prasad Avasthi writing in the *Bhavishya* says that the entire responsibility for the Lucknow disturbance falls on the bureaucracy because its underlings knew long before the disturbance actually broke out that the day was not far off when an open rebellion would take place at Lucknow and yet it took no measures to meet the contingency. Even at the time of the disturbance Government was fully aware of sporadic assaults being made on individuals but it made no arrangements at all to stop or prevent them. The *Haqiqat* is gratified at the settlement arrived at between the representatives of both the communities in Lucknow and remarks that when the responsibilities of both the communities in connection with the riot are equal and when there is a strong apprehension of the two communities suffering loss no sane Hindu or Musalman will tolerate to prolong the present situation in the city for the sake of a few mischief-mongers. The *Al Khalil* says that the Deputy Commissioner was afraid of the rioters and that if a foreigner were to witness the Lucknow riots taking place under the very nose of the police and the military he would undoubtedly conclude that no more unfit and inefficient Government could be found in the world.

Tarkeshwar satyagraha.

The *Vartman* is satisfied with the Tarkeshwar settlement and says that the terms of the settlement are bound to put an end to the causes which had given rise to *satyagraha*. On the other hand the *Aj* is opposed to the settlement on the ground that by recognising the private property of the Mahant the *Satyagraha* Committee has strewn thorns in the path of future reforms.

Refusal of passports to Shiva Prasad Gupta.

Commenting on the Government's reply in the Legislative Assembly to the question regarding the refusal of passports to Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta the *Aj* remarks: It should open the eyes of the Indians. Those who still think that they are free citizens of the British Empire and cooperate with the bureaucracy on the basis of this delusion will now know that they are not only slaves in the Empire but are prisoners in their own homes who cannot go abroad without the permission of their masters. We shed tears of blood on the ignorance of those who still dream of getting *swaraj* through cooperation and constitutional agitation.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* writes: At the present time no one can be a friend of both India and England together because the interests of these two countries are at present mutually antagonistic. The interests of India are clearly to rid itself of the "steel frame" of England in order that it may save itself from economic drain and the evil effects of foreign rule. On the other hand the interests of England lie in perpetrating the subjection of this country in order that it may be able to secure an income of crores of rupees annually through services, pensions and trade.

Socialism.

In the course of a letter to the *Vartman* Satya Bhakta says: It is certain that after the non-cooperation movement our national agitation will now run on socialistic lines and it will be through Socialism that the *kisans* and labourers of India whom the non-cooperation has awakened will be able to fight for *swaraj*. The more the Indians realise the truth that Socialism is the only means of removing the sufferings of the poor the more will the Indian socialist party grow in strength.

NAINI TAL:
The 4th October, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

NOTICE.

As the Publicity Office closes in Naini Tal on October 14th and reopens at Lucknow on the 20th, Press Note for the week ending 18th October will not be issued.

ZAFAR OMAR,

The 11*th October*, 1924. *Publicity Officer.*

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 40 of 1924.**

MAILS BRANCH
5 NOV
INDIA

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 11th October, 1924.

Hedjaz affairs.

EVENTS in Hedjaz are being closely followed. The Muslim press is gratified at the discomfiture of Sharif Hussain and the British Premier's statement has been well received. The *Hamdam* remarks that the entire Muslim world is obliged to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald for declaring England's neutrality in the war between Hedjaz and Najd; but in the absence of any definite and authentic information it reserves its remarks regarding the alleged atrocities on the part of the Wahabis. The *Aj* points out that if the report that Ibn Saud has delivered Mecca from the hands of Shah Hussain is true the whole of the Muslim world will undoubtedly rejoice at it. We hope the Labour Government will not commit the same mistake by helping Shah Hussain which Mr. Lloyd George did by declaring war against the Turks. The *Pioneer* finds it difficult to understand the anxieties of certain papers in India lest Great Britain should intervene in the struggle between Ibn Saud and Hussain. Like other papers the *Pioneer* also holds that the troubles which have overtaken Hussain are largely of his own creation, and his failure to give adequate protection to pilgrims visiting Mecca has lost for him the sympathy of a large section of Muslim opinion. The *Leader* says that the statement of the Premier would cause great satisfaction among the Indian Muslims. The events happening in Arabia are of great importance. King Hussain by joining the British against the Turks and latterly by his callous disregard for the comfort and safety of large numbers of devoted Muslim pilgrims alienated the sympathies of Muslims in this country. He is reaping the fruits of his *karma*. The Wahabis are not regarded as orthodox Muslims and it is difficult to understand the view-point of those Muslims who have been expressing their admiration for Ibn Saud, the leader of the Wahabis. At another place the paper says: The dreams of King Hussain are over and all his secular and religious ambitions have been shattered.

Mosul question.

The *Medina* remarks: It is our earnest prayer that England may not court disaster by plunging herself headlong into a war with Turkey before whose sword the Greeks and the Englishmen are alike vulnerable. If a war breaks out with Turkey it will cause an upheaval in the world and will sound the death-knell of British prestige. The Musalmans of India should at once chalk out a programme for themselves if the British policy of greed and territorial aggrandisement assumes a serious turn. The *Haqiqat* says that the suspicions of the Turks regarding the impartiality of the League of Nations which is merely a *camouflage* set up by European diplomacy, are becoming materialised. The weak and subject nations should boycott the League, the decision of which can hardly be expected to be just and favourable to the Turks. The *Hamdam* says that the feeling of national self-respect has been created to such an extent among the Turks that they cannot now be overawed by empty threats. If Englishmen do not want to hand over the territory to them on account of the oil fields and are even desirous to avoid the plebiscite, the only other way of solving the question is to settle it by an arbitrament of the sword. The *Aj* remarks that in view of the present constitution of the Council of the League of Nations and of the League itself it is a mistake to think that justice will be done by the League in connection with the Mosul question. It is impossible for Turkey to secure justice against Great Britain when even smaller European nations fail to get justice against the Great Powers of Europe from the League of Nations.

Resignation of the High Commissioner.

The *Haqiqat* remarks that the resignation of Sir D. Dalal shows that Indian officers do not receive sufficient assistance from their European subordinates; but on the contrary obstacles are thrown in their way. If they will not change their attitude towards their Indian superiors the tension between the rulers and the ruled will become all the more acute and Indians of all shades of opinion will be forced to unite and launch a vigorous struggle for *swaraj* which will be impossible for the Government to resist.

Great Britain and Afghanistan.

The *Bharat Dharma* says that the sale of aeroplanes by the Government of India to the Amir of Kabul is but the thin end of the policy of the British Government to re-impose its suzerainty upon Afghanistan.

League of Nations.

The *Aj* remarks that the decision of Germany to join the League of Nations is one of helplessness. It is indeed pitiable and deplorable that Germany should agree to become a member of an organisation which owes its origin to false charges against herself.

Egypt and England.

The *Pioneer* regrets that the conversations between the Premier and Zaghlul Pasha have broken down before the preliminary stages were passed. The conversations appear to have proved altogether futile, and the stumbling-block has lain in the question of the maintenance of British troops in Egypt. If Egypt were capable of protecting herself against any possible aggression, an alliance between her and Great Britain would meet the needs of the case. Unfortunately she is not, and Great Britain is, therefore, forced to take measures for ensuring the safety of that waterway which is absolutely vital to the existence of the Empire.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Pioneer* says: It is easy to proclaim from the housetops a peace that is no peace and a unity that exists only in the imagination of a few intellectuals; but it is easier still, unfortunately, for the *badmash* or the fanatic to demonstrate in a moment that the proclamation of peace is a lie and the unity a sham. That Hindu-Muslim unity will eventually be achieved is our fervent hope, but its cause will never be promoted by burking the difficulties that lie in its way, or by ignoring the fact, which is patent to every student of mass psychology, that inveterate instincts and passions which have been inherited for centuries and have become part and parcel of the subconscious strata of personality can be eradicated without a prolonged struggle in which time is the most important factor. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: As an instance of Nero fiddling when Rome is burning the comments of the British Press on the Hindu-Muslim riots are interesting. The *Mahashakti* opines that Hindu-Muslim unity is surely not an unrealisable reality. The Hindu-Muslim problem, as we know it today, is absolutely a foreign element, foreign to the genius and traditions of the country. It cannot take root. The Hindu-Muslim problem is, indeed, a passing phase. The *Tabligh* opines that Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of the Gulbarga riot was the result of his prejudice against the restoration of Berar to the Nizam as the latter is a Musalman ruler. Mr. Gandhi has all along been deceiving the Musalmans and he wants to use them as a tool for the achievement of *swaraj* and to tyrannise over them after gaining his object. The Musalmans who are still devoted to him should now cease crying "Gandhi ki Jai' and organise their community as the Hindu-Muslim unity is now an idle dream. The *Haqiqat* remarks that no educated Hindu and Musalman can deny that a protraction of the communal tension is fraught with dire consequences for the nation and the country. The Hindus are themselves to blame for the excesses committed in Kohat as it was their own inflammatory literature which goaded the Musalmans to retaliate. The *Hindustani* refutes the criticisms of the Anglo-Indian press that the Hindu-Muslim riots are a strong arguments for the continuance of the British officers in India and against the fitness of the Indians for *swaraj* and remarks that the frequent occurrence of communal disturbances even after a period of a century and a half of British rule, goes a long way to prove that that rule instead of being efficient is quite the reverse of it and that the Indians are justified in demanding *swaraj*. The *Oudh Akhbar* criticises the *Pioneer* for suggesting that to suppress the communal riots the strength of the British troops should be raised to the pre-war level and remarks that the European District Officers for the most part call in British soldiers not so much for the suppression of the riot as for their own protection. They have no reason to distrust the Indian soldiers who are as efficient as the Britishers. The *Medina* lays the entire responsibility for the disturbances at the door of the Government and accuses it of trying to rule by creating a split between the two communities and displaying criminal negligence in the discharge of its duty. The short-sightedness, negligence and carelessness betrayed by Government in connection with the recent communal disturbances cannot be overlooked. The *Arti* points out that there can be no permanent understanding between Hindus and Muhammadans unless the latter consider India to be their motherland and themselves to be a part of the Indian nation, get rid of the cant of their political importance, respect the religion of the Hindus and observe their religious observances without wounding the feelings

of others. Similarly the Hindus should not look upon Muhammadans as aliens and *mlechhas* and should not unjustly interfere with their religious observances. If the Hindus organise themselves and make themselves as strong as Muhammadans, there are greater chances of a permanent understanding between the two communities.

Unity Conference.

The *Pioneer* remarks: In spite of much prodigality in headlines in some of the prominent Indian-edited papers the so-called "Unity" Conference at Delhi has been an elaborate farce. The truth is that the recent outbreaks in Delhi, Lucknow, Kohat and Shahjahanpur have thoroughly nonplussed politicians. Indeed, the fact that a conference attended by a number of men who have for some time been engaged in preaching the doctrine of direct action and in inculcating disregard for the courts of law should now be compelled to express the opinion that "it is unlawful and irreligious for any person to take the law into his own hands" is eloquent of the intricacy of the problem which the delegates set out to solve. The root-cause of the present troubles is to be found in the persistent attempts made by Indian politicians to weaken the strength of the cement of authority if not to eliminate it altogether. In a leading article the *Leader* expresses its pleasure that the historic Conference in Delhi has terminated successfully. It points to the disappointment of newspapers hostile to the national aspirations of Hindus and Muslims and warns the Indians as to the direction in which the duty of both and either clearly lies. Let us both succeed in showing that no longer will either of us consent to be the sport of ill-conditioned critics representing the interests of a third party outside both of us. It congratulates the conveners of the Conference and remarks: Never was a wiser, a more courageous, a more patriotic step taken than by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Swami Shraddhanand and Maulana Muhammad Ali when they sent out the invitations to the Conference. In another article headed "Unity" the paper says that the efforts at unity are being decried, misrepresented and scoffed at in familiar quarters. The success of the Delhi Conference is, for obvious reasons, being minimised by Anglo-Indian writers, and we must be prepared for gibes and ridicule from that quarter instead of encouragement and blessing. The Conference held at Delhi and its gratifying success shows that the Mahatma has not ceased to wield the magic wand, that he can still accomplish miracles. The baser elements in society which are mainly responsible for ungodly acts of violence, must sooner or later come under the sway of higher and gentler forces. Thus the outlook is in every way hope-inspiring. We pray that God may grant to the people sufficient light so that they may overcome the communal *maya* and see the Truth, and seeing it enhance the glory and fame of India, our common Motherland. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* hopes that all over the country the prominent leaders of both the communities would come forward to once more seriously set before the forgotten mind of the populace the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity. If the Delhi Conference should have any tangible result on the body politic, it ought to come from the processions and public meetings on the eighth of October. The *Mahashakti* welcomes the result of the Unity Conference and says that there are already signs that it will lead to lasting friendship between the two communities. The *Haqiqat* attributes the success of the Unity Conference to Mr. Gandhi's fast and hopes that the Musalmans and the Hindus will not forget the pain and trouble which Mr. Gandhi had had to undergo for their sake and in future will not allow any ill-will to develop into a disturbance. The *Hamdam* pays a tribute to the conveners of the Conference for succeeding in solving the problem of unity and finding out a way to restore happy relations between the two communities in spite of being hampered by the presence of adverse elements and is confident that the resolutions passed in the Conference will go a long way to fulfil the wishes of the conveners. In another article the same paper says that the resolution regarding cow-slaughter will be productive of very wholesome effect if it does not remain confined to the Conference only, and if the Hindus in their daily practice do not attempt to stop cow-slaughter by force, as it is only a request based on sincerity and toleration which can keep back the Musalmans from slaughtering cows. The *Hindustani* expresses deep concern for the life of Mr. Gandhi and suggests that after the deliberations of the Unity Conference meetings should be convened in every city and town to urge the Hindus and Musalmans to remain peaceful and reconciliation boards should be established to prevent communal riots. The *Aligarh Gazette* criticises Mr. Gandhi's fast from the Muslim point of view and remarks that any reconciliation effected in such a hasty manner will be quite unstable. The *Hind-i-Jadid* hopes that the decision of the Conference will be acceptable to both the communities and

remarks that the task of restoring happy relations is not difficult of accomplishment, but purification of heart, real piety and ardent patriotism are needed.

Congress politics.

The *Aj* remarks: If today the various political parties in the country were to oppose the Government unitedly on one hand and to carry on a combined agitation among the people on the other, we are convinced that we shall not only be able to put an end to the communal disturbances but also achieve our political ends. The *Vartman* says that Indian money is being spent on the conspiracy to perpetuate the ignorance of India. Individual rights and privileges are being murdered every day in the streets. Now that the non-cooperation programme is going to be suspended in the Belgaum Congress it is essential that we should decide upon an equally fearless and vigorous programme. The proposal to introduce the Constitution of India Bill in the Parliament will not do. The *Haldhar* doubts whether the Round Table Conference of the various political parties which is going to be held next month will succeed in deciding the form of Indian *swaraj*, seeing that fundamental differences of opinion exist even among the important leaders on this question. Dwelling upon the dire consequences of Mr. Gandhi's movement the *Aligarh District Gazette* is gratified that he has not been successful in breaking down the administrative machinery of the Government. After raising a hue and cry, destroying the peace of the country and ruining thousands of people by throwing them out of employment he has now shaken off his illusion. Even now he commands enough popularity and has been elected President of the next Congress. It is hoped that after so many bitter experiences he will in future refrain from throwing India into an abyss of ruin.

Swaraj party.

Commenting on the Bengal Government's statement with regard to Ministers the *Pioneer* says: So long as Mr. Das and his associates are ready to continue their policy of what they are pleased to term destroying dyarchy and what thinking men will describe as postponing India's advance towards self-government, it would obviously be futile to present once more a demand for Ministers' salaries. The *Rahnuma* condemns the Swarajists and remarks that their policy has antagonised the British and the Parliament against the Indian aspirations for *swaraj*. Their policy is based on hatred and it is gratifying that they have little influence over the public and that the educated Indians still appreciate the blessings which India enjoys by virtue of its being a part of the British Empire.

Agra Tenancy Bill.

The *Vartman* remarks that if the Agra Tenancy Bill is passed into law the condition of the *kisans* will become still worse. The zamindars are not satisfied even with this Bill. In order to suppress the *kisans* and extend their own rights they are holding meetings in different places to protest against the Bill. But the *kisans* are silent. If they do not wake up from their sleep their condition will indeed become deplorable.

Lucknow disturbances.

The *Haqiqat* regrets that the chief miscreants who took a prominent part in the disturbances at Lucknow are safe from the clutches of the law and to the great resentment of the Musalmans the authorities have yet failed to take any notice of them. After the restoration of peace and order it will be difficult to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. The *Hindustani* is gratified that contrary to expectation, the Hindus defended themselves very well against the Musalmans and hopes that if in future Hindu honour and religion is at stake they will boldly face the assailants. The Hindus are not cowardly and timid, and if the Musalmans raise their head the least, they will be crushed. The *Hamdam* directs the attention of the Government to the objectionable literature circulated by the Aryas at Lucknow and remarks that deterrent punishment should be inflicted upon the originators of such propaganda. The *Mashriq* takes to task the Hindu press of Lucknow for fanning the fire of communal hatred and remarks that the disturbance in Lucknow was due to the mistakes of the District Magistrate. The *Arti* is not altogether satisfied with the Lucknow settlement inasmuch as it has provided no solution of the Amethi problem. It is doubtful whether the general public or the sufferers will approve of the withdrawal of prosecutions against rioters. Those who have suffered must be compensated. The settlement is also incomplete because it leaves untouched the question of religious liberty. The same paper in another article quotes from Sanskrit ritualistic works to show that the proper time for the performance of *arti* is the dusk and that this being the case there is nothing to be wondered at if the Hindus regard it as an attack upon

their religion to postpone the *arti* till a later hour as has been done in the case of the temple in the Aminabad Park.

Political propaganda.

The *Desh Bhagat* asserts that the Government has ever been deceiving the guileless Indians by holding out to them false promises and allurements. The Indians have now grown sick of such a policy which has been pursued for enslaving them. The Government uses Indian money to ruin the poor Indians. But the wise and disillusioned Indians have now spurned their personal interests and jumped into the arena to expose this duplicity and it is due to their efforts that today thousands of Indians are prepared to sacrifice their all to get themselves free from the claws of an alien Government. The *Bharat Dharma* writes: The hand of the English is visible in all the troubles in Asia including even Morocco. They have very cleverly succeeded in establishing their suzerainty in Arabia and are trying to re-impose it upon Afghanistan. They are in a way already masters of Pekin in China. In this manner they exercise their influence over the whole of Asia as a result of their diplomatic achievements. If the Asiatics are to live they should take counter-measures to remedy this state of affairs. Asia is the teacher of the world and to maintain its position it will have to learn lessons of diplomacy.

NAINI TAL:
The 11th October, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 41 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the fortnight ending the 25th October, 1924.

MAILS RECEIVED
25 NOV
INDIA OFFICE

British elections.

THE election campaign in Britain is being closely followed. The *Weekly Observer* notes with satisfaction that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is making an extremely gallant stand against the combined opposition of the two parties, and says: That the Labour Party's prospects of returning to office are not hopeless, as the pendulum of popular opinion shows distinct indications of swinging back to the Labour side. If Labour is defeated in the present elections, the Conservative-Liberal programme in the future will be forced more and more to approximate to what we understand as Socialist ideals. According to the *Pioneer* the Russian Treaty and in particular the proposed guaranteed loan will play an important part in the election campaign. The Russain loan seems likely to prove the weakest joint in the Labour Party's armour. Referring to the combination of the Liberals and Conservatives against the Labour, the *Leader* says that the Labourites must thank themselves for thus driving the Liberals into the arms of the Conservatives. They were helped into power by the Liberals but they treated the latter as enemies and thus alienated their sympathies. Commenting on Mr. Baldwin's recent speech in reference to India the paper agrees with him that the Labour Party failed to deliver the goods, but it is certain that his own party will not only not deliver the goods but will try to go back. Its advent into power will be hailed with delight by the bureaucracy but its policy of reaction will only increase instead of abating unrest. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* pays a tribute to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald by saying that he stands out well in comparison with any leader that any party can show. No one has displayed greater force of character, more generous impulse and that fine courage which hazards a great deal for a good cause. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's name will go down in English history not only as the first Labour Premier of England but as one of her greatest Prime Ministers—one who won peace for Europe. It would be sad, indeed, if such a personality should flit out of the canvas at a time when Europe needed most his inspiration and lead to escape from the brink of hostilities to peace and good-will. With the dark clouds lowering in Mosul, it would be fatal to European tranquillity and violently upset the Asiatic countries if the advent of Liberalism should again release Mr. Lloyd George to coquet with his Greek millionaires in another adventure with Angora. At another place the paper says: The present election has shown that by the Liberals remaining stagnant and Unionists advancing in their thought, there is every likelihood of the two parties coalescing into one homogenous whole to fight Labour, which is fast slipping into live socialism. The *Haqiqat* remarks that the Indians will not regret the defeat of the present Labour Government as it has falsified all hopes entertained in India when it came into power. Being in a minority, the Labour Party has hitherto been impotent to do anything for India and the pending elections can only prove beneficial to India if the Labour Party obtains a substantial majority. The *Arya Varta* prays for the success of the Labour Party in the general elections so that it may be able to grant self-government to India at an early date. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that Indians have little interest in the present British elections as no hope can be entertained from any other party in England when even the Labour Government failed to satisfy their aspirations. The *Hamdam* apprehends that the fall of the Labour Government will undo all the Reforms hitherto carried out in India, Egypt and Mosul. The *Vartman* opines that the sentence of death passed by the House of Commons on the Labour Ministry on such a trifling matter as the *Workers' Weekly* case has not discouraged or frightened the Labour Party in the least. It has, however, shown that although the Conservatives and the Liberals are antagonistic to each other yet they are both enemies of the Socialistic Labour Party and are united in combatting the Socialist propaganda in England. The paper contends that it will be universally admitted that despite all its weaknesses and shortcomings the Labour Government's régime will be better and more beneficial to the interests of England and the British Empire than that of any other party. The *Abhyudaya* maintains

that the coalition of the Liberal Party with the Conservative in defeating the Labour Government shows that whatever mutual differences might exist between them, they hold an identical opinion regarding imperialism and capitalism of which the Labour Party is an uncompromising opponent. It says that although India will have to undergo greater sufferings and hardships under the Conservative régime, yet it is not a matter of anxiety for her. If Indians have any love of freedom and any feeling of self-respect the régime of the Conservative Party will prove hurtful to their feelings and the consequent alienation will ultimately benefit them. The *Aj* remarks that it is immaterial to India as to which of the political parties come into power in the next British elections, as she finds no difference among them. In the interests of India Peel is better than Olivier because the former does what he says whereas in the case of the latter there is a vast difference between his words and deeds. We did not get truth from the Labour Government and hence we have no reason to be sorry at its downfall. We must however admit that the Liberals resorted to mean tactics in defeating the Labour Government. Commenting on the candidature of Sir Sankaran Nair as a Labourite, the same paper writes: Who would have thought that Sir Sankaran's views would undergo such a radical change! Perhaps it is the result of Justice MacCardie's strictures. How fine would it be if either Sir Michael O'Dwyer or General Dyer were made to stand against him? It would indeed be an interesting contest. The *Swadhin* says that the Labour Government did not act wisely in the matter of withdrawing the prosecution of the *Workers' Weekly* which has resulted in the dissolution of the Parliament. It opines that if the Conservatives are restored to power India will fare very badly as is already evident from the jubilation at Simla on the end of the Labour Government. The *Arti* says that the fall of the Labour Government is due to the jealousy of the political parties of its magnificent achievements in domestic and international politics. It hopes that the discriminating British public will again return the Labour Party to power. The *Anand* apprehends that the Conservatives will come into power at the next British elections and that it is idle to expect anything for India at their hands. The Indian bureaucracy will heartily welcome their advent into power whereas Mr. Baldwin's recent speech fairly shows how India's political aspirations will be crushed under them.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Leader* remarks: Whether Ibn Saud's followers will prove iconoclasts or not will be known later, but anxiety will be naturally felt among Indian Muslims for the sacred places in Mecca. The question is whether the Wahabis will rest content with the capture of Mecca or will extend their conquest in Hedjaz. The Muslim press, which is jubiliant at the fall of Sharif Hussain, advises Ibn Saud to convene a Conference of the Muslim world to solve the Khilafat question and settle the Hedjaz affairs. The *Sada-i-Muslim* of Cawnpore ascribes Sharif Hussain's fall to Divine wrath as a punishment for his misdeeds and hopes that the advancing wave of liberty will soon strike against the walls of Iraq and Syria and prove a harbinger of awakening in Arabia. The *Hamdam* advises the Amir of Nejd to convene a Conference of the Muslim world to solve the complicated question of the Khilafat which has been for a long time creating great unrest among the Musalmans and remarks that if a pan-Islamic organisation comes into being as a result of this Conference it will prove a powerful weapon in the hands of the Musalmans to counteract the intrigues of European Powers and England will not then dare to incite the barbarous Greeks to perpetrate atrocities on the civil population of Smyrna nor will the European capitalists find it easy to play with the Turkish demands out of greed for the oil fields of Mosul. In another article the paper hopes that the Amir of Nejd will fulfil the promises made to the Muslim world and apply himself to constructive work and after establishing peace and order will direct his attention towards Amir Feisul and Amir Abdullah as the emancipation of Jazirat-ul-Arab will not be complete without their defeat. The *Al Bureed* expresses its gratification at the success of the Amir of Nejd and remarks that the attack on Hedjaz is ordained by Providence. The *Al Khalil* is not prepared to give any definite opinion as it suspects Great Britain of complicity. The *Haqiqat* is concerned lest atrocities may be committed in the Holy Places by the Wahabis and advises Ibn Saud to issue a statement without delay in order to assuage Muslim feelings. The *Hindustani* describes the abdication of Shah Hussain as the most welcome news for the Muslim world and remarks that he has received a just punishment for his treachery. The *Al Bashir* ascribes Shah Hussain's fall to the atrocities perpetrated by him on the *hajis* and to his treachery to Islam out of greed for the kingdom of Hedjaz.

It advises Great Britain to leave the settlement of the Hedjaz affairs to the Musalmans themselves and abstain from interfering on the pretext of protecting the life and property of its Muslim subjects.

The Mosul question.

Referring to Anglo-Turkish tension over the Mosul question the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the latest development in the Turkish crisis has all the appearance of mystery. It would be unfortunate if the contending parties could not find a solution other than a war which may easily draw into its vortex more than one European Power. At another place the paper says: Britain will never have any sympathy from Indians in her Asiatic adventures when those adventures are directed against Asiatic aspirations. In a leading article, headed "The Situation in Iraq" the *Pioneer* says: The Turkish notion of bargaining may perhaps underlie the alarms and excursions which have attracted attention in London. The idea that by making a show of an ability to dispense with the help of the League in settling the Mosul issue the Turks may gain greater credit for acquiescence in the eventual settlement appears fantastic, but often the fantastic is foremost in Turkish diplomatic methods. On the whole, the symptoms do not seem to be as dangerous as might be thought. The very complexity of the situation inclines the different parties towards peace rather than war and the cementing influence is that of Great Britain who, while Ibn Saud, Feisul and the Turks have one against the other causes for enmity, can cover all three with her cloak of friendship, sincere and powerful. At another place the same paper says: The policy of furtive intimidation which has hitherto been pursued is an eminently unwise one, and can hardly fail to prejudice whatever claims Turkey may have for consideration at the hands of the League of Nations. Criticising the British policy regarding Mosul, the *Hamdam* remarks that whatever party gains ascendancy in England as a result of pending elections the Indian Musalmans should expect no sympathy at its hands. They should rely upon their own strength to shape their future destiny as Mustafa Kemal, Ibn Saud and Amir Abdul Karim are doing. The Turkish demand for Mosul is based upon justice and there can be no peace and order in that territory until it is handed over to the Turks. In another article the same paper remarks that British statesmen are undermining the foundations of the Empire by trying to pursue the anti-Islamic policy of Mr. Lloyd George. The *Nejat* accuses Great Britain of being dishonest, avaricious of the oil fields and blind to the just rights of the Turks and remarks that the sword and not the League of Nations will decide the question of Mosul.

The Khilafat deputation.

The *Pratap* remarks that the refusal of passports to the Khilafat deputation by the Angora Government must open the eyes of the Indian Musalmans who should realise that India and India alone is their motherland and that simply because they are Muhammadans, the Turkish, the Persian and the Afghan nations are not going to regard them as their own kith and kin. The *Kartavya* says that this rebuff should teach the Indian Musalmans to lay aside all their solicitude for foreign countries and devote themselves to the solution of Indian problems and make India free by cooperating with the Hindus in a truly brotherly spirit. The *Al Bashir* describes it as a great blunder on the part of the Indian Musalmans to try to send a deputation to Angora in spite of its repeated refusal to accept the office of Khilafat and remarks that the Khilafat has ever been a source of loss to the Muslim world and that it is a pity that the Indian Musalmans are still a prey to delusion.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In a leading article "Communal ambitions in India" the *Pioneer* says: The political events of the last two or three years have been remarkable for the growing ascendancy of the Hindu intelligentsia and for the restiveness of minority communities on that score. However much he may believe in his own capacity for governing, the Hindu cannot fail to see that by antagonising his Muhammadan brother he is endangering the development of that national solidarity which is essential to any scheme for *swaraj* in the best sense of the term. Communal disunion cannot go to make a nation, and until unity is within measurable distance of being achieved there must be maintained the power to hold the balance even. The unfortunate disturbances of the last few months are the measure of the feeling that the scales are in danger of being tilted over. The *Leader* says: The so-called communal riots which are taking place may for a time to some extent cause depression among those who are working for self-government, but they cannot make them lose faith in the high demoractic ideal on which they have set their heart or strengthen the basis of the existing essentially autocratic system. There are many thoughtful Indians who honestly feel that the solution of the communal

problem lies with themselves and not with the British officials. The growing consciousness of each community that they must depend to a large extent upon themselves for their self-defence in the hour of danger ought to cause a searching of heart among those who wax eloquent on the benefits of Pax-Britannica. This is not a matter on which the Government and its mouthpiece in the press can congratulate themselves. On the other hand the *Pioneer* says that the innuendoes of the Indian-edited press, which throw a flood of light on the mentality of those conducting it, will not be ignored, and in particular that the accusations brought by that press against the British official of adopting an attitude of apathy and even complacency towards the riots will be duly noted. There is not, and never has been, a tittle of evidence in support of these accusations beyond the unworthy suspicions of those who make them; but they serve a useful purpose none the less. For Indian politicians and publicists who make unsupported accusations of this kind merely prove that they are judging others by themselves, and that they are attributing to the British official motives by which they know they would be actuated themselves in similar circumstances. The *Al Bashir* protests against the use of firearms in communal disturbances and advises the Government to cancel the licences of persons inhabiting the affected areas. There is no reason why a few persons be allowed to possess firearms on the pretext of protecting their lives and property when the lives of thousands of His Majesty's subjects are in danger. A condition should be entered in the licence prohibiting the holder thereof from using the firearms in case of riots or religious disturbances. The *Azad* opines that the increasing communal riots amongst other reasons are due to weakness on the part of the Government. The *Al Khalil* accuses the Aryas of kindling the fire of communal bitterness and remarks that the *sangathan* spirit has so much permeated the Hindu masses that even the English officers are now afraid of it. There is little hope that the efforts to restore happy relations between the two communities will be successful. The *Arya Varta* asserts that while the Hindus have ever been eager for unity and ready to sacrifice their communal interests for the sake of their country's advancement, the Musalmans were always picking up quarrels with them on mere trifles. The Muslim demands are quite unjust and unreasonable and cannot be accepted by the Hindus. They have probably decided to remain slaves of the aliens for ever. Had their religious zeal and self-respect been genuine they would have shaken off the yoke of allegiance to Britain and cheerfully borne all the consequences and troubles for the sake of their religion. The *Pratap* sees a radiant ray of hope at the bottom of communal riots which are in its opinion a prelude to the birth of freedom in the country. Permanent Hindu-Muslim unity is the inevitable result of these disturbances. The present disorder is but a crude representation of the desire to make the smallest and weakest communities in the country strong and able to walk shoulder to shoulder with other advanced communities in the march towards freedom. The *Swadhin*, on the other hand, is pessimistic regarding the effect of communal disturbances and says that the promoters of the Unity Conference must hang down their heads in shame over the communal disturbances at Allahabad and Jubbulpore. It urges that special joint Hindu-Muslim committees should be formed in all places for the propagation of the resolutions of the Conference among the masses to prevent recurrence of communal riots.

Allahabad riots.

While the *Pioneer* asserts that the significance of the statement issued by the Commissioner of the Allahabad division will appeal to all thoughtful Indians, the *Leader* says that the Commissioner's report may be expected to furnish additional material to the perpetual and God-appointed guardians of India's interests to dilate upon the criminal folly of developing democratic institutions in this country and the necessity of reverting to a purely autocratic system of government in the interests of law and order. The paper does not agree with the Commissioner that there was such an atmosphere of fear or communal ill-will as can explain the disturbance. The prediction of the *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore about the riot at Allahabad a week before its occurrence has led the *Advocate* to believe that there was some organisation which manipulated the riot. It urges that a thorough inquiry should be made into the matter and that the editor of the *Muslim Outlook* should be called upon to disclose the whole secret as he seems to know all about it. The *Abhyudaya* holds that the Commissioner's statement on the Allahabad disturbance is full of mistakes and blunders and devoid of truth. Its wording goes to prove that the Hindus were the offenders. His view regarding the resolution of the local Hindu Sabha is totally misleading. No greater falsehood can be conceived than the assertion that a few Hindu *lathials* attempted to loot the vegetable market.

What better sample of the Government's efficient arrangements can be produced than this riot which was taking place at a distance of only ten steps from the Kotwali, and yet the authorities could not stop it?

Lucknow disturbances.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* complains that it is a great pity that in Lucknow no solution has been found to the problem and curfew order seems to be the normal feature of life in the town. Feeling is high, the latest manifestation being the attempt to set in motion the local municipality to reclaim the Aminabad Park from being turned into a mosque. In a leading article the paper urges upon the municipal members to find a solution of the *arti* question as it must admit of solution. If Gandhi can solve it, it would be a blessing. The strain is daily growing unbearable. If Gandhi cannot, then the suggestion, however repugnant, of attempting to set the municipal bye-law into motion may be accepted as a practical solution. If that too fails to afford the solution, then the Hindus may find a leader to offer *satyagraha*. At another place the paper says that there are growing signs that the attitude of the non-cooperative commissioners of the Lucknow municipality against the enforcement of the municipal bye-law is exercising the indignation of the public. The *Arti* expresses wonder why the authorities at Lucknow take no legal proceeding against the hooligans who committed atrocities during the recent disturbance and points out that it is owing to this apathy that stray assaults continue to be committed here and there even now. It also asks why no action has so far been taken on the inquiry made in the Amethi riot.

Non-cooperation.

Referring to Mr. Gandhi's article in the *Navayug* suggesting the suspension of non-cooperation, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Such a step as is foreshadowed by Gandhi would end the three-party conflict in Indian politics, and once again unite the forward politicians as against the more guarded and less progressive wing. The cessation of the non-cooperation movement as such, with whatever restrictions and provisos, will be a confession of failure. It would require all the love of truth and courage to face a defeat such as Gandhi alone possesses to acclaim loudly what has long been evident to many, namely, that non-cooperation, as an ideal which appealed to the masses and prosented to the world a united and determined India, has become extinct.

The Reforms.

Referring to the evidence of Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad before the Reforms Inquiry Committee the *Leader* does not agree with Sir Chimanlal that the provincial autonomy should be established in the major provinces only. It should be granted to all the provinces, for dyarchy has been found by experience to be unsound and unsatisfactory. The objections raised against it are applicable in major as well as minor provinces, and we are opposed to any differentiation being made in the matter. No one has any faith left in dyarchy and the sooner it is ended and substituted by full responsible government in the provinces the better for the cause of good government and smooth administration. The *Pioneer*, on the other hand, says: Much of the opposition to dyarchy before the Reforms Inquiry Committee is due to a belief, which we believe to be entirely mistaken, that if dyarchy is thrown upon the scrapheap, the British Parliament will be forced to concede a substantial further constitutional advance at once. Recent events, however, have convinced the British people that any further advance is out of the question for some time to come.

Burma Taxation campaign.

In a leading article headed "The Burma Capitation Tax" the *Leader* remarks: A tax which can be manipulated at the arbitrary will of the executive and which is opposed to all modern principles of taxation ought to be done away with. Sir Harcourt Butler's Government appears to us to be approaching the question from a wrong perspective. The solution of the trouble lies in abolishing the tax and substituting another in its place, such as a land rate, and not in blind repression.

Agra Tenancy Act.

The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that the conditions prevailing in the province of Oudh being different from those in Agra the same principles should not be applied to the latter. It criticises the occupancy rights to be given to the non-occupancy tenants and remarks that the grant of these rights besides causing difficulties to the landlords will not even benefit the tenants. The concessions proposed to be granted to the latter are not real and adequate return for the rights from which it is intended to deprive them.

Proscription of the leaflet "Indian Communist Party."

The *Vartman* says that the Government of Sir William Marris is outdoing all other provincial Governments in points of irresponsibility and imprudence and that the proscription of the Socialist Party's leaflet is the latest example of that irresponsibility. The Tsardom of the provincial Government in political matters is gradually crossing the limit of the endurance of the people. Until the provincial Government makes its position clear as to whether communistic organisations are unlawful the Socialists should freely carry on their activities. Writing in the same paper Satya Bhakta, the writer of the proscribed leaflet remarks: "The manner in which the Government has within the last few days proscribed unoffending and unobjectionable books and pamphlets leads us to infer that its legal adviser these days appears to be a raw recruit or one who is inexperienced in the ways of the world. I emphatically declare that this action of the Government is cowardly. The straight course for it was to declare the Communist Party an unlawful organisation. If it is prepared to declare the party unlawful, I for one assert that I am a Communist and that I accept and preach all the principles enunciated in the proscribed pamphlet. I am confident that even in this demoralised state hundreds of persons will be forthcoming who in the name of socialism and freedom will kick this order like me. Besides this, the Communist Party of the British Empire and of all other countries of the world which is stronger than fifty such Governments is there to meet it." The *Pratap* says that by proscribing the copies of the rules of the Indian Communist Party published by Mr. Satya Bhakta the United Provinces Government has given another proof of its folly. The first proof was furnished by it in the proscription of Mr. Gour's readers. At present there is no field for Communism in India. To talk of it is but a farce. But when it is permissible in England, why should it not be so in this country? The action taken by the Government is indicative of the perversity of its legal intellect. It is not proper for the people to yield to such despotism and we are convinced that they will not do so.

Political propaganda.

The *Bharat Jiwan* publishes three articles in honour of the Vijaya Dashmi festival in the course of one of which it invokes goddess Durga to incarnate herself in India which is being ruined by *rakshasas* (demons) in order to protect her children, the Indians and the Hindu religion. In another article the writer, Ram Nath Lal Surma, invokes goddess Kali to dance her mad dance on the bloody altar so that our cowardice may vanish and our regeneration may be secured. Another writer, under the pseudonym of "A Kinchan," invokes Lord Ram to re-incarnate himself to protect the woebegone and oppressed land of India. He is an enemy of the heartless bureaucracy and will surely destroy it. He shall have to fight hard against the adverse circumstances here and he shall have to destroy the heartless people who love oppression. He shall have to become drenched in the blood of red revolution, but that does not matter as he has always been a fighter.

LUCKNOW:

The 25th October, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,

Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

2 DEC. 1924
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 42 of 1924.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 1*st November*, 1924.

British elections.

THE *Pioneer*, which describes the result of the general election as a veritable landslide, says that a strong Conservative Government seems to be assured for some time to come. The overwhelming victory of the Conservatives points to two conclusions. One is that the British people have no sympathies with revolutionaries; the other is that they clearly recognise that the real fight at this election was between Conservatism and Labour. Whatever Government was returned to power as a result of the elections, there were no grounds for supposing that there would be any change in British policy towards India. The outcry in the Indian-edited Press that a Conservative victory at the polls will mean more repression in India is hollow, and will carry no conviction to any intelligent observer of recent events. The *Leader* remarks that the prospect of another Baldwin Government is dreary for India, for whether there is again to be at the India Office a Peel-Winterton combination or there are to be new men, it is much more probable than not that the policy will be a die-hard policy. The divisions in public life in India being as they are, the Government here, who are frankly reactionary both in the centre and in the provinces, will be able confidently to reckon not merely upon support but upon active encouragement and even incitement from Whitehall. The *Hamdam* remarks that whatever party may be in power in England when Indian affairs are discussed in Parliament all sentiments of liberty will give place to ideas of Imperialism and more attention will be paid to strengthen the "steel frame" than to the demands and grievances of the Indians. If the Conservative Party gains an ascendancy, it will try its best to strengthen British rule in India. This will naturally re-act in stimulating the national movements in India and giving a fresh impetus to Indians to work harder for liberty. The *Haqiqat* says that in the event of a Conservative success the Hindus and Musalmans are likely to sink their differences and exert unitedly to achieve their long-cherished aim. The *Oudh Akhbar* has no faith in any of the political parties of England and remarks that the Communist Party has included Indian emancipation in its programme merely to further its own interests. The *Nejat* avers that the régime of the Labour Government was in no way beneficial to India so far as repression and autocracy are concerned. The Labour Party is helpless to do anything for India unless it commands a substantial majority in Parliament. The *Hindustani* describes the electioneering speech of Mr. Baldwin as a threat to the Swarajists and remarks that at a time when India is sorely distressed at its internal communal disturbances, it is tantamount to sprinkling salt on a wound. The rise and fall of any political party in England cannot affect India's fortune. In another article the same paper apprehends that the rise of the Conservative Party into power will usher an era of repression in India. If the Labour Party is thrown out of power England will be confronted with dire calamities and it will become impossible for her to manage her Empire.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Al Bashir* is gratified that the treacherous Sharif Husain and his son Amir Ali have left the holy land of Mecca and that Amir Ibn Saud has delivered the people of Hedjaz from their tyranny. It hopes that the British Government will not commit a fresh blunder of meddling in the Hedjaz affairs and thereby antagonise the Muslim world. The *Al Bureed* is jubilant at the abdication of Sharif Husain and remarks that the statement issued by the nationalists of Hedjaz was inspired by Shah Husain in order to deceive the Musalmans. The *Medina* takes to task those maulvis of India who are supporting the cause of Sharif Husain. It accuses them of creating a division amongst the Musalmans and thereby strengthening the hands of British Imperialism. The *Haqiqat* advises the Government of India to grant the request of Maulana Shaukat Ali to take a Khilafat deputation to London in order to ascertain the intentions of Amir Ibn Saud regarding the administration of the holy land. The *Zulqarnain* is the only Muslim paper which sounds a dissenting note and does not favour the occupation of the Hedjaz by the Sultan

of Najd. The Musalmans of India are mostly Sunnis and they cannot tolerate Wahabi rule in the Hedjaz. The *Aj* congratulates the British Government on its policy of neutrality in the Hedjaz affairs and remarks that this must convince ex-King Husain that no one in the world respects those who are traitors to their religion and community. The *Vartman* says that Shah Husain has been adequately punished for the trouble he brought upon Islam and the people of Arabia. The Arabs should bear in mind that so long as his son Amir Ali remains on the throne there can be no permanent peace in Arabia. They should consult the leaders of the entire Muslim world and establish a democratic government in the Hedjaz, thereby putting an end to the prevailing unrest in the country.

The Mosul question.

Referring to the memorandum placed before the League of Nations by the Kurdish tribes the *Pioneer* says that it definitely destroys the main argument on which the Turks have sought to base their claim to the vilayet. Turkish rule is the last thing that the Kurds desire. The *Nejat* strongly criticises the British policy regarding Iraq and remarks that Great Britain out of greed for the oil fields is foolishly ignoring the advice of Sir Henry Wilson and courting a great danger by picking up a quarrel with the Turks. The *Medina* hopes that Great Britain and Turkey will soon come to an amicable settlement and remarks that the retention of Mosul can in no way prove useful to Great Britain.

Khilafat deputation.

The *Zulqarnain* is astounded at the refusal of the Angora Government to grant passports to the Khilafat deputation from India and infers that in Angora itself there is a difference of opinion regarding the abolition of the Khilafat and Mustafa Kemal apprehends that the arrival of the deputation will give rise to fresh complications.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Pioneer* says: It is by no means easy to apportion correctly the blame for the deplorable communal disturbances which have recently broken out in almost every part of India, and referring to the comments of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* with regard to the Amethi affair, the paper says: Provocative and inflammatory language of this kind is calculated to accentuate the mutual distrust which exists between the two communities, and to postpone indefinitely that unity which Indian politicians of all parties profess to desire. The *Al Bashir* regrets that Mr. Gandhi has lost all influence with the Hindus and that all the trouble which he underwent for their sake has proved to be useless. The Musalmans should see that the advocates of *sangathan* and *mahabirdal* are not allowed to succeed. The *Medina* opines that if the Government resorts to prosecution the feelings of anger and revenge harboured by the two communities will be all the more stimulated and it will become impossible to maintain peace and order in the country. What is needed at this time is to forget the past and to come to a mutual understanding in a spirit of forbearance and toleration. The *Mashriq* remarks that there can be no Hindu-Muslim unity unless the Hindus stop publishing provocative pamphlets, allow the Musalmans perfect freedom in their religious affairs, respect the sanctity of mosques, abstain from blowing conch at the time of prayer and agree to have a fair proportion of the Musalmans in the services. The *Aligarh District Gazette* holds that the Unity Conference failed to achieve its object and remarks that the national movements which were once started against the Government have now resulted in creating a rupture between the two communities. The leaders should now take pity on the country and refrain from exciting the passions of the masses. The *Hamdard* opines that there can be no friendly relations between Hindus and Muhammadans unless measures are taken to remove their mutual hatred. The *Kartavya* points out that it is nothing but fanaticism which stands in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity. Inculcation of religious toleration among the masses is the only way of putting an end to communal strifes. The *Shiksha Prabhakar* holds that the root cause of the communal disturbances is the divide and rule policy of the bureaucracy. It urges that the Muhammadan leaders should take measures to stop the atrocities of their ignorant co-religionists against the Hindus in the matter of the demolition of their temples and the abduction of their women and children, and that if they fail to do so for fear of fanatical *mullahs*, the scriptures which countenance such practices will have to be bid farewell to in this twentieth century. If the Hindus have to live in the world they will have to abolish the caste system and untouchability and make their Hindu religion a proselytising one as once it was. There should be religious toleration throughout the country and all communities should unite to free the country from the bondage of foreigners. The *Anand* says that the fact that section 144 has again been applied to the performance of *arti* in the Aminabad

Park temple, Lucknow, while the Muhammadans are freely holding their prayer there, has greatly exercised the mind of the Hindus who are putting their own interpretations on the policy of the local authorities. The *Bharat Dharma* points out that the bureaucracy in order to serve its own ends has recourse to the crooked policy of divide and rule and set Hindus and Muhammadans by the ear and contends that *swaraj* is the best remedy for communal strifes.

Hindu organisation.

The *Kailas*, a new weekly from Moradabad, remarks that it is most unfortunate that the Hindu community whose religion is so great and whose past history is so glorious has demoralised to such an extent that any one can plunder and suppress it. It is therefore its paramount duty to organise its scattered elements not with a view to fight with others but to unite and to be able to protect ourselves in the hour of emergency.

Constitutional advance.

Dwelling upon the failure of dyarchy the *Haqiqat* exhorts the Indians to sink their differences and continue their political struggle on non-violent and constitutional lines. The present Reforms are likely to be jeopardised if the Conservatives gain an ascendancy, because the destructive policy of the Swarajists has made the Central and Provincial Governments incline towards repression. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the Reforms Inquiry Committee has re-started the work of recording evidence simply in the hope of collecting some material in support of dyarchy. The *Hamdam* says that what India needs at this time is neither political concessions nor any change in the *personnel* of the Government but a candid declaration to the effect that India is for the Indians only and that the redress of her grievances and the satisfaction of her demands is not dependent on the sweet will and the generosity of the aliens. The *Medina* suspects that the recent Hindu-Muslim disturbances are in fact a prologue to the efforts of the Hindus to strengthen the hand of British Imperialism and increase their own power and prestige in the country. If the revision of Reforms assumes a practical shape we have no hesitation in saying that it will drive the last nail into the coffin of the political existence of the Musalmans. Commenting on Sir Fazl-ul-Haq's evidence before the Reforms Inquiry Committee the *Aj* remarks: A perusal of Mr. Haq's evidence leads one to the conclusion that either he has gone mad or that he is burning with the thirst for retaliation. He supports dyarchy and even favours reversion to the pre-Minto-Morley Reforms days. We can now assert that the Bengal Legislative Council acted rightly in rejecting the demand for the grant of salaries to such Ministers. The *Vartman* writes: Sir Fazl-ul-Haq propounded original, strange, and unique views when he said that dyarchy must remain. Sir Fazl-ul-Haq is one of those Ministers who were removed from office with disgrace by the Bengal Council and it is therefore easy to understand why he has assumed the rôle of a traitor and a reactionary.

Bengal Ordinance.

With the exception of the *Pioneer*, which says that the decision of the Viceroy to promulgate an Ordinance will not come as a surprise to those who have watched the development of anarchical and revolutionary conspiracy in that province, the papers are united in condemning the enforcement of the new law. The *Leader* in an article headed "The ominous beginning" says that the power given to executive and police officers to make arrests without warrant and some other provisions of the Ordinance as well as some of the measures notified by the Government of Bengal, cannot be supported by any one who is aware of the liability, if not the proneness of the executive and the police unchecked by public opinion or judicial tribunals, to abuse the unusual and extraordinary powers vested in them. The paper considers it to be its duty to warn the Government against the beginnings of a new policy the limits of which cannot be definitely known at present even to them. In another article the paper fears that the Government of Bengal are not likely to act with unwonted self-restraint. A situation of the utmost gravity has been created, and no one can tell to what extent it may be aggravated, to what greater lengths the estrangement between Government and public opinion may go. It is almost a cry in the wilderness to ask the Government to review the position, to retrace their steps courageously and to act with that moderation which is a quality specially needed in Governments endowed with vast authority. We can but express the hope that they may yet persuade themselves of the wisdom of such a course. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* considers it very unfortunate that Lord Reading deemed it necessary to adopt a most unwise course in launching a campaign of repression. To accord to the members of the Swaraj Party the same treatment as is accorded to revolutionary conspirators is not statesmanship but puerility. Mr. Ranga Iyer writing in the paper says: I shall neither be sorry nor surprised if I see the

bureaucratic engineers hoist by their own petard. Repression only makes the meat it feeds on. As every student of history knows, repression is the cause and therefore cannot be the cure of discontent. By trying to suppress the Swarajists as seditionists, the Government only drive discontent underground. Referring to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's statement on the subject the paper remarks that the Pandit's statement is a complete exposure of the Government's determination to crush the Swaraj Party by treating its prominent members as full-blooded anarchists. India must be prepared for a reign of bureaucratic terrorism. Nothing would be more welcome to the true terrorists in Bengal who have only been waiting for the bureaucracy to throw off its mask. According to the *Advocate* Lord Reading has committed the greatest blunder at the instigation of his advisors to follow a repressive policy in Bengal. The paper hopes that with the exception of a few the Council will wholeheartedly oppose him and will never bind itself to be a party to these unwise and injudicious measures. It is certain that the bureaucracy cannot crush any revolutionary movement with the aid of a barbarous and inhuman regulation like the present one; but, on the other hand, it will spread discontent in the country and the result will be that crimes will increase. Lord Reading has awakened us from the deep sleep into which we had fallen and his new move has smoothed our path for the early attainment of *swaraj*. We doubly bless Lord Reading for this generous act and can assure him that his name will become a household word just like that of Lord Curzon in India. The *Aj* remarks: The arrest of the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, the Secretary of the Bengal Swaraj Party, and the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee among others suggests that the Bengal Government wants to suppress the Swaraj Party also along with the revolutionary party. Government has a full right to suppress the revolutionaries but it should also remove the causes which have given birth to the revolutionary party. Unless this is done no action against the revolutionists will be of any avail. The Viceroy's statement in this connection is destructive of the freedom of every Bengali. We apprehend and our apprehension is supported by past experience that the entire political movement in Bengal will be suppressed under the pretext of putting down the revolutionary movement.

The Akali agitation.

The *Arti* says that the organisation known as the *Sikh Sudhar Sangat* is the outcome of Sir Malcolm Hailey's crooked diplomacy and is a velvet glove underneath which the leonine claws of Government injustice are concealed. It is to be hoped that the Akalis will see through the clever moves of the Government and will frustrate them by remaining firm in their policy of non-violence. The *Pratap* remarks that Sir Malcolm Hailey's policy of propaganda and counter-organisation has succeeded in creating a division among the Sikhs. Through the *Sikh Sudhar Sangat* Sir Malcolm Hailey and the Nabha authorities will now be able to proclaim to the world that they throw no obstacles in the performance of the religious duties of the Sikhs.

Bengal Executive Council.

The *Aj* remarks that the appointment of Mr. A. K. Ghaznavi, who is an enemy of Indian progress, as a member of the Bengal Executive Council illustrates how the bureaucracy supports its devotees. It is easy to concieve what service Mr. Ghaznavi will render to the country from this exalted office when he could be found to directly oppose Indian progress and support the existing Civilian autocracy. It is why we do not support Indianisation without *swaraj*. May we ask the Government what difference is there between this reward and bribery?

The United Provinces Council session.

The *Zulqarnain* expresses its concern at the rumoured postponement of the Council session and remarks that the Council session should be held on account of the floods and the communal disturbances. It is the duty of the Government to keep the Council popular with the public and avoid creating any suspicion against itself. Writing in a similar strain the *Oudh Akhbar* advises the Government to revise its decision.

Agra Tenancy Act.

The *Leader* says that the correspondence appearing in the papers shows conclusively that neither the zamindars nor the tenants nor the impartial judges who desire nothing better than peace between the two and the protection of their interests as well as those of the tax-payer, are satisfied with its provisions. We fear the draft Bill will have to be materially amended before being enacted into law if the controversy is to be set at rest for any considerable time. The *Oudh Akhbar* is opposed to the granting of life interest to the non-occupancy tenants and remarks that the present

Bill is on the whole prejudicial to the interests of the zamindars without conferring any material benefit on the tenants. It will be better if all the tenants are given life interest and occupancy and non-occupancy rights are abolished; in this way the loss and gain of both the zamindars and the tenants will be equalised. The *Haqiqat* says that the interference in the proprietary rights of the proprietors besides being unjust always gives rise to harmful consequences. Most of the sections of the present Bill are likely to create great difficulties for the zamindars and especially that section under which it has been proposed to give life interest to non-occupancy tenants.

Bolshevism.

The *Prem* publishes a contributed article in which the writer Bhuvan Bhaskar Misra says: The cry of Bolshevism is like nectar to the poor labourers and cultivators and like poison to the rich and to autocratic Governments which fatten on the blood of the poor. The Bolsheviks have determined to put an end to these tyrants. The Indians too should open their eyes and realise that all have an equal right to the things of the world. They too should come forward and put an end to capitalists and false Governments in the world. If there is to be lasting peace in the world autocratic power will have to be abolished as it only supports the capitalists at the expense of the poor.

Political propaganda.

A correspondent writing to the special *Vijaya Dashmi* number of the *Vartman* under the pseudonym "An International Revolutionist" remarks: Conferences and Congress meetings can do nothing. Nor can *swaraj* be attained through bombs and conspiracies. What must be done is to discover a small island in a remote corner of the world. This island may be called "Freeland." Indians should go from India and establish a colony there. Big factories should be opened there and arms should also be manufactured for purpose of self-protection. The Colony should have lakhs of soldiers, thousands of aeroplanes, cannon and guns. We should raise funds in India for this purpose. When we shall have a freeland of our own we shall be feared and respected by the outside world. The alien Government which is at present ruling over our country in a despotic manner will then fear us and amend its irresponsible system of government. When the soldiers of the "Freeland" will be seen parading, the sons of dependent India will derive inspiration and march forward towards freedom. The self-assertion of a far off "Freeland" will destroy the germs of slavery and the alien Government will leave India with its inhuman and uncivilised administration.

LUCKNOW:

The 1st November, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL.

8 DEC 1924,
INDIA OFFICE

No. 43 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 8th November, 1924.

British elections.

THE success of the Conservatives in the general election is viewed with undisguised pessimism. The *Leader* regrets the premature demise of the Labour Party's Government and says that they have made what must be regarded as the capital mistake of almost going out of their way to fight and alienate the Liberal party. They have very nearly succeeded in this high emprise. But in the process they have done themselves no good. Neither have they done any good to their own country nor to the Empire as a whole. With a juster attitude towards the Liberal party they need not have handed over the seals of office to the Tories, and handed them over, in all probability, for at least four years. In their hatred of the Liberals they seem to bear a family resemblance to our own *Swaraj* party. With no greater wisdom or magnanimity they too have betrayed a fondness for the unedifying and profitless operation of cutting their noses in order to spite their faces. It is all so sad. In a leading article headed "India and the general election" the same paper says that the result of the general election is much more disastrous than the most pessimistic would have been prepared for. We cannot recall any time during the last quarter of a century when the prospect was darker for our hapless country than it is today. Deploring the fall of the Labour Government, the *Hamdam* still sees a ray of hope in the dark future of India and remarks that the awakening of a country does not come into being under a generous and benign Government but under "strong Government" which is the ideal of Mr. Baldwin. What wonder then if the "strong Government" may force the diverse political parties of India to reunite against the common enemy and all the communal and personal interests may be made subservient to one single task of securing the deliverance of India. In another article the same paper criticises the "Protectionist policy" of Mr. Baldwin as injurious to India and remarks that the "strong Government" insisted upon by him is now being enforced by Lord Reading in Bengal in the shape of the new Ordinance. The ascendancy of the Conservative party does not augur well for the world. The *Haqiqat* is grieved at the defeat of the Labour party specially at a time when the political atmosphere in India was gloomy on account of the communal disturbances. The advent of the Conservative Government will strengthen the "steel frame" of the Civil Service and dash to the ground all hopes of further Reforms. The *Vartman* remarks that the undoubted victory of the Conservative party in the elections shows that the British public is still sunk in Conservatism and is quite ignorant of the real principles of democracy and that it is a mere plaything for the capitalists to delude the public by the meanest conspiracies. The Conservative party has already announced its demoniacal policy with regard to India. Perfect unanimity will now prevail between Simla and Whitehall. Repression will now reign supreme in India. It has to be seen how far the nationalism and manhood of India comes out unscathed through this ordeal. The *Aj* says that the overwhelming majority by which the Conservatives have been returned to the Parliament demonstrates that for the next five years the Conservative Party will be able to rule over Britain, India and other dependent countries within the British Empire in a despotic manner despite the consistent opposition of the other parties. Autocracy will reach its limit in India. The *Arti* opines that under the Conservatives India will again come in for a course of repression as has already been made evident by Mr. Baldwin in a speech before the elections. The Government of India may now expect full support from the Home Government in its present repressive and reactionary policy. The *Anand* remarks that the return of the Conservatives to power will highly gratify those people who want to crush Indian aspirations by means of repression, because Mr. Baldwin has already declared the need for firm and strong government in India. Repression has already been started in Bengal to welcome the return of Conservatives to power and it appears that the policy of repression will become the order of the day for some time.

Khilafat deputation.

The *Oudh Akhbar* resents the Government's refusal to grant passports to the Muslim deputation to Hedjaz and Nejd and remarks that besides numerous other blessings conferred by the Reforms it is also one of the latter's special features to deprive the people of their religious freedom.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the cleavage between the two communities seems to be far more deep and far-reaching than appears from the surface manifestation of the riots. The *Nizam-i-Alam* blames the Hindus for provoking the Musalmans and goading them into fight. The Hindus utilise the Congress and other national organisations for exciting the Hindus against the Musalmans and exhort them to boycott the latter. Sheikh Mushir Husain Qidwai in a signed article in the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks: I care more for *swaraj* than for Hindu-Muslim relations. If after obtaining *swaraj* one community annihilates the other, there is no harm in it, as there is greater pleasure in dying after becoming free. The Musalmans regard the *shuddhi* movement as a challenge to Islam and as a true believer in my religion I am prepared to accept the challenge. There is nothing to be surprised at if the Musalmans make everything subservient to the task of saving the Musalmans from becoming renegades, particularly when the movement is pregnant with dangers. The *Hind-i-Jadid* says that the history books taught in the schools depict the so-called tyrannies of the Muslim rulers over the Hindus and thus help in creating communal ill-will and hatred. Such books should be removed from the curriculum so that the leaders may be able to dissuade the people from suspecting the Government of fomenting communal bitterness. A correspondent writing to the *Hindustani* suspects Native States of fanning the fire of communal disturbances for counteracting the *swaraj* movement in British India lest the movement should spread in their own territories. The *Nejat* accuses the Government officials of taking no precautionary measures to prevent the disturbances and remarks that on the contrary they make capital out of them to prove the unfitness of Indians for *swaraj*. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Viceroy by disallowing Mr. Gandhi to proceed to Kohat has given cause to the Indian public to suspect that the Government does not sincerely wish to restore peace and order in the country and hopes that the Viceroy will revise his decision. The *Haqiqat* resents the action of the Viceroy in preventing Mr. Gandhi from going to Kohat and hopes that the unjust order of the Viceroy will make the Hindus and the Musalmans ponder over the situation and thus help in cementing happy relations between the two communities. The *Anand* complains that since the communal disturbances in Lucknow obstacles are being put in the observance of their religious obligations by Hindus. Muhammadans are adopting an aggressive attitude everywhere against the established practice of blowing conches. It urges the authorities to take proper measures in the matter to prevent further wounding of the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. One Harish Chandra Tripathi writing in the *Gayan Shakti* rebukes the Hindus for their cowardice and inaction in putting up with the atrocities of Muhammadans, even against their temples and women, and exhorts them to sacrifice their lives or drown themselves through shame before they suffer such insults. Indeed, their position is most deplorable when they are not free even to play music in their temples. If they have any self-respect they should stand for their rights even at the cost of their lives. Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible unless the Muhammadans are fully impressed that the Hindus are as strong as themselves and can retaliate easily against their attacks.

The Bengal Ordinance.

The *Pioneer* resents the chorus of disapproval in the Indian press of the Government action in Bengal and says that no windy rhetoric can alter the fact that the British people and the British Parliament are actuated by good-will towards this country. The greatest enemies of India's progress are to be found in India itself. At another place the paper says that the attitude of the Indian leaders towards vital issues will certainly not impress the British public favourably towards the claim so insistently put forward for a further constitutional advance. Referring to Mrs. Besant's defence of the new policy in Bengal, the *Leader* regrets that it has brought no conviction to its mind. "The more we reflect upon the subject, the stronger do we feel that while anarchism must be put down, the connection between lawless conspiracies and at least some of the arrests made under Regulation III and the Ordinance, has neither been proved nor is it apparent. The success that repression achieves can at best be temporary and shadowy. With all respect to Mrs. Besant

and notwithstanding all the customary twaddle which the Tory press in England and the English-edited press in India have been indulging in, we must say once again that we are extremely uneasy about the new policy and still more so as now we see so little chance of the Government taking the right direction." In a leading article headed "Bankruptcy of Statesmanship" the *Advocate* says that the police and the magistrates have been given absolute powers to harass, prosecute and imprison any and everybody whom they like on mere suspicion. The liberty of peaceful citizens is in jeopardy and everyone is at the mercy of a policeman. In another article the same paper says that the Government committed the greatest blunder by inaugurating an era of repression. Lord Reading has signed and confirmed the death-warrant of the bureaucracy. The *Weekly Observer* says that the special powers conferred upon the Bengal Government are undoubtedly wide, but that they are justifiable, no fair-minded man who has read the statements of the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal can possibly question. It does not agree with Indian press that the Ordinance is a blow aimed at the *Swaraj* party. It is certainly a weapon designed against the so-called "Red Bengal" party. The *Pratap* writes: Lords Reading and Lytton have dropped a poisonous bomb known as the "Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance no. 1 of 1924" on the heart of India. This action of these arbiters of our destiny has created a sensation in the whole of India. On account of the poisonous smoke of this bomb the freedom of Bengal is being suffocated, its public life is nearing death and the spirit of opposition has taken hold of the people. Is it administration or indiscrimination? Government says that such a step was necessary for the preservation of peace. But if peace is preserved by unlawful means we shall never bow to them. What is that peace which is sought to be preserved through this contemptible, despicable, unjust and reprehensible Ordinance? Where does this anxiety to preserve peace vanish when ignorant people of the country trample upon law and order as they did during communal disturbances. If today the authorities are seeing the spectre of "Red Bengal" it is the outcome of the suppression of the non-cooperation movement and who can say if "Red India" will not be the outcome of the suppression of "Red Bengal" which is being carried out so foolishly. The repression in Bengal has made it quite clear that the present system of administration must be done away with. Let us achieve this end by means of firm but peaceful *satyagraha*. The *Aj* remarks that by the promulgation of an illegal Ordinance in Bengal Lord Reading has deprived the Bengal of even the inalienable rights of humanity. It is a misuse of words to call that country free and happy the ruler of which possesses such terrible powers. The suppression of anarchy in Bengal is only an excuse to crush the *Swaraj* party. It behoves us, therefore, to stand for our God-given rights, refuse to cooperate with the bureaucracy and fully adhering to the doctrine of non-violence compel the bureaucracy to rule by the sword. In another article the same paper says: The bureaucracy has thrown a challenge and living, awakened, self-respecting and non-violent India accepts it. The trouble which has befallen Bengal today may tomorrow overtake any other province. The *Anand* thinks that the Ordinance will evoke vigorous opposition and it will not be surprising if unrest is all the more accentuated. The *Arti* says that the bureaucracy by promulgating the new Ordinance has added one more sin to its misdeeds. The statement of the Viceroy in this connection does not command public confidence. Repression will only deepen and strengthen the unrest. Government only displays bankruptcy of the sense of justice in not charging the so-called revolutionaries before open courts under the ordinary law. Its resort to special measures shows that its case is weak. The new Ordinance is a slur on the administration of the bureaucracy itself, seeing that even after more than a century a regulation like that of 1818 is requisitioned into service in this twentieth century. Such measures will indirectly help forward the national movement and will rebound at the heads of their own authors. The *Vartman* remarks: All this is symbolical of the mental state of the British public which, although it has almost reached the republican horizon is yet retracing its steps for fear of its sins. If that insensate and inebriated nation has driven us by force to revolt it means the downfall of its own officials and authorities, who by resorting to military powers on such occasions only add to their disgrace. Lord Reading has tried to disturb by smoke the hornets' nest, but he has left no other path open for this powerless and helpless nation except that of revolt. At the report of the first cannon of this new warfare we wish to point out that this marks the beginning of Lord Reading's end and with him the West is completely exposed. The *Medina* strongly protests against the

Government's action in Bengal and remarks that the Ordinance is a prologue to that movement which resulted in wiping out despotism from Russia and it hopes the Swarajists and the revolutionists will willingly accept the challenge. The Viceroy by his short-sighted policy has strengthened the foundation of the revolutionary party in India. The *Hamdam* refuses to admit that the arrested persons had anything to do with the anarchical conspiracies and doubts that the action taken by the Government will serve its purpose. The step taken will only aggravate the unrest prevailing in the country and prove injurious to the Government itself. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the policy of repression betrays the utter hollowness of the Reforms and Englishmen have now no right to say that they are moulding India on democratic lines. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* says that the Swarajists' activities are responsible for the enforcement of the new Ordinance in Bengal. It is to be regretted that all hopes of a round table conference have been dashed to the ground. Let all the political parties sink their differences and rise up against the new calamity. The *Nejat* condemns the policy of the Viceroy as tyrannical and remarks that had he himself been a Bengali his self-respect would never have tolerated the enforcement of such a law against his countrymen. The new Ordinance is a severe blot on a civilised nation and the Government which enforces it earns the perpetual hatred of the people. The *Hindustani* does not believe that the anarchical movement exists in India to the extent alleged by the Government and apprehends that the enforcement of the new Ordinance will result in the perpetration of excesses by the police and in alienating public sympathy from the Government. The *Haqiqat* is the only vernacular paper which justifies the enforcement of the new Ordinance and remarks that the situation in Bengal was not menacing to the Government officials only but also to those national workers who do not approve of revolutionary methods. Only repression cannot be successful in eradicating the evil unless British officials give proof of their large-heartedness and try to settle the dispute by compromise.

Congress politics.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* hopes that the agreement between the two wings of Nationalists under the stress of repression will mark the beginning of disciplined agitation against the new order that threatens to envelop this unfortunate country. The agreement means the end of the No-change party. Once more Gandhi has displayed that unerring vision for truth and indomitable courage to act without any consideration for personal feelings and opinion. The country demanded, at this crisis, such an answer as the joint statement of the leaders has placed before the Government. We are face to face with new trial of strength between the forces of despotism and democracy. Today the Government have still the qualified support of some extreme Liberals. Even this will be lost by a repetition of the measures taken against Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose upon a few more prominent men.

Communal feeling in Lucknow.

Referring to the *arti-namaz* question in Aminabad Park, Lucknow, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Hindus feel most strongly that all existing safeguards ought to be used to secure religious freedom for them before having recourse to the extreme measures such as *satyagraha* against the orders of the District Magistrate. It attacks the members of the municipal board of lack of courage in dealing with the question, and says that on a question which exercised the imagination of a large majority of those who sent them to transact municipal business Hindu municipal commissioners had assumed an attitude unworthy of intelligent beings. By their action, the municipality has driven the Hindu citizens to rise in arms against their elected representatives. The situation created is most unnatural. There is not a single Hindu in Lucknow who does not feel personally humiliated over this stoppage of *arti*. The *Hamdam* describes the resolution of Dr. Laxmi Sahai in the municipal board as an attack on the right of the Musalmans to offer their prayers in a public place and remarks that the Musalmans are not prepared to forgo their right and will cheerfully undergo any sacrifice to safeguard it. The time for the *maghrib* prayer is very short and the injunctions which are binding on the Musalmans in this respect are not so binding on the Hindus in respect of *arti*. The *Arti* and the *Anand* are emphatic in their condemnation of the Hindu members of the Lucknow municipal board for their failure to support the motion regarding the enforcement of the municipal bye-law no. 11 against the holding of prayer in the Aminabad Park. They have turned traitors to their own community. Their action shows that they are not fit to bear the burden of responsibility on their shoulders. They have forfeited the confidence of their electors and if they have any self-respect they should immediately resign their seats.

Mr. Gandhi's visit to Kohat.

The *Vartman* says that the refusal of permission by Government to Mr. Gandhi to visit Kohat is indicative of the indifference of Lord Reading towards Hindu-Muslim unity. The situation at Kohat demanded that Mahatma Gandhi should visit the place immediately. If the Government officials were fit to solve all the problems of the country or even if they had any desire to do so the situation in the country would not have been so hopeless. On the other hand the subordinate officials of Lord Reading have been found to be the cause of the prevailing unrest. In these circumstances the refusal of permission to Mahatma Gandhi by the Viceroy on the ground that it was not a propitious time for the visit has no value beyond being a clever political stratagem.

The Reforms.

The *Leader* sarcastically remarks that the members of the Reforms Inquiry Committee are to be congratulated that their dilatory tactics have borne fruit. The Labour Government will be out in the next few days and the Tories, the favourites and patron-saints of Simla, will be installed not only in office but in power. Whatever the Indian members of the committee may have to say will, therefore, be of the nature of a cry in the wilderness. India's friends in England having been decisively defeated in the elections there, the age-old opponents of Reform being about to be installed in power, the bureaucracy in India will have the time of their life and reaction will, and repression may, be the order of the day in this luckless land.

The U. P. Political Conference.

The *Leader* disapproves the *swaraj* resolution passed at the Gorakhpur Conference and says: Between a party which believes in constitutional efforts as the only practical political method in the totality of the circumstances of India and one which seeks for the country a destiny outside the Empire and a republican form of government there can be no joint or common action and we grieve to say that after this resolution, it is idle indeed to talk any more of unity between them. We are compelled to conclude that the Gorakhpur Conference has by its resolution done a grave disservice to the best interests of the country. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is surprised that the Conference passed what may be described as the independence resolution. That was one of the ways and a very easy way to let off steam. A moment's serious pause will have convinced even the most extreme political thinker that the country is less united and determined today than at the Ahmedabad Congress. Sincere politicians may actually feel discouraged by the passing of such resolutions that remain a dead letter. On the other hand they serve to give a handle to our enemies that Indian politics means idle gibberish.

Floods in the United Provinces.

The press is full of sympathetic references to the flood-stricken areas and suggests prompt action to alleviate the suffering now prevailing. The *Pioneer* says that the measures adopted by the provincial Government will help the people materially, but much remains to be done by the public at large in order to give the unhappy villagers a new start in life. The *Desh Bhagat* bewails the plight of the sufferers in the recent floods and exhorts the public to help them with men and money. It requests the Government to remit the revenue and taxes payable by the sufferers and advance loans to them for purchasing cattle. The *Chattri* praises the district authorities for their promptness and painstaking efforts in rendering timely help to the sufferers and appeals to the local Government to remit the revenue and issue orders to the District Magistrates of the affected areas to start relief funds. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* exhorts the Congress and the Khilafat Committees to raise relief funds for the sufferers in the flood in cooperation with those whom they hitherto regarded as traitors and slaves. It advises the Government to advance loans to the sufferers free of interest and complains that the Government employees are not subscribing towards the relief fund.

Improvement Trust.

Referring to the Town Improvement Trusts the *Aj* writes: We are strongly opposed to these Trusts and stand for their abolition. Their high cost and the comparatively small outturn of their work establish their utter uselessness. The Government should give the money which it wants to spend on any city to the municipality concerned, which can do this work more easily and economically.

Political propaganda.

Mr. Satya Bhakta publishes in the *Vartman* a letter from Lala Hardayal from Sweeden in which he says: If an Indian Socialist Party has been established a copy of its rules may be sent to him. If any Socialist paper has been started he shall only be too glad to contribute articles to it. The *Arti* says that Indian Musalmans have-

always taken part in Indian politics from a communal standpoint which shows that they are still far removed from the spirit of nationalism and patriotism. The communal feeling being so strong among them it is doubtful whether they will take their due share in the struggle for *swaraj* in case a satisfactory settlement is reached between the Turks and the English and regarding the *Jazirat ul-Arab*. On the contrary, it is most likely that they may oppose the *swaraj* movement and support the bureaucracy in order to gain their communal ends. In these circumstances the Hindus will have to decide whether they are to carry on the national struggle single-handed.

LUCKNOW:

The 8th November, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,

Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE
13
INDIA OFFICE

No. 44 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 15*th November*, 1924.

The new Ministry.

THE *Leader* considers the new Cabinet to be an able body of men, abler than the personnel of the last Baldwin Government, although the head of the Government is very far from being its ablest member. Referring to the Ministerial appointments the paper says: We are primarily concerned with the India Office and India will feel angry at the Premier's sending back to the office of Parliamentary Under-Secretary, of the arrogant politician who has shown himself equally lacking in manners, judgment and sympathy. The appointment of Lord Birkenhead, as the new Secretary of State for India, is a recognition by Mr. Baldwin of the importance of the Indian problem. The paper describes him as unstable and changing, more energetic than discreet, with a very good opinion of himself, but he is very able and puts his whole heart into any task that he essays. . . . His high reputation for ability will not desert him in his new office. But whether he will acquire a name and a fame as worthy to be ranked among great and friendly Secretaries of State such as Viscount Halifax and Sir Stafford Northcote, and Viscount Morley and Mr. Edwin Montagu, is a more doubtful proposition which only the events can answer. The *Pioneer* remarks that whatever criticism may be directed in this country against the appointment of the new Secretary of State for India, it cannot be denied that the affairs of the India Office will now be in the hands of one of the most brilliant of the British public men of the present generation. Lord Birkenhead knows more of Indian affairs now, and the policy he will carry out will be the policy laid down by Mr. Baldwin and his party before they entered office. Referring to the Conservative declaration of policy in regard to India the same paper emphasises that it does not differ materially from that of the other two parties. The progressive grant of constitutional liberties to the Indian peoples in accordance with the principles laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report is recognised as the party's deliberate policy. But there has been abundant evidence of late that none of the three great parties in Great Britain is disposed to concede a further instalment of reform in advance of the loyalty and capacity of those whom it is intended to benefit. And the Conservative party will certainly not be intimidated into premature concessions by the mischievous tactics of wreckers and of revolutionaries, which have merely had the effect of alienating practically every section of British public opinion. At another place the paper refers to Mr. Baldwin's speech at the Guildhall in London and says that it constitutes a warning and an invitation; a grave warning to the organisers of criminal conspiracies and their sympathisers, and a frank invitation to the best elements of the population of this great country. It does not expect that the Premier's manly and straightforward address will make any appeal to Indian extremists. The paper hopes that the apprehension and disgust felt by hosts of Indians with the disturbers of the country will find practical manifestation, and the Prime Minister will have done good service to India if his sincere and straightforward invitation is promptly welcomed by those to whom it was primarily addressed. The *Weekly Observer* says: The Indian extremists are greatly perturbed by the Conservative victory at the polls. But that need cause no alarm to those who believe in evolutionary progress, for the Conservative victory certainly ensures that no leaps in the dark will now be taken with regard to the governance of this vast peninsula. . . . With Lord Birkenhead at the India Office, this country will receive the services of a statesman of more than ordinarily high repute and statesmanship. Whatever the Indian papers might say to the contrary, the new Government has certainly made an excellent choice in its nomination of the Earl of Birkenhead as Secretary of State for India. The *Hamdam* says that the one redeeming feature of the Conservative party is its sincerity and honesty. It deceives nobody and always does what it says. It never gives out false hopes to the subject nations, nor does it make promises which it cannot fulfil. That it will try to establish in India a "strong Government" of which the Bengal Ordinance is the forerunner is certain. The Indian nationalists should correctly understand their own position and fully realise that they have to face a strong Government. The *Medina* interprets the success of the Conservative party as the

beginning of the era of British Imperialism. The *Arya Varta* apprehends that the Conservative Government will usher an era of repression in India and remarks that the policy of repression will make the Indians renew their efforts for emancipation as India to gain the freedom does not require an Akbar but an Aurangzeb. The *Shiksha Prabhakar* points out that whatever party may come into power in England as the result of the last Parliamentary elections, India has no confidence in any of them and has taken the task of moulding its destiny into its own hands. It is now immaterial to her what policies the various British parties enunciate regarding her. The *Anand* interprets Sir Joynson Hick's recent speech regarding India as a clear indication to Indians to expect nothing from the Parliament under the Conservative régime and on the contrary to be prepared for the suppression of their political agitation. It remarks that if the Hindus and Muhammadans were united today the repression of the Conservatives could possibly be met successfully, but it is to be regretted that the two communities are at present busy in breaking each other's head and the general public has in a way become indifferent to politics. In these circumstances Government will feel little difficulty in suppressing the political agitation.

Hedjaz affairs.

Referring to the fall of the Sharif of Mecca the *Satyagraha* says that it will cause regret to no sincere well-wisher of Islam. The almost universal support, which the conqueror has gained from all quarters, is a clear indication that things have changed for the better. The *Hamdam* remarks that the Sultan of Nejd by inviting the Muslim Princes of India and the Ulema of Persia to discuss and settle the future of the administration of the Holy Places has taken a step towards the realisation of that most important ideal of the Muslim world which was endangered on account of the pro-English policy of Sharif Hussain. The Muslim world should now take full advantage of the opportunity and try to arrive at a satisfactory decision regarding the future of the Holy Places.

Khilafat deputation.

The *Al Bashir* remarks that the Government has refused to grant passports to the Khilafat deputation to Nejd, because the Musalmans are worse than slaves. The Musalmans are fast sinking into degradation and if they remain in this state for some time longer the time is not far when they will be counted as belonging to one of the most degenerate communities.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Swadesh* publishes a contributed article in which the writer Banarsi Das Chaturvedi remarks that the question no longer remains whether India's place is within or without the British Empire. The main question now is whether free India will be an ally or enemy of Britain. The inebriated statesmen of Britain are not only digging the grave of their Empire by their differential treatment of Indian Colonists, but are also alienating free India.

The Bengal Ordinance.

The *Leader* says: Indian public men have had sufficient experience of the manner in which exceptional powers vested in the executive have been used and they are bound to feel the gravest apprehension that the Ordinance inaugurates a new era of repression, coming as it does after a furious agitation for drastic measure in the Die-hard organs of the British press. The *Advocate* says: Bravo Bengal! who has accepted the challenge of Lord Reading and Lord Lytton and has presented a united front to face the situation boldly and to show the bureaucracy that they are prepared to face any consequence whatsoever in order to win the liberty and freedom of their country. The bureaucracy was under the false impression that they will cow down the spirit of the Bengalis who have come on the forefront of the political life of the country under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das by means of repressive laws. It is our bounden duty that we should unite together, leave aside our petty differences for the moment and prepare ourselves for passive resistance and thereby we are sure to be successful in our efforts. In another article the same paper says that the liberty and freedom of an individual in Bengal entirely depends upon the whims and caprice of the police officials. The *Satyagraha* in an article, headed "Honour *vs.* Honesty," refers to arrests in Bengal and says: We shall have to win *swaraj* by our own efforts. The repression will open the eyes of the Moderates who pinned their faith to the Labour ministry. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the Government will indulge more and more every day in its policy of repression and will try its best to force the Indians to make the Reforms a success. The Liberals will acquiesce in every injustice and repression which the Government may commit and will advise others to display similar weakness. It is only the Swarajists who boldly face repression. The efforts to suppress this party is sure to

aggravate the prevailing unrest. The *Hamdam* says that the new Ordinance in Bengal has resulted in bringing the people of different shades of opinion on one platform. Lord Reading and Lord Lytton will now know that India has passed that stage in which the bureaucracy could over-awe the people by enforcing Rowlatt Act and Bengal Ordinances and send to jails the influential leaders by bringing baseless charges of anarchical conspiracies against them. The *Al Bashir* remarks that the Government has taken advantage of the communal tension and has enforced the new Ordinance in the hope that the Musalmans of Bengal being displeased with the Swarajists on account of the resignation of their Ministers will side with the Government as they did during the Bengal partition agitation. But being Indians we should forget the excesses which the Hindus have committed against the Musalmans and should seriously think that a Government which can resort to repression against the Hindus can some day do so against the Musalmans as well. It is, therefore, necessary that the Musalmans should with one accord condemn the action of the Government, forgetting all communal and political differences. The *Haqiqat* advises the Government to satisfy the public by issuing a detailed statement regarding the documents recovered by the police in the various searches made in Bengal and remarks that the action of Lord Reading will prove a boon for the country if it results in uniting all the parties against the Government. The latter ought to have tried to remove the real causes that gave rise to an anarchical movement which it now wants to suppress by enforcing new Ordinances. The *Arya Varta* welcomes the repression in Bengal and trusts that it will prove a blessing in disguise for India. It advises the Hindus and the Musalmans to divert their attention from communal strifes and give an effective reply to the Government. The *Al Khalil* remarks that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is in reality responsible for the prevailing communal tension which has emboldened the Government to launch repression in Bengal. The *Hind-i-Jadid* exhorts both the communities to show a united front to the Government and advises the latter to suspend the enforcement of the new Ordinance until it is passed by the Legislative Assembly and the Bengal Council. The *Aftab* refutes the allegation that the new Ordinance has been enforced to suppress the Swarajists. It believes in the existence of anarchical conspiracies in Bengal and advises the Government to eradicate them for the benefit of the public, ignoring all unjust clamours and criticisms. The *Mashriq* advises the Musalmans not to join the Hindus in protesting against the new Ordinance in Bengal as it is foolish to side with a community which does not show the least toleration for their religion. The *Shakti* says that the anarchists are not so strong that arbitrary powers should be given to the police throughout Bengal, that the whole province should be subjected to a reign of terror and that even the Congress and Swarajist leaders who are pledged to non-violence should be arrested. Indeed, the Government's policy appears to be intended to weaken the *swaraj* movement. But the Indians too are becoming strong through repeated repression. The Bengalis and for the matter of that Indians will not be frightened by this Ordinance and will only redouble their efforts for the attainment of *swaraj*. Now that the Conservatives have come into power the Indians should be prepared for further repression. They can achieve their end only through non-violent non-cooperation and *satyagraha*. The *Arti* criticising an article in the *Pioneer* regarding the Bengal Ordinance points out that it is true that the greatest enemies of India's progress are to be found in India itself. They are not Indians, but the Anglo-Indian journalists. The *Pioneer* need not have uttered the warning that the British public will pay no heed to the protests of Indians against repression, as they have now become well aware that their country's regeneration will come through their own efforts and not through mendicancy. It is surprising that despite its alienation of every Indian political party the Government has appealed for public support of its policy of repression. The Government should be prepared for a very formidable opposition on all sides. The *Aj* writes: No other action, speech or writing can cause so much contempt and hatred throughout the whole country against the Government "established by law" as the illegal Ordinance promulgated in Bengal by Lord Reading has done, and if all were equal in the eyes of law in practice Lord Reading, Lord Lytton and other officials in Bengal would have surely been punished under section 124 (A) of the Indian Penal Code. The same paper in another article remarks that the Conservative Government will use more enthusiastically the terrible weapon placed in the hands of the Government of India by the Socialistic Government of Britain on the eve of its exit and the Indians should just now prepare themselves for further trials. If the Congress does not give the right lead to the nation at the present crisis it will cease to be

called a national organisation. The *Vartman* says that the promulgation of the new Ordinance in Bengal has brought us face to face with the question of protecting our manhood and nationalism. At such a critical juncture we cannot confront the demoniacal army of *Ravan-shahi* without the unification of all the leaders and workers. It is time that the Liberals summoned courage and joined the Belgaum session of the Congress with a view to present a united front to the bureaucracy. The *Abhyudaya* opines that the black Ordinance of Bengal will in fact prove a bombshell to the country. But there is another side of the picture also. If there is any political wisdom left in the country, then in the name of this black Ordinance we can convert the agitation which it has evoked into a living volcano. In the name of the black Ordinance we can eliminate the differences which have taken hold of the country and remove the prevailing communal tension. It is our paramount duty to unite all the political parties, carry on a vigorous agitation and allow no rest to the authorities until and unless the Ordinance is withdrawn. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* considers the Ordinance as more terrible than the Rowlatt Act and as indicative of the mentality of the officials. It says that it can never succeed in suppressing anarchy, which can only be eliminated by the removal of the causes of dissatisfaction. Repression being a symbol of barbarity a Government based on it cannot claim to be called civilised, at least in this twentieth century.

Congress politics.

Referring to the Nationalist manifesto the *Leader* asks: Could such experienced men as Messrs. Gandhi, Das and Nehru have seriously thought that their invitation to the members of these organisations to get back into the Congress and to cooperate with them, could or would be taken seriously or would bear fruit if they first settled their policy and programme and virtually asked them to toe the line as it were? Doubtless their organs in the press will cast stones at these other parties for not responding to the call made upon them, but this is by now a familiar experience and is not likely to make a deep impression upon the objects of the criticism and misrepresentation. No one who reflects on the whole import of the exemptions expressed and implied, can fail to be struck by the readiness shown by Mr. Gandhi to stoop to conquer and by the substantial victory won by the party of Messrs. Das and Nehru. That they would win has been known for several months. And being outside both of the 'sections' and unconvinced as we are of the soundness of either's policy, we can look upon the result with perfect composure. We have strong hope that friendly and unprejudiced consultation between representative spokesmen of the two sides will very probably result in an agreement which will render possible a re-united and therefore strengthened national movement. We have more than once stated our conviction that such unity is at this moment so very desirable and important as to be almost essential. All progressive parties in India have to fight the forces of reaction which during a whole generation were never stronger than they are today. All have to put out every ounce of their energy to win their way to self-government. These being the prime factors of the situation, wisdom and patriotism equally demand that superfluous cargo should be thrown overboard; that matters of contention, which really are of very subordinate importance, should be given up—let it be without prejudice, if any one will have it so. The *Pioneer* says: It will be interesting to see whether the dropping of the specific programme of non-cooperation will induce the lost sheep who have strayed to return to the Congress fold. In any case the hostility of so many Indian politicians to a measure which experience has shown is absolutely essential, if the Bengal Government are to be placed in a position to deal effectively with a dangerous and widespread conspiracy, cannot fail to create a profound impression upon British public opinion, which has shown unmistakably that it is entirely out of sympathy with "revolutionary patriots" of every description. The *Oudh Akhbar* is gratified that Mr. Gandhi and the Swarajists have now agreed to exclude non-cooperation from the Congress programme and remarks that in the light of repression in Bengal it was urgently necessary that all political parties should now be united to combat against this policy of the Government. The compromise effected has now minimised the differences and rendered the task of facing the repressive policy of the Government easier. The *Haqiqat* welcomes the reconciliation arrived at between the no-changers and the Swarajists and remarks that it is only the repressive policy of the Government which forced Mr. Gandhi to strike out non-cooperation from the programme of the Congress. Commenting on the compromise arrived at between Mr. Gandhi and the Swaraj party, the *Aj* remarks: All India will support with one voice the compromise in view of the grave situation caused by the enforcement of repression in

Bengal. There can be no difference of opinion with regard to the compromise as it has been made to remove those very differences. The greatest achievement of this compromise is that it has opened the door of the Congress to all the political parties in the country and there is now no reason why all the parties will not be represented at the Belgaum session of the Congress. The *Abhyudaya* says that the compromise only means the elimination of *khaddar* and the *charkha*. Although the conditions of the compromise may be credited with practicality, yet they will result in establishing the supremacy of the Swaraj party over the Congress and rendering all other political parties within the Congress insignificant. While we cannot approve of the condition of the compromise we cannot help congratulating Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru on their success. Commenting on the joint manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi and the Swarajist leaders the *Vartman* remarks that the manifesto embodies the compromise arrived at between the Swarajists and the no-changers, which marks the restoration of unity in the Congress ranks. The bureaucracy is bound to realise the importance of this joint manifesto. The unity in the ranks of the Congress is a fitting answer to the challenge thrown out by Lord Reading. Babu Sampurnanand, writing in the *Swadesh*, deprecates the re-entry of Mrs. Annie Besant into the Congress as calculated to drag back that body from the policy of self-reliance to that of mendicancy and constitutional methods and the ideal of self-government within the British Empire once again. Her re-entry will tend to accentuate differences of opinion in case her Bill of the Constitution of India is rejected by the Parliament. The Liberals will then again insist on the pursuit of constitutional methods which have no meaning in a subject country. The Liberals close their eyes to the history of the development of the British Parliament, which followed even unconstitutional methods in widening its liberties. Are they prepared to follow such methods? The British Government only respects that particular kind of 'constitutional' agitation which Canada, South Africa, Egypt and Ireland followed in the attainment of their liberties. Are the Liberals prepared to follow their example? If these questions are not considered beforehand the Congress will again become divided into cooperators and non-cooperators with added bitterness. In case the Indians are compelled by circumstances at some future date to sever their connection with the British Empire, Mrs. Annie Besant will surely range herself on the side of the supporters of the British Government. Mrs. Annie Besant may well re-enter the Congress, but it is difficult to say how long she will remain within it or will allow the non-cooperators to remain within it.

The British Empire Exhibition.

The *Aj* hopes that Indian money will not be further squandered on the British Empire Exhibition which has been extended for another year. The Exhibition will in no way benefit India. On the other hand the foreigners will get another opportunity of exploiting the raw materials of the country.

The U. P. Political Conference.

The *Hamdam* is gratified that the Provincial Conference has displayed great moral courage in unanimously passing the resolution of complete independence and remarks that the ideal for which Maulana Hasrat Mohani underwent so many hardships in jail is now becoming popular throughout the country. In another article the same paper congratulates the Conference for passing the useful resolution of advising the Hindus to cast away untouchability. It is a matter for gratification that the President has held *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements to be the real causes of the prevailing Hindu-Muslim bitterness and has laid stress on the stoppage of these movements. The *Anand* says that no influential Muhammadan representative joined the U. P. Political Conference despite the fact that all its delegates were nationalist Hindus and decried Hindu *sangathan*. This shows that there are only a handful of Muhammadans who are prepared to support Indian nationalism. It is to be hoped that the eyes of the Hindu nationalists must have been opened by such an attitude of the Muhammadans and that they too will realise the need for strengthening Hindu organisation.

Communal feeling in Lucknow.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: We do not think much will come out of the municipal vote to enforce the bye-law though it would be a potent Hindu gesture of their discontent at the existing conditions. Even if the Hindu commissioners should get a majority, the Government would not permit the municipal resolution to take effect in the face of an angry Muslim populace that would have its own reply to it. In an article headed "Mob rule in Lucknow" the paper refers to the Muslim Swarajists' manifesto on the *arti-namaz* question and says that even if the Hindus should have accepted the declaration as a working arrangement, the Muslims

have denounced it in a manner to rouse the authorities to a sense of danger. The situation has gone entirely into the hands of the mob leaders, the unknown men who have suddenly leapt into popularity and position and who are hearkened to with respect. The tragedy of the Muslim declaration is the downfall of Maulana Abdul Bari from his position. Under these circumstances of voluntary abdication of effective popular leadership of the masses, the only quarter whence some light may dawn for the peaceful citizen is from the Government. The light-heartedness with which the Government was blamed for all communal troubles has disappeared under the cruel exposure of political leadership under the powerful searchlight of the Aminabad controversy. In the opinion of the *Advocate* the situation in Lucknow is the same as it was two months back and that the feelings between the Hindus and the Muhammadans are becoming worse day by day. The Swarajists wanted to ease the situation but they too have failed in their efforts and everything appears dark and cloudy to them. The weakness of the municipal commissioners have increased to such an extent that they have lost all their moral courage to enforce even the bye-laws of the Municipal Act and we have grave doubts that the time is not far off when the Government will suspend the municipal board and will take its management in its own hand and thereby enforce the municipal laws and bye-laws which have already been neglected. The Muhammadans are becoming aggressive day by day and they are choosing new leaders on every occasion and casting aside those who do not agree with their views. Dr. Mitthan Singh of the Aminabad Park in a signed article to the *Haqiqat* praises the municipal members for rejecting the resolution of Dr. Lakshmi Sahai and takes to task the Hindus for trying to have the *namaz* stopped. The *arti* begins half an hour after *namaz* and it is simply an innovation to fix the time earlier to wound the feelings of the Musalmans. Real unity can only be attained if the Hindus do not compel the Musalmans to accept absurd conditions.

Agra Tenancy Act.

The *Leader* says that the cumulative effect of the various provisions of the Bill to which it has drawn attention will be that the position of the landlord in relation to the tenant will be strengthened. If he concedes life-tenures to a small percentage of tenants he is to be compensated in a number of ways and, on the whole, his position will be improved by the Bill. The *Oudh Akhbar* emphasises the necessity of holding a joint conference of the zamindars and the tenants to discuss the merits and demerits of the Agra Tenancy Bill in order to arrive at an amicable settlement and hopes that the Government will willingly accept any proposal made jointly by them. In another article the same paper criticises the article of Professor Dori Lal Dube, published in the *Leader* and remarks that having in view the apprehension and unrest created by the new Bill among the zamindars it can be said that the latter's efforts to take out their lands from the possession of non-occupancy tenants are quite natural. A zamindar correspondent writing in the *Mashriq* criticises the new Bill as ruinous to petty zamindars and complains that the zamindar members of the Council being themselves big landholders do not realise the difficulties of the petty zamindars. The tenants already enjoy enough rights under the existing Tenancy Act and need no more and that is only the non-occupancy lands that are the greatest asset of the zamindars. The *Gharib*, which is a new Hindi weekly from Bijnor, points out that the new Agra Tenancy Bill will not be able to remove the grievances of the cultivators and urges that if Government wants to put an end to litigation and quarrels between zamindars and cultivators it should provide for the permanent grant of hereditary rights to cultivators.

Re-settlement in Garhwal.

The *Garhwali* appeals to the Government to postpone the re-settlement of Garhwal for the present at least in view of the heavy loss caused by the recent floods.

The Katarpur riot prisoners.

Thakur Shiva Dayal Singh writing in the *Jewan* urges that when even the Moplah prisoners are being released, it is time that clemency might be shown to Katarpur riot prisoners also, most of whom are innocent and have been convicted owing to the investigating officials being mostly Muhammadans. They are specially entitled to mercy as they were tried by a Special Court under the Defence of India Act and were thus denied the opportunities available in the ordinary law courts.

Release of Zafar Ali Khan.

The *Oudh Akhbar* rejoices at the release of Zafar Ali Khan and hopes that it will prove a blessing to India. It requests him to devote himself to the task of restoring Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Haqiqat* also welcomes the release of Zafar Ali Khan and remarks that in spite of hardships and suffering he has remained firm in his ideal.

Bolshevism.

Pandit Bishambhar Nath Jijja writing in the *Swadesh* observes: It is nothing but capitalism which has spread poverty, slavery and subjection among men. The wails of the poor may well move God, but the demon of capitalism only laughs at them. Peace and civilisation are only for capitalists. War and peace only proclaim the interests of capitalistic powers. What value can the poor labourers and cultivators attach to these terms beyond this that they are to enlist in the army to fight the battles of capitalists, get themselves killed and leave their wives widowed and their children orphaned. All the discoveries of science and progress are for the capitalists who have deprived the poor of all happiness for their own aggrandisement. These selfish monopolists of peace and civilisation are in reality advocates of unrest and barbarism. The existing civilisation is sucking the blood of the poor people and will continue to do so unless it is altogether destroyed. Will it be necessary to cause a revolt throughout the world on the lines of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. It is after long experience that the Communists have discovered that it is only through communism that humanity can be delivered from the wrong of capitalism. Communism has beautifully solved all the problems of capitalism. Communism can remove the evil of poverty. It is the strength of the weak and cheers up the poor, the helpless and the oppressed people. Sin flourishes under the poison of capitalism, whereas the nectar of socialism is its only antidote. Communism teaches humanity to mankind and spreads equal peace, contentment, civilisation, cooperation and universal brotherhood among all men.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* writes: If Imperialist Governments urge constitutional agitation, peace and order on the part of the people they should sheathe the naked sword of repression, otherwise the mercenary soldiers who are at present serving the capitalists for the sake of their livelihood will be moved by the sighs of the populace and thrust their naked sword into the hearts of those imperialists, who for their power and glory are holding the world under their satanic domination and wish to keep humanity under the iron yoke of slavery by most terrible means in this era of science and civilisation. We may confidently assert that if Red Revolution is coming it is coming for the deliverance of the world. One Gaya Dat Sharma writing in the *Shiksha Prabhakar* remarks: Hindus have no justification to celebrate the *Diwali* festival when the goddess of wealth (Lakshmi) has forsaken them in favour of the Western White Lords, who use commodes and are the very personification of impurity and deceit. They should like Ram and Sugriva severely punish the abductors of the goddess. They should cross the ocean, destroy Rawan and bring back the goddess of wealth. Then and then alone they can deserve to offer any worship to that goddess. The special *Vijaya Dashmi* number of the *Swadesh* publishes a number of national poems by different writers. In one of these poems Ram Charita Upadhyaya calls upon Ram to assume a wonderful re-incarnation suited to the occasion and destroy the demons swarming in this country. "What terrible atrocity has remained unperpetrated in India? O Lord! forthwith sound the twing of your bow along with your angry shout. Those who are generous towards demons are traitors to the country. Ram! we rely on you, emancipate the country." In another poem Ramnath Lal Suman exclaims: "Mother! oppressive, butcher-like foreigners may no longer trample on thy breast. Only once, O Mother, only once you may dance. It will serve the purpose. In only one round of the mad dance the cup of blood will be filled." In yet another poem the writer Anoop Sharma, B.A., says: "You have to run against the double-barrelled gun of repression. You are not to acknowledge defeat. You have to enjoy *swaraj* and destroy the alien rule. O brave men wrest from the hands of opponents your birthrights soon somehow or other. The great glory of the born-hero Gandhi is bringing calamities on the White Government. From the mountain of the future, from Bhagirath the Ganges of blood is coming swelling on India." In the same paper a writer under the pseudonym, "Tridandi," invokes goddess Durga who destroyed demons in olden times to once more appear on earth and witness how her devotees, the Indians, are passing their days in misery and poverty. The gods of yore presented her with different weapons to fight against the demons, but now we have nothing left with us to offer her for the destruction of our powerful enemy. Under her protection we may unite and devote our joint efforts to the destruction of the enemy.

LUCKNOW:
The 15th November, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 45 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 22nd November, 1924.

The new ministry.

In the opinion of the *Mahashakti* the new British Cabinet is an eminent specimen of the type. Its personnel would seem to constitute, so far at least as India is concerned, a fit subject for brown study. India may rest assured of perhaps more than the customary log-rolling between India Office and Simla under the happy auspices of Mr. Baldwin's Government. The *Hamdam* remarks that the rise of the Conservatives into power marks the dawn of an era of repression in India of which the Bengal Ordinance is the forerunner. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that there will be practically no response from the Indians to the Conservative Government's call for cooperation if the Lee Commission's recommendations are imposed upon them before a satisfactory settlement of the question of further Reforms. The *Haqiqat* views with concern the appointment of Mr. Churchill as the Minister for the Colonies and hopes that Lord Birkenhead on his appointment as Secretary of State for India will not forget his splendid utterances in connection with the Dyer debate in the House of Lords. In view of the Conservative party's success the *Medina* sees no hope for India's emancipation unless the vicissitudes of time bring about a change in her destiny or some external causes deliver her from Western despotism and British Imperialism. The *Rahnuma* apprehends that India will suffer most on account of the ascendancy of the Conservative party to power. The *Nejat* says that every lover of liberty will feel disappointed at the result of the British elections. The Conservative party may indulge in empty threats regarding the question of Hedjaz, but it cannot dare to change the present policy to any appreciable extent. The *District Gazette*, Aligarh, strongly refutes the allegation that the Conservative Government will usher an era of repression in India and asserts that the British policy towards India will remain unchanged.

The late Mr. Montagu.

The *Leader* is shocked by the news of the death of Mr. Montagu and says: It was hoped that as he was still quite young, he might return to his labour of love at the India Office and put up the broken thread of the great good work for India, England and the Empire which was abruptly interrupted by Mr. Lloyd George's anxiety to placate the Die-hard Tories of the miscellaneous conglomeration known as the Coalition Cabinet who never forgave him for not having followed the time-dishonoured policy of what Mr. Hyndman would have described as the 'Perish India' school. It was India's misfortune that he was defeated in the general election of that year and that he did not seek re-entry into Parliament in the following year. If he had been elected last year it is quite possible that he might have followed the example of Lord Haldane and joined Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Government. If he had done so, he would of course have been given the India Office. Today the whole land is plunged in grief that he is no more. 'The good die young.' There was no Viceroy and no other Secretary of State whose death was mourned by Indians as of one of themselves, as they mourn today for Mr. Montagu. Nor are there likely to be many such in future. Our only prayer today can be that the Giver of All Good may send back Mr. Montagu to this world to complete his service of this ancient land so much in need of friends such as he. At another place the paper says that it is not in the least surprising that our countrymen headed by Lord Sinha should feel the death of Mr. Montagu keenly as they do. Of Mr. Montagu it may almost be said that he lived for India. Years after present-day controversies have been hushed, when many a noble Lord and many a Knight of the Star of India have been forgotten, the name of Edwin Samuel Montagu will be recalled with admiration, respect and gratitude as one of the truest friends and greatest benefactors of India and his memory will be cherished with honour and reverence. The loss to India caused by his tragically premature death is irreparable. In the opinion of the *Pioneer* the death of Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu removes an English politician who from the time of his first ministerial appointment to the Under-Secretaryship for India in 1910 was destined to play a conspicuous part in Indian politics. Referring to the dissatisfaction expressed on the

Reform Scheme by the political Extremists who clamoured for its summary rejection, or at least for it to be transformed out of all recognition in an attempt to assimilate it to the projects outlined by the Congress and the Muslim League, the paper says: Mr. Montagu, who entered upon the inauguration of the Reform Scheme with enthusiasm, must have been saddened in his later days by the way in which the scheme has been treated by those who had to work it, and by the ingratitude of those whom he sought to benefit. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Every Indian who knows will judge him not by what he has done for India, but from what he could not do owing to the antipathy of Englishmen who, however, radical at home, are conservatives in all matters affecting India. A true friend of India has fallen and a nation is in mourning. The *Weekly Observer* says that the news of the death of Mr. Montagu has been received in this country with genuine sorrow by both Europeans and Indians. Referring to the Reforms Scheme the paper says that the Reforms which he initiated with such magnificent enthusiasm appear today to be in the melting pot, and his ideal of a self-governing India within the British Empire has been rejected by a large and growing political party.

Mosul question.

Commenting on the Mosul question, the *Pioneer* says that the action of the Angora Government in removing any possible source of friction by withdrawing from the disputed territory is to be commended as an earnest of their intention to accept the decision of the Commission.

The Cairo outrage.

Commenting on the dastardly outrage on the life of Sir Lee Stack, the *Pioneer* says that the attempt to assassinate Sir Lee Stack shows that the spirit of murderous rancour which led to the previous outrages still animates a section of the population of Cairo. The *Leader* thinks that the murderous and determined attack in the main thoroughfare of Cairo had been well-planned. It hopes that Sir Lee Stack will soon recover from the effects of his wounds and that his assailants would be captured.

Fighting in Morocco.

The *Leader* says that the Riffs' fight for freedom has been crowned with success. Spain has paid heavily for its imperial venture and its military prestige has suffered enormously owing to its inability to subjugate a handful of tribesmen in Morocco. The repercussions of General de Rivera's failure are being felt in domestic politics and revolutionary forces have once more begun to raise their heads.

Hedjaz affairs.

In his manifesto published in the *Hamdam* Maulana Abdul Bari declares that the occupation of Mecca by the Wahabis has complicated the question and apprehends friction between the Muqallid and non-Muqallid sects. Ibn Saud himself is not free from the defects ascribed to Shah Husain inasmuch as he rebelled against the Turks and was in the pay of Britain. Being a weak ruler he will bow down before the decision of the Arab National Organisation which the European diplomats have established under the leadership of Amir Ali. The *Rahnuma*, on the other hand, praises the honesty and sincerity of Ibn Saud and the true Islamic spirit that he has displayed in leaving the question of the administration of the Holy Places of Islam to the decision of the Muslim Conference and remarks that the alleged tyrannies on his part are a piece of Sharif Husain's propaganda.

The Lee Commission.

Commenting on the acceptance of the recommendations of the Lee Commission by the Secretary of State for India, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: This autocratic execution of the Lee recommendations simply to pamper the Services will still more drain the impoverished pockets of the masses, thereby adding fuel to the fire of discontent burning in the people's heart.

British Empire Exhibition.

The *Pioneer* says: The decision of the Government of India not to participate in the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley if it should be resumed next year is much to be regretted. The excellent work done by the Indian Pavilion this year in extending a knowledge of India's products and even in creating a vogue for Indian handicrafts is beyond dispute. The *Leader* is, on the other hand, glad to know that the Government of India have decided not to participate in the British Empire Exhibition if it should be resumed next year.

The Khost rebellion.

The *Medina* remarks that for the maintenance of friendly relations it is the duty of the Government of India to help the Afghan Government in arresting the rebel Abdul Karim if he enters British territory. Will the secret police of India which is accustomed to recover from the houses of anarchists bombs and arms which in reality are not in their houses fail to arrest the rebel Abdul Karim who is actually alive and free ?

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Describing the treatment meted out by the Hindus to a Musalman of village Bharouti, district Badaun, the *Aligarh Gazette* remarks that today every Hindu is thirsting for the blood of the Musalmans and hardly a day passes when some kind of tyranny is not perpetrated upon the innocent Musalmans. The champions of *sangathan* make raids upon the unwary Musalmans and do not even hesitate to put Muslim children to the sword.

The Bengal Ordinance.

The *Pioneer* says that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in commenting on the political situation in India today, has not joined in the fatuous condemnation of the Bengal Ordinance. The former Law Member's official experience has enabled him to realise that the facts which led the Viceroy and Lord Lytton to take special steps to supplement the ordinary law must have been overwhelming. It is to be regretted, however, that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has not seen his way to give more than negative support to the Viceroy's action. The *Prem* characterises the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance as strangulation of justice by a late Lord Chief Justice of England and remarks that the bureaucracy wants to kill the political life of the country by repression under the pretence of dealing with revolutionaries. The *Jiwan*, while admitting the need for the suppression of anarchical activities under the ordinary law, opines that the new policy of repression as evidenced by the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance will only worsen the political situation in the country by accentuating unrest and dissatisfaction among the people. The *Kartavya* thinks that the Bengal Ordinance appears to be mainly directed against the Swaraj party and adds that the Government cannot succeed in its object when the whole country is ready to side with the Swarajists in opposing repression. Government is mistaken if it thinks that India can be kept in slavery for long by such methods. Repression will only encourage anarchism in the country. The best course which the Government can follow is to grant *swaraj* to Indians. The *Gramvasi* remarks that if the Government wants to suppress revolutionaries it can easily do so under the ordinary law without having recourse to extraordinary measures. But if it is desirous of crushing the growing power of the Swaraj party it is madness on its part to do so. It will only betray that it is not anxious for the peace of the country, but is only solicitous for the protection of the bureaucracy. If repression is indiscriminately practised it will only lead to the unification of the various Indian political parties to confront the bureaucracy. The *Pratap* observes that the repression in Bengal has already resulted in two advantages for the country. In the first place it has saved the Swaraj party from demoralisation, which has now realised the necessity of remaining with the whole country; secondly, it has restored to Mahatma Gandhi the political leadership of the Indian nation. The *Medina* takes to task the *Mashriq* for advising the Musalmans to remain aloof from the agitation started against the Bengal Ordinance and remarks that it is a sin for the Musalmans to remain content any longer with slavery. The Bengal Ordinance is not only a challenge to the Hindus, but also an ultimatum to the self-respect of the Musalmans, and if the Musalmans do not stir while the Hindus are being crushed the time is not far when the same fate will befall them. The *Hamdam* advises the Viceroy to ponder over the protest of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, published in the *Servant of India* and see how far his appeal for cooperation and support has been responded to by the supporters of the Government. The *Arya Varta* remarks that it is now getting clearer that these measures have been taken by the Government simply with the object of dealing a blow to the increasing popularity and power of the Swarajists and not of suppressing the few anarchists, who could be effectively dealt with under the ordinary law. The *Rahnuma*, while condemning the revival of revolutionary conspiracies in Bengal, is gratified at the firm stand made by the people against the new Ordinance and remarks that no sane Indian can support the wholesale arrests made by the Government. The *Nejat* alleges that the Bengal Ordinance has been chiefly directed against the Swarajists to deprive them of the liberty of action. Lord Lytton has resorted to repression to cover his discomfiture brought about by the constitutional agitation of the Swarajists. In fact nothing has happened in

Bengal to justify the enforcement of the new Ordinance. The *Al Bureed* opines that the communal tension has emboldened the Viceroy to take such a wrong step. If the new Ordinance aimed at eradicating the revolutionary conspiracies, the culprits ought to have been prosecuted in open courts. Repression is more likely to aggravate the evil than to eradicate it. The *Aligarh Gazette* justifies the enforcement of the new Ordinance on the ground of securing peace and order in the country and remarks that the Government should have taken this step earlier. The *Aftab* hopes that the Government will not mind the agitation started by the Swarajists against the new Ordinance. It advises the people to have faith in the sincerity and honesty of purpose of the Government and realise that India will be benefited by the eradication of revolutionary and anarchical activities. The *District Gazette*, Aligarh, condemns the protest raised by the Extremists who are in a way countenancing the shameful activities of the anarchists. It is they who are really responsible for the measures adopted by the Government.

Congress politics.

Commenting on the Calcutta agreement, the *Leader* is relieved and satisfied that non-cooperation is definitely 'suspended' by its illustrious parent and says: In fact, if what little of it is retained in the form of *charkha* and *khaddar* worship is also dropped, we shall be the better pleased at that evidence of returning wisdom, just as we shall be if the Swaraj party too declare formally that they are no longer thinking even spasmodically of 'uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction' and have abandoned even a passive idea of 'civil disobedience' *en masse* as a possible political programme. If Indians' public work in the political sphere is to bring any advantage to the country in the existing situation, instead of turning out to be only so much tragic because futile sacrifice, strengthening the bureaucracy in addition, there must be a uniform and unwavering and unswerving adherence to the pursuit of constitutional ends by constitutional means. In another article headed "Unity and Spinning" the paper says: We are as keen as Mr. Gandhi is that the country should be self-sufficing as regards the supply of cloth, but we do not regard it as an essential preliminary to *swaraj*, nor do we think that the spinning franchise will bring about the exclusion of foreign cloth. Referring to Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad's views on the forthcoming All-Party Conference at Bombay, the paper says: While not agreeing with him in connection with the advisability of the Liberals joining the conference in Bombay, we are in entire accord with him that the differences that divide the Liberals and the two wings of the Congress are fundamental and cannot be summarily patched up. In the paper's opinion a frank and clear definition of the objective of the Congress and of the methods of political action it will pursue is as much necessary in its own interest as in that of the country. The Liberals should be stultifying themselves and making themselves open to ridicule if without making sure of their ground they join the Congress and again come out tomorrow. Clarification of issues is a necessary precedent to unity and to removal of misunderstandings, and if the Bombay Conference brings about such a clarification it may pave the way for subsequent unity. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* in an article headed "Will the Liberals join" says: Gandhi having suspended non-cooperation, it is expected that the next step will be for the Swarajists to forget their boasted obstruction and readily agree to accept jobs under Government just to enable the Liberals to join the Congress: for the remedy against repression is now definitely found to be the union of all political parties. The Liberals will not be able to enter the Congress on the reformed spinning franchise so long as Hasrat Mohanis scour the border with the idea of freedom and federation of United States of India. And then with this embargo on jobs how can the Liberals ever join the Swarajists? The *Aj* says that every Indian will be elated at the Congress compromise and will be thankful to the Bengal Ordinance for the unity which has at length been restored in the Congress ranks. We are convinced that with the restoration of communal and political unity which is proceeding apace, we will soon achieve our goal. The *Bhavishya* remarks that the Congress compromise is bound to succeed in uniting the scattered forces of the country which is indispensable for the political emancipation of India. The *Haqiqat* hopes that the repression in Bengal and rise of the Conservatives to power in England will be two deciding factors in uniting men of different political shades of opinion against the Government and under such circumstances it will no wonder if the Leaders' Conference in Bombay proves a success. If the Government does not wish the revival of Mr. Gandhi's movement it should at the earliest possible date convene a conference of all political parties to draw up a constitution for India. The *Hamdam* writing in a similar strain hopes that efforts will now be made for the emancipation of the country with even greater enthusiasm than that of 1921.

Communal feeling in Lucknow.

The *Arti* in view of the renewal of section 144 with regard to the performance of *arti* in the temple in the Aminabad Park and the failure of Hindus to obtain a settlement of the *arti-namaz* controversy at the hands of the municipality or the Hindu Sabha, exhorts the Hindus to prepare themselves for non-violent *satyagraha* as the only course for the fulfilment of their religious obligations. The *Haqiqat* condemns the notice issued by the 41 members of the *Anjuman-Ittihad-i-Islam*, Lucknow, and considers it as a confession of defeat on their part. It has rendered the position of the District Magistrate all the more difficult and expects the latter to himself appoint a reconciliation committee under his chairmanship to settle the *namaz-arti* question. The committee should consist of such Hindus and Musalmans as command the confidence of their respective communities.

Agra Tenancy Act.

The *Al Khalil* in a lengthy article severely criticises the new Bill and remarks that the Legislative Council has betrayed an utter disregard of the principles of law in drafting it. It has mercilessly deprived the zamindars of their permanent rights and sowed the seed of disunion between them and the tenants. It will result in absolutely ruining the petty landholders. The *Nayar-i-Azam* remarks that the transfer of the tenancy suits from the revenue to the civil courts will enhance the expenses of litigation. The Bill has no retrospective effect and the zamindars whose suits are pending in the courts will suffer heavily thereby. The Bill, besides reducing the income of the Government derived from court fee, will create a tension between the tenants and the zamindars and alienate the sympathies of the latter from the Government.

The United Provinces District Boards Conference.

In the opinion of the *Leader* the speech of the Hon'ble Minister of Education at the opening ceremony of the conference was a thoughtful address. The paper agrees with the Hon'ble Minister that for those boards which cannot balance their budgets there is no alternative but to have recourse to additional taxation, however distasteful it may be, if they are to discharge their responsibilities properly. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* considers the address to be a learned and illuminating one, and says: The Hon'ble Minister's address can safely be taken as a sure guide to the boards in these provinces to take stock of the experience gained so far in working the new scheme and to devise means of enlarging the usefulness of the service not only by exchanging ideas on the difficulties that have arisen but also by attempting to solve the problems that still await solution.

LUCKNOW:
The 22nd November, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

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23 DEC
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 46 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 29th November, 1924.

The late Mr. Montagu.

THE vernacular press deplores the death of Mr. Montagu and eulogises his services in the cause of India. The *Hamdam* remarks that he held a high position among British statesmen and on account of his large-heartedness and genuine sympathy he had succeeded in securing a place of respect and honour in the heart of the Eastern nations. The *Oudh Akhbar* says: Had he been given the chance to see the working of the Reforms for some time he would have certainly removed all the defects and India would never have been confronted with the present situation. The *Haqiqat* deplores his death as an irreparable loss to India and remarks that he was a true friend of India and sincerely desired its emancipation from slavery. The *Anand* says: A true friend of India who shed tears on the woes and sufferings of the helpless Indians and a true representative of humanity, the late Secretary of State for India has passed away. The *Aj* remarks: Every Indian politician will mourn the death of Mr. Montagu. There is no doubt that Mr. Montagu was one of those very few Englishmen who after the interests of their nation and of the British Empire consider the interests of India also. He was the only Secretary of State who came to India with the object of acquainting himself with the situation in the country. His name will ever remain memorable in the history of India.

The crisis in Egypt.

Referring to the murder of Sir Lee Stack the *Pioneer* remarks: The outrage on British officers and soldiers in Egypt become all the more vile when the inestimable benefits conferred upon the Egyptian people by the Great Britain are recalled. In another article, headed "What the British have done for Egypt," the same paper says: The insensate hostility to the British now manifested by so many Egyptians would seem even more astounding than it is were it not that there still remain in Egypt men who flourished under the old régime, and they and their class have entered with zest into the work of stirring up feeling against Great Britain and the British and of deluding the more ignorant of the people with false and grotesque tales of British perfidy. Referring to the Note addressed by the British Cabinet to the Egyptian Government the paper says: The firm tone of the British Note should give general satisfaction. The British demand can hardly be regarded as excessive in the circumstances. The sooner the Egyptian Parliament recognise that they have themselves to blame for the situation that has arisen, and that it is in vain to kick against the pricks the better it will be for their country. At another place the paper says that the expulsion of Egyptian military units from the Sudan and the steps taken for the protection of foreigners in Egypt are necessary, not only to put a stop to the insidious influences which have been promoting disaffection in the Sudan and endangering the lives of foreigners in Egypt, but to bring home to the anti-British element that the weapon of assassination, far from helping them to realise their aspirations, will automatically result in a distinct set-back to the cause they profess to have at heart. It is obviously impossible for Great Britain with her definite responsibilities and rights in that country to allow rebellion to be preached among the warlike tribes, and the removal of Egyptian troops is accordingly a prudent and necessary measure. The *Leader* says: The Sirdar's death creates a serious situation between Egypt and Britain. But it may be hoped that any action that the British Government may take will not be of such a nature as to weaken the position of the well-disposed and responsible section of the population and to strengthen that of the revolutionaries and anarchists. In another article the same paper makes the anarchists responsible for the murder of Sir Lee Stack and says that they have rendered the greatest disservice to Egypt and have brought on national humiliation and loss by their senseless crime. In its opinion the British Government has imposed conditions which in one stroke take away certain important concessions made to Egyptian national sentiment and tighten the hold

of British imperialism over Egypt and the Sudan. Excessive punishment generally defeats its own end, and if an impression is created in Egypt and elsewhere that the tragic incident was utilised for promoting a narrow imperialist policy, it would not be unnatural. The terms imposed upon Egypt will weaken the hands of the friendly elements and make the position of King Fuad in the administration of the country more difficult. In another article the paper remarks: The Eastern peoples, including those of India, see in the action only the working of the policy of domination which is so dear to Tory Die-hards. It can engender nothing but distrust and bitterness which cannot promote the best interests of the Empire. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is afraid that the Imperialists in the Conservative Government are trespassing all known limits in their demonstration of anger. To seek to crush the new spirit of Egypt under the shadow of a most unfortunate political crime is to exacerbate political feelings. Today there is genuine disgust for the crime; horror is expressed from all sides. But angry Britain cannot forget that only a short while ago the life of Zaghlul Pasha himself was sought. It considers the reply given by Egypt as one that self-respect and patriotism can dictate: it has offered to make ample reparations but refused to humiliate herself. If Britain thinks that the spirit of a nation can be killed, she will have effectively unlearnt her American lesson. Nationalist Egypt is a real force and British statesmanship has blundered in asking for the impossible and creating a political crisis for the benefit of the very gang of anarchists to whose interest it is that the country should not settle down to peaceful progress. If this is the new gesture of British Imperialism to the East, we fear it augurs ill for the Empire. The *Weekly Observer* sincerely hopes that the critical situation in Egypt will be eased by the Egyptian Government in not delaying to accept in full the demands of the British Government. In another article the paper feels confident that the present British Government will not be lacking in the firmness requisite to convince the Egyptians that the path to the fulfilment of their territorial aspirations does not lie through murder and outrage. The vernacular press unanimously condemns the murder of Sir Lee Stack and apprehends that it will prejudice the British public against the Egyptian aspirations. The *Hamdam* remarks that the murder of the British Commander-in-Chief will all the more strain the relations between the two countries and prove detrimental to the Egyptian interests. The British Government should at once take steps to remove the causes which stimulate such crimes and the only way of doing it is to make Egypt independent in the true sense of the word. The *Haqiqat* opines that the revival of the anarchical movement in Egypt is due to the popular resentment caused by the British policy in Sudan and the eradication of the movement is difficult unless the Egyptian demands are favourably considered. It is indeed beneath the dignity of the British Government to take notice of the action of a few maddened Egyptian youths who do not realise the consequences of their evil deeds.

Fighting in Morocco.

The *Haqiqat* says that in case of Spanish defeat France which has hitherto been helping Amir Abdul Karim will try to conquer Morocco and exhorts the Muslim world to save the fertile land of Riff from falling into the hands of the usurpers. The *Sada-i-Muslim* is jubilant that the Riffs have baffled the civilised world by their guerrilla warfare and have already occupied a large portion of Spanish Morocco and remarks that the time is not far when this Muslim territory will be cleared of the ominous presence of the *kafirs*.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Al Bureed* and the *Mansur* view with distrust and anxiety the arrival of Mr. Filby in Jeddah to effect a compromise between Amir Ali and Ibn Saud and remark that his arrival is likely to create suspicion in the minds of the Musalmans against the British Government and if the latter tries to interfere in any way in the Hedjaz affairs it will antagonise the Muslim world against her. The *Medina* is surprised at the news of Amir Ali's advance towards Mecca and remarks that the old supporters of Sherif Husain are probably engaged in some deep conspiracy and are secretly helping Amir Ali with men and money. We hope the Muslim leaders of India will take immediate steps to have the secret disclosed and see if there is any satanic power working behind the curtain. The *Oudh Akhbar* is gratified that the Government of India have granted permission to the Khilafat deputation to proceed to Nejd, and remarks that having regard to the struggle going on between Hedjaz and Nejd and the apprehensions of the Musalmans regarding the future of their holy places the permission granted to the deputation can justly be described as an act of statesmanship.

Britain and Palestine.

The *Medina* resents the British policy of encouraging the settlement in Palestine of the Jews who were cursed by God to eternal subjection. The Musalmans being in majority have every right over Palestine. There was a time when no mercy was shown to the Jews in England, but now the latter seems to be very generous in granting to them the land of others. May God give power to Ibn Saud to bring the sacred land under the Muslim rule!

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Shaikh Ahmed Ali Shauq in a signed article in the *Mashriq* remarks that the present communal differences demonstrate the unfitness of the Indians for *swaraj* or even for the second instalment of Reforms. If the British Government slackens its hold both communities will begin to break each other's heads and the Musalmans being in minority will greatly suffer. *Swaraj* is a deadly poison for the Musalmans and their deliverance lies in giving it a wide berth. The *Dilchasp* says that the Hindus sought the cooperation of the Musalmans as long as they wanted to make the non-cooperation movement a success. After achieving their end they began to desecrate their places of worship, shed their blood and dishonour their women. Now when the Reforms Enquiry Committee is sitting they are again stretching a friendly hand towards the Musalmans. The latter have had enough experience by this time and they will be well advised to jealously safeguard their rights.

The Bengal Ordinance.

According to the *Pioneer* the factitious agitation against the Bengal Ordinance has evidently received a slight additional stimulus from the Bombay Conference, although the outcry seems to be regarded with profound indifference by the majority of the people. The effect of revolutionary crime will be to retard political progress until it has been suppressed. That is the lesson of the political situation in Bengal, and the sooner it is learnt the better for all concerned. The *Leader* says: The Bombay Conference, the like of which has never met in recent times, has expressed its "strongest disapproval" and condemned the action of the Governor General in promulgating the Criminal Law Ordinance. Every thinking and patriotic Indian feels convinced that the present political situation is due to the denial of just rights long overdue of the people and that the speedy establishment of *swaraj* is the only effective remedy therefor, and the conference also gave expression to this conviction. But the Government instead of seeking solution in a policy of liberalism for the political distempers of the country have been relying on a negative policy of repression which is calculated to aggravate the very evil which they seek to overcome. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Government of India will read the resolutions of the Bombay Conference in vain for any veiled support to their illegal action. No one who is not used to dismiss the entire edifice of public opinion in this country as a matter of no concern can disregard the significance of the conference and the resolutions passed in its name. In another article the paper says: The Ordinance of Lord Reading seems almost a divine balm when compared with the spirit shown against Egypt over a deed which is most sincerely regretted and severely condemned. Instead of reading of condemnatory meetings against anarchy, what a pity that we should read of anti-British demonstrations—a result to the sad discredit of British statesmanship. The struggle for freedom under the Conservatives threatens to be severe. Referring to Lord Lytton's Malda speech the paper says that as a reply to the resolution of the political parties' conference in Bombay, he has not enhanced his political reputation nor added to the low prestige of the Government. If this is the considered reply of bureaucracy to the united voice of self-concious India against its repressive policy, we have no hesitation to characterise it as adding insult to injury. Absolutely no effort has been made to understand the popular standpoint. Public opinion has been flouted. Popular leaders have been ignored. The *Hamdam* refutes the *Pioneer* that the Musalmans have no sympathy for the persons arrested in Bengal and remarks that the entire Muslim press and the Khilafat Committees have already condemned and protested against the policy of repression pursued in Bengal. The *Medina* remarks that Mr. Baldwin taking advantage of the Hindu-Muslim tension is today applauding the tyrannical action of the Viceroy in enforcing the new Ordinance in Bengal, but a day will come when India itself will bless him for this repression as it will be through such actions only that separated friends will become united and India will be freed. The *Aligarh Gazette* justifies the enforcement of the new Ordinance and remarks that the anarchists being the agents of the Bolsheviks it is the duty of the Government to establish peace and order by protecting the life and property of its subjects.

Congress politics.

Referring to the confession of Mr. Gandhi that he is losing his hold on the masses and that he is conscious of it, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that it is pathetic reading to those who admire him and worship him. If Gandhi is losing his hold on the mass mind, it means that the grip of discipline and order is disappearing from the ranks of Indian nationalism—for his message of the *charkha* is nothing but the message of discipline and patience and modesty to the mind, determined to win its goal. In another article the paper refers to the acceptance of the presidentship of the Belgaum Congress by Mr. Gandhi and says that this ensures confidence for all political parties that they will have fair play and uninterrupted hearing. The *Medina* remarks that Mr. Gandhi has committed a great blunder in surrendering the suspension himself to the Swarajists and deplores the non-cooperation movement which was the only efficacious means of the achievement of India's complete independence. The *Surya* accords approval to the Congress compact and advises all political parties whose differences have so far adversely affected the interests of the country to offer a united front to the Government under the banner of the Congress. The *Hindi Kesari* also welcomes the Congress settlement, emphasising that it is only political unity which will bring about victory. The more we form separate organisations among ourselves the more the bureaucracy will indulge in high-handedness and as soon as we unite it will down its arms. The *Mashriq* advises the Musalmans to turn at once their attention to Muslim League as the Congress has proved itself to be an organisation exclusively Hindu.

The All-Party Conference at Bombay.

Referring to the proceedings of the Bombay Conference the *Pioneer* says: There seems to be little prospect of even the semblance of unity being achieved—except at the cost of a split in the Liberal party. The Swarajists, indeed, do not appear to have shown the slightest disposition to meet the views of the Liberals on any matter of vital importance. Unless, therefore, the Liberals are prepared to make a surrender, at least as complete as that of Mr. Gandhi, to the Swarajists, it is difficult to see how the conference can achieve any practical result. At another place the paper remarks: The fundamental differences between the Swarajists and the Liberals, Nationalists and the Muslim party are too great for them to be glossed over by a specious profession of superficial unity which will deceive nobody. It is all part of the great game of make-believe which has become a dominant feature of Indian politics. In an article, headed "Sinister Ideals of Unity," the paper says: The critical observer will be inclined to look upon the results actually achieved in a spirit of soepticism. It is, indeed, obvious that the vaunted unity of which we hear so much is more apparent than real. The cleavage between the political parties still remains, and though they may decide to assemble at Belgaum in Congress week—even this is by no means certain—if they do, it will be to hold separate conferences and not to unite on the Congress platform with the Swarajists and the No-changers. In the opinion of the *Leader* the Bombay Conference was characterised by a spirit of good-will and tolerance which augurs well for the future. It was another landmark on the road to national unity. Its success is at once a justification of the decision of the Council of the Liberal Federation that the Liberals should accept the invitation to the conference as also a vindication of the progressive spirit and sturdy partriotism of the much-misunderstood Liberals. In another article the paper advises the Congress to make up its mind what policy and method it is to pursue in the best interests of the country and says: A policy which is a blend of constitutional and direct action cannot work and must not only cause confusion in the ranks of the party which follows it but also lead to absurdities. The Swarajists have tried to work such a policy and they have come to realise its impracticability. If there is no urgent or imperative need for change in the Congress creed because the majority of the Congressmen mean exactly the same thing by the words "peaceful and legitimate" that the Liberals mean by the word "constitutional," the paper says that if it is so, there should be the less hesitation in accepting the Liberal suggestion which would free the Congress creed from ambiguity and make it clearly express the real principles and policy of the 'majority' of Congressmen. The paper formally congratulates Mr. Muhammad Ali who convened the conference and its other eminent promoters and the conference itself on the success achieved. It hopes that the good and godly work begun at Delhi, which has been carried a stage further at Bombay, will increasingly bear fruit, and that Mr. Gandhi, who may be described as the apostle of unity, will continue to inspire this great constructive work of vital national importance. The

Sada-i-Muslim exhorts the leaders to exclude *charkha* from the Congress programme and to take up the work of national organisation instead of Hindu *sangathan*. *Akharas* should be established for the military training of Indian youths of all communities and wherever in the world a war breaks out these youths should be sent in large numbers to offer their services to the party fighting for liberty. All persons desirous of India's freedom should be allowed to join the Congress and the Hindu-Muslim pact should be renewed.

Taxation Inquiry Committee.

The *Leader* in a long article, headed "An ill-fated inquiry," remarks that by processes which do no credit to Government, the Taxation Committee has become a large and inexpert committee. What India needs is inquiry into the economic condition of its people. A nation, which wants to be politically free and great, cannot grow without a corresponding line of economic advance and a reserve of wealth. The paper urges the Government to constitute immediately the economic commission which is called forth by the Assembly and to postpone the Todhunter Committee *sine die*.

The Chamber of Princes.

Referring to the proceedings of the Princes Conference at Delhi the *Pioneer* says that the Chamber of Princes has strengthened its position as an advisory and consultative body on matters concerning the important part of the Indian Empire represented by the States. The *Advocate* remarks: In order to avoid public criticisms the Princes held their deliberations *in camera*. Resolution after resolution is being passed every year in their sittings but they have no binding effect on anybody. It is nothing but a mere farce. It is sad to note that their prince-brother Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha is still in exile from his country and the Chamber has not yet solved the said problem. The Chamber is an ill-advised experiment and it is the duty of the Princes to pass a resolution recommending its immediate dissolution which will be of great advantage to themselves and their subjects and huge sum of money will be saved which is unnecessarily spent in these shows.

Communal tension in Lucknow.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* describes the situation in Lucknow as curious and says that no one feels that he has a responsibility. Commenting on the Hindu manifesto it says: The manifesto confesses the hopeless demoralisation of the community—it is a long drawn out hiss of a wounded snake and nothing else. It is an excuse for inaction—the dictate of moral cowardice for not offering *satyagraha*. In a contributed article to the paper headed "The great Hindu betrayal" by an independent nationalist, the Hindu manifesto is described as hasty assurance of amateur navigators in tempestuous waters, who had coquetted with the Hindu mob in its ravings against the Swarajists. In the opinion of the writer only one point is clarified: the worthy Fourteen (the signatories of the manifesto) do not want *satyagraha*. The *Arti* dwells on the desirability of resorting to *satyagraha* in connection with the *arti-namaz* controversy at Lucknow and adds: Doubtless there can be no room for bloodshed in *satyagraha* and we believe we will get such men of strong determination as will be true followers of non-violence and will not, despite the strongest provocation, violate their vow of non-violence. As regards the public we will request them to maintain peace and order, but if they cannot show themselves capable of doing so the responsibility will not be on the *satyagrahis* and breach of peace will in no way interfere with their work. Non-violence is not our *dharma* (bounden duty), but we adopt it as a policy and will stick to it. We hope the Hindu public will respond to our invitation for *satyagraha*. The *Anand* points out that all attempts at reconciliation having failed the Hindus who can no longer bear the mental agonies caused by the non-performance of the *arti* are seriously contemplating *satyagraha* campaign and impresses upon the Government the necessity of coming to the rescue of the Hindus by protecting their religion.

Agra Tenancy Act.

A correspondent writing in the *Rozana Akhbar*, Bareilly, describes the Agra Tenancy Bill as injurious to the interests of the zamindars and remarks that the Government probably does not want to keep them as intermediaries. The circular issued by district authorities in connection with ejectment cases has also strengthened this suspicion. It regrets that the Government has ignored the services of the zamindars and is depriving them of their rights.

The United Provinces District Boards Conference.

The *Aj* says that the District Boards Conference would have proved more useful if it had been held after non-official instead of official or semi-official manner. The Hon'ble Minister's speech contained a lucid exposition of the difficulties and problems

confronting the District Boards, the desire to solve them and the promise for help, but it is to be regretted that the Hon'ble Minister did not go to the root of the problems, nor is it possible for any provincial Minister to do so in the present circumstances. The fact is that these local bodies are not free from official control and interference is the root-cause of all the evils.

Excise policy in the United Provinces.

Referring to the resolution announcing the convening of an "Excse Conference" the *Leader* says: We do not wish to prejudge the results of the labours of the conference, but we are afraid that what the Government is after is more revenue from excise. This policy must be condemned before its revision can be justified in the public eye. We must say that we are not free from misgiving at the attempt that is being made to modify that policy.

Industries in the United Provinces.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* congratulates Mr. Wajid Husain on his masterly report on the working of his department and says: It is rare that one comes across literary styie in Government publications. The Department of Industries of these provinces is in the hands of not a mere official, pitch-forked into his position by the accident of service, but an enthusiast on the subject and a businessman of long vision and courageous outlook. Mr. Wajid Husain's report reads like the presidential address of a patriotic citizen, with this difference, that often patriotism consists in declamations, but here it is all solid facts. In another article the same paper remarks: The Annual Administration Report of the Department of Industries in the United Provinces for 1923-24 is marked by the clear presentment of facts and marshalling of figures which has characterised the report of Mr. Wajid Husain. Official reports are not often presented in readable style, but what gives the tone to the report is the almost patriotic fervour with which the Director of Industries speaks of opportunities lost and facilities disregarded.

British Empire Exhibition.

The *Leader* says: The decision of the Government not to participate in the British Empire Exhibition is a wise one and in consonance with Indian public opinion. But there is the danger of its hands being forced in the matter by the Secretary of State who may press it to re-consider the matter. We only hope that it will have the strength to resist any pressure from above and to stick to its decision. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses its surprise that the idea of the participation of India in the Imperial Exhibition for next year has been dropped.

Bolshevism.

Commenting upon the dismissal of the appeal in the Bolshevik case by the Allahabad High Court, the *Medina* remarks: Let somebody question these foolish enemies of commonsense whether the Bolshevik bogey possesses any material body which can be stopped by armies, men-of-war, guns, arrests and imprisonment. Bolshevism is in fact a manifestation of popular feeling which is being created in every labourer and exploited party against the undue repression and tyranny of the capitalists. Nature itself likes to bring about changes and revolutions and hence Bolshevism will certainly manifest itself in some form or other.

Political propaganda.

The *Arya Varta* refutes the *Statesman* that English rule has been established in India once for all and that it will last for ever. This may be a pleasing thought but history does not support it. United India is sure to rise and the English will live here not as rulers but as our friends as India is for the Indians only and will remain so for ever. The *Bharat Dharma* lays stress on the necessity of a common nationality in India for her emancipation and suggests the adoption of the famous *Bande Mataram* song as her national anthem, which plays so important a part in the development of a common nationality. The spirit of a common nationality is like the Lord's dirk (an unfailing weapon) against the demon of self-interest. The day it has found an abiding place in the heart of every man and woman in India, the lion-hearted Indians will not bleat like goats but will begin to roar like lions. Imbued with this spirit Indians will not hesitate to defy even death for the defence of their motherland.

LUCKNOW:
The 29th November, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 47 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 6th December, 1924.

The crisis in Egypt.

REFERRING to the situation in Egypt the *Pioneer* says that there appears to be widespread misunderstanding regarding Great Britain's position in that country. There is no desire on the part of Great Britain to undermine the independence which has been granted to Egypt. But British officials and other foreigners must be protected against the machinations of revolutionary "patriots" who do not shrink from employing the weapon of assassination. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the League of Nations by simply filing the appeal of Egypt has only confessed to its being a humble instrument of monotonous talk. In another article, headed "Egyptian Surrender," the paper ironically remarks that the prestige of the British Government has been enhanced in Europe by the wonderful valour and prowess displayed in tearing up the semblance of independence which had been granted to Egypt under the stress of circumstances. The Egyptian Government have conceded to every British demand made over the dead body of Sir Lee Stack. This means that Egypt loses what has been called its independence. Egypt got it by agitation, not by any generous British gifts. And Egypt will not acquiesce in the present decision. That is a question which affects Egyptian nationalism. But what about the prestige of England? Nothing can conceal the motive of British from the eye of Europe. The spirit behind this gesture of violence cannot be misread. To hold the Government of Egypt responsible for the murder of Sir Lee Stack is an innovation which, hereafter, every aggressive Power would take advantage of as against his less equipped neighbour. Every time that a crime is reported against a Britisher in Egypt, we suppose privilege after privilege will be extorted until the term "Egyptian independence" will be a mockery. If this is all the effect of the League of Nations' conversations and the much-vaunted elevation of human conception about brotherhood of man, then Europe has not gained by the experiences associated with the outburst of Prussianism in the Great War. In the opinion of the *Weekly Observer* Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's criticism of the Baldwin Government in regard to its action against Egypt is likely to fall flat, and his hope that the whole circumstances be submitted to the League of Nations for its mandate will remain unfulfilled. The vernacular press is unanimous in condemning the severity of the British demands. The *Medina* in a strongly worded article protests against the indemnity demanded from Egypt and asks why should Egypt alone be held to be "detestable" on account of the deeds of a few anarchists when such crimes are every day committed in other civilised countries. Today the treasury of Egypt is exploited, its honour is attacked, its freedom is snatched away, its demonstrations are stopped and such restrictions are imposed upon it as no religion can tolerate. This is because Egypt is too weak to defend itself, and has fallen a prey to British avarice on account of its being an essentially agricultural country. All this is not due to the shedding of Sir Lee Stack's innocent blood, but those who are in the know can well understand the Britsh intentions and designs under cover of this punishment. The *Hamdam* in a series of articles dwells upon the "unreasonableness" of the British demands and complains that Great Britain wants to punish the whole nation for the murder of a single individual. It regrets that the Conservative Government is taking unlawful advantage of this malicious act to suppress the liberty movement in Egypt. The *Haqiqat* remarks that no self-respecting nation can put up with such unjustifiable punishment and apprehends that it will prove fatal to British interests. Writing in a similar strain the *Sada-i-Muslim* describes the British demands as devoid of friendly spirit and remarks that the Egyptian Government is not responsible for the murder which has been committed by a few irresponsible persons. It advises Great Britain to deeply ponder over the situation in view of its experiences in Ireland. The *Aj* opines that England is acting most foolishly and imprudently in the matter of the tragic murder of Sir Lee Stack. The preparations it is making to retaliate against Egypt are unjustifiable. It does not behove a nation which claims to be civilised to lose its senses and exhibit a spirit of retaliation over such

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an incident however tragic it may be. The same paper further remarks: The murder of Sir Lee Stack has provided Britain with a pretext to perpetuate the subjection of the Sudan and maintain an army in Egypt. Britain, which was the first to condemn Italy for depriving Greece of the possession of Corfu on the pretext of the murder of a few Italians, is today committing the same offence. But Greece is a white and Egypt a non-white country. No civilised country will care to undo the wrong perpetrated by England and Egypt will have to accept dependence again. In another article the same journal says that the consignment of the Charter of Egyptian freedom to the waste-paper basket by Britain has a lesson for Indians that "scraps of paper" cannot protect a nation which cannot protect its own rights. Proceeding further it remarks: The action of the Egyptian Parliament in drawing attention of the League of Nations towards the atrocities of Britain is altogether futile. No European country or the League of Nations will dare to raise its finger against mighty Britain. Indeed, the League only exists to maintain the domination of the European over the non-European countries. Egypt should therefore depend on herself alone. We assure her that all the non-white nations are sorry for her and pray for her deliverance. The *Vartman* writes: It is a gross injustice that for a crime committed by a few anarchists an indemnity of seventy-five lakhs of rupees should be imposed upon the entire population of Egypt. Further, what does the despatch of British forces to Cairo indicate? Is it to terrify the patriotic Egyptians and Sudanese by a demonstration of brute force? Such an action also indicates that Britain does not like the complete independence of Egypt, is averse to relaxing its hold upon the Sudan and is anxious to maintain its army permanently in Egypt. The British want to practise such ruthless and indiscriminate repression in Egypt over this incident as is already being witnessed in Bengal. The *Abhyudaya* characterises the British ultimatum to Egypt as similar to that given by Austria to Servia on the murder of her heir-apparent, and says that the British demands show that England is acting unjustly and wants to serve somehow or other those ends which would be impossible to achieve in ordinary circumstances. The British demands are destructive of Egyptian freedom and illustrate the proverb that might is right.

Fighting in Morocco.

Referring to the negotiations going on between France and Spain the *Medina* apprehends that Britain will participate in the war and remarks that the covetous Europeans are intending to stop the successes of Amir Abdul Karim and maintain Spanish rule in Morocco. Imperialistic Europe can never tolerate to see any African or Asiatic nation free, and if the three above-mentioned Powers come to an understanding Ghazi Abdul Karim will have to encounter great difficulties. The *Nejat* opines that the Christian Powers of Europe are uniting to launch a crusade in Morocco and carry on their murderous and pillaging activities against the unarmed Musalmans. Being perturbed at the continued victories of the Riffs they are busy in manufacturing false pretexts and Great Britain also wants to strengthen the hold of Spain on Morocco.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Medina* expresses its satisfaction at the permission granted to the Muslim deputation to Hedjaz and remarks that it was an act of extreme cowardice and weakness on the part of the Government of India to impose restrictions on its enemies, which no generous foe would like to impose on his adversary. The *Haqiqat* hopes that the deputation will prove to be of great use in bringing about peace between Amir Ali and Ibn Saud on proper terms and saving the holy places from becoming the scene of bloodshed and murder, as the voice of the Indian Musalmans now carries great weight with the Muslim world. The *Hamdam* views with suspicion the tribute of praise which is being given to the Sultan of Nejd by the British press and remarks that the successes achieved by him are the result of the arms and ammunition supplied to him by Great Britain during the Great War. On the strength of experience our suspicions have naturally been aroused and it will have to be admitted that he was emboldened to punish Shah Husain for his misdeeds because he was sure that Great Britain had now no regard for its old ally. If he desires to keep the holy places under his sway he will certainly try to win the favour of the British Government and this desire to please will ultimately drag him to the position formerly occupied by Sharif Husain.

The Reforms Inquiry Committee.

The *Pioneer* says: While Sir Alexander Muddiman and four of his colleagues are engaged on putting the final touches to their report, the other four members are believed to be drafting a minority report based on the assumption that because dyarchy has in their view failed in the provinces it is a fit and proper remedy for application to

the Central Government. It is amusing to note that the minority are being assured in advance that their recommendations will have the "solid backing of the Indian nation," even though the Legislative Assembly refused to give its august approval to the Committee. Further, it says that the most valuable part of the Committee's report will probably be the exposition of the problems arising out of a possible development of the federal system in India, and it is likely to contain an examination of the principles of federal government as shown by experience in the Dominions and elsewhere. It may, therefore, fill a notable gap in constitutional literature. Referring to the above comments the *Leader* asks: Where is official secrecy here of which British officials in India are supposed to be jealous guardians and exclusive repositories?

Tour of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Referring to the visit of His Excellency Lord Reading to Bombay, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Mr. Patel by his absence to welcome the Viceroy or to have anything to do with any function associated with the Viceregal visit has considerably enhanced not only his own reputation and political character and that of his party but of every Indian. The author of the Bengal Ordinance, the certificating Viceroy who could restore the salt tax, cannot expect from the real leaders of the people any other treatment. Lord Reading is unpopular, and that unpopularity is clearly being proved by the frank statement of Mr. Patel. Further, the paper says that at Calcutta also Lord Reading will miss at the station the presence of the Mayor of that great town, Mr. C. R. Das. Lord Lytton, of course, will more than make up for the absence of the people. For one thing His Lordship has resolved to beat the professional agitator in making voluminous speeches which lead to nothing.

The Bengal Ordinance.

Referring to Lord Lytton's speeches justifying the Bengal Ordinance the *Pioneer* says: Experience has shown that the ordinary processes of law are powerless to deal with persons of anarchical type. They merely play into his hands by affording him an opportunity to terrorise witnesses and jurors until it becomes impossible to obtain a conviction against him. To give the anarchist, therefore, the protection of the law which he refuses to recognise is incompatible with the primary duty of a State to protect its citizens. In another article the paper says: Already there are signs that even in Bengal a considerable section of public opnion is prepared to tolerate the Bengal Ordinance as at any rate preferable to the reign of terror which was being rapidly established by the revolutionaries, and there is no doubt that a firm policy in dealing with attempts to misrepresent the Ordinance and to foment trouble in the districts would meet with widespread support from the more thoughtful among the law-abiding population of the Presidency. The *Leader* says: Lord Lytton has been in too much of a hurry to justify himself and to condemn unheard those who have been arrested under the Ordinance to care much for the effects of his words on those commissioners who may examine the one-sided evidence against the arrested persons. In another article, headed "An irate Governor," the paper hopes that the Council will show that His Excellency is mistakenly sanguine and that the people of Bengal can trust it to do its public duty fairly and fearlessly. The plea that the causes that produced the malady should be attacked and cured instead of the Government contenting themselves with symptomatic treatment characteristic of quacks, is transmuted in Lord Lytton's mind and imagination into an attempt at political blackmail. Such ideas can only be entertained, such language can only be uttered, by a ruler who has lost his temper, who feels he has been badly served or let down, who nurses a grievance against the people. It is not the language of wisdom or statesmanship. It cannot be taken seriously. It does not lend itself to argument. It never convinces. The *Hamdam* regards the recent speech of Lord Lytton as an insult to the Indian public opinion and fails to understand how in spite of his declaration that "he will not recede an inch," he can expect any self-respecting Indian to cooperate with the Government. He has accused the arrested persons of the crimes which have not yet been proved and has thereby prejudiced the judges against them and defeated the ends of justice. If he has full confidence in the truth of his proclamations he should accept the challenge of the Swarajists and have the accused tried in open courts. The *Zulqarnain* apprehends that the enforcement of the new Ordinance will bring about the revival of the destructive movements like non-cooperation, etc., and remarks that the ordinary laws were quite good enough to maintain the prestige of the Government. The *District Gazette*, Budaun, resents the agitation started against the Bengal Ordinance and alleges that the anarchists are the paid agents of the Bolsheviks from whom they receive money and weapons. The *Aj* remarks: It is imperative to protest vehemently against the new Ordinance

upon which repression in Bengal is based. We can neither put up with the despotic attack on individual freedom on the part of the authorities nor can we give up our birthright of political agitation. In his Dinajpur speech Lord Lytton has indirectly admitted that the repression in Bengal is directed against the Swaraj party. It is therefore the clear duty of the entire country to rally round the Swaraj party and give it every possible help. Commenting on Lord Lytton's Maldah speech, justifying the arrests in Bengal, the same paper says that until proof is forthcoming to the contrary no one can believe that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and other self-sacrificing patriots are connected with anarchical movements. Lord Lytton's statement that Government will not move an inch from its present policy is quite in keeping with bureaucratic traditions. Government has power and it will practise repression ruthlessly. It possesses brute force against which the helpless Indians can make no stand. But there does exist in this world an invisible and unknown power which will not allow all this to continue for long.

Congress politics.

In an article, headed "The Congress and Religious Leaders," the *Success* says: Let us await that happy day when we hear the announcement that the Indian National Congress incorporates with it the entire community or the Ahmadya leader at least. The Congress requires strength. It imperatively demands workers who would sacrifice all they happen to have not for name or honour but for India, for the cause of India and for the people of India. The *Leader* says: If only those who now dominate the Congress recognise in a wise spirit of practical patriotism that a combination of all progressive elements in the country is the most essential requisite of reform they will remove the difficulties in the way of Congress unity by agreeing to state unambiguously that their aim is to attain Dominion self-government by the vigorous employment of constitutional means and to rescind the yarn and *khaddar* clause. If the difficulties cannot be overcome for one reason or another, the next best thing upon which to concentrate is for the several organisations to bring about joint action on common platform as often as may be in the furtherance of common objects. There are many upon which there is complete agreement. In this connection we agree that it will be useful if the various organisations can meet at the same place. The *Oudh Akhbar* praises the foresight and prudence displayed by the Swarajists and Mr. Gandhi in realising the necessity of unity and remarks that there is every possibility of the Liberals now joining the Congress if civil disobedience and boycott are excluded from the programme and all parties agree to the achievement of *swaraj* within the British Empire. The *Medina* is, on the other hand, grieved at the compromise effected between the No-changers and the Swarajists and bitterly deplores the retreat of Mr. Gandhi. The arguments advanced by Mr. Gandhi may be irrefutable from the point of view of a spiritual and moral reformer, but they are not good enough for the political and civic life of a nation. The highest position achieved by the Congress within the last four years was simply due to Muslim participation, but the present efforts to merge the different political parties of India into one are likely to render the position of the Musalmans very weak.

All-Party Conference at Bombay.

The *Mahashakti* says that the most outstanding aspect of the conference was that all parties were unanimous in condemning the Bengal Ordinance, but it remains to be seen how far the parties will agree as regards the method to resist repression. The *Hamdam* is gratified that the repressive policy of the Government has once again united the different political parties of India. The *Aj* holds that the All-Party Conference was an undoubted success and produced satisfactory results. It has strengthened the foundations of political unity which will bear fruit in the near future. It says that the fact that the resolution regarding repression in Bengal was moved by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani shows that whatever differences may exist among the Indians, not one of them will be found to support the alien bureaucracy if it attacks the freedom of India or the birthright of the Indians. Even the "Cooperators" and "Title-holders" will not side with it in that event. The *Vartman* also considers the conference to be a success and remarks that the resolution regarding repression in Bengal although mild, defective and unsatisfactory, will be supported by the public when it is considered that it had to be so worded as to satisfy all the political parties represented at the conference. The *Abhyudaya* says that the success of the conference does not lie so much in the unanimous passage of the resolution regarding repression in Bengal as in that of the resolution regarding the appointment of the committee to find out means by which the different political parties may be enabled to join the Congress and the

resolution of Mr. Muhammad Ali asking the leaders of the various parties to hold their respective annual conferences at Belgaum along with the Congress session.

Constitutional advance.

In an article, headed "Lessons for India," the *Pioneer* compares Egypt with India and says: The ardent haste displayed by Egyptian politicians to speed the departure of the British officer has already inflicted serious injury on their country. No impartial man can deny that the insistent demand for "Indianisation" without regard to the consequences is inspired by unreasoning racial antipathy and a desire for place and office rather than a genuine anxiety for the interests of India herself. The paper further refers to its previous comments on the recent history of the Philippine Islands, and says that it provides another lesson for India, and it is obvious from the above instances that "festina lente" is a sound watchword for India in the circumstances of today. Commenting on the recent Darbar speech made by Sir Frank Sly at Hoshangabad, the *Leader* says: If British administrators in India go on flattering themselves with the self-comforting and self-righteous belief that under their benignant sway everything in India is for the best in the best of all possible worlds—that the people are happy and prosperous and grievances are non-existent except in the mind of the pestilential agitator, the political situation will continue to deteriorate and the problem of India will assume vaster dimensions for British statesmanship successfully to grapple with.

Communal tension in Lucknow.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is afraid that the Hindu-Muslim situation in Lucknow is not showing signs of improvement. Referring to the proceedings of a Hindu meeting the paper says that it is a sorry confession that the Hindu camp is as divided as the Muslim camp: that the authority of Hindu leaders is repudiated. The Hindus should either unlearn their *Vedas* and acquiesce in this new reading by Pandit Ruttledge who has dictated his latest commentary; or helplessly beat their wild breasts and speak of *satyagraha*, in the face of the definite advice of their leaders. In our opinion the Government is directly responsible for the present unnatural situation in Lucknow. They are avowedly neutral in religious matters. But by an executive order they have legislated against Hindu religion as defined in the *Vedas*. The *Success* says: The easiest and best solution is the spirit of toleration which by a happy chance has been advocated the other day by the Arya Samajists at Lahore. If we could only practically learn what is religious toleration the so-called chronic question of *arti-namaz* will be solved in a flash. The *Hamdam* remarks: We have been greatly disappointed in the manifesto issued by the Hindu leaders who have very boldly laid the responsibility of the present undesirable situation at the door of the Musalmans. The claim of the Hindu Reconciliation Board that the Musalmans under the provisions of the municipal bye-law have no right to say their prayers in the park is absolutely wrong as the said bye-law is applicable only where some danger to municipal property is apprehended. The *Haqiqat* resents the action of the City Magistrate, Lucknow, for calling the publishers of the *namaz-arti fatwa* to the court and remarks that they have done nothing objectionable in publishing views of the Muslim theologians regarding religious injunctions. It complains that the Hindus are holding *kathas* in every mohalla and are giving vent to strong views regarding *arti*.

The Report of the Improvement Trust Committee.

The *Abhyudaya* does not fully agree with the recommendations of the Improvement Trust Committee, but admits that the Committee gave due consideration to the general complaints against the Trusts. It adds that by giving its decision in favour of honorary Chairman the Committee has supported public opinion, but it is to be regretted that the Committee did not think it fit to place the Trusts under the management of the municipalities. It hopes that the Trust authorities will give due consideration to the Committee's recommendations regarding economy and will do their work at the minimum cost.

Military training for University students.

Referring to the discussion of the question of compulsory military training of University students by the governing bodies of the Universities of Bombay and Allahabad, the *Leader* says: Those who are advocating compulsory military training have in view not only the necessity of Indians qualifying themselves for the defence of the country but also the educational value of such training. So far as the United Provinces are concerned the local Government's attitude in the matter is very unsatisfactory and we are not at all sure if they would give effect to the resolution passed by the Allahabad University Court. The Government ought to allot adequate funds for

giving military training to all University students who are physically fit to receive it. The *Mahashakti* remarks that if it pleases the Government to accept the recommendation made by the Allahabad University Court, the martial enthusiasm of our students and teachers will find ample scope for practical demonstration, on the parade ground at any rate. The paper congratulates the Court on its decision.

Excise policy in the United Provinces.

Referring to the change in the excise policy which the provincial Government contemplates, the *Leader* says: We gravely suspect it is the Finance department which is at work behind the scenes. A grave responsibility rests upon the non-official members of the committee to see that to the extent possible a forward step shall be taken and in all circumstances to prevent a retrograde move being made.

LUCKNOW:
The 6th December, 1924.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 48 of 1924.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 13th December, 1924.

The crisis in Egypt.

THE vernacular press is unanimous in condemning the British action in Egypt. The *Hamdam* takes exception to the views expressed by Mr. Austin Chamberlain and asks if the British demands are the result of friendly relations. Today no Egyptian is anxious for the "friendship" of England or desires the "minimum" interference on the part of Great Britain. The Egyptians want freedom and the recent incidents have convinced them that the greatest and the most dangerous enemy of their liberty is Great Britain. Criticising Colonel Amery's speech the *Medina* concludes that the treatment meted out to Egypt was a pre-conceived affair. The huntsman was on the lookout for an opportunity, the net was spread, the ground was prepared and the bait was laid. The opportunity was offered by the sudden murder of Sir Lee Stack and Egypt was swallowed up. The *Oudh Akhbar* regards the British demand of prohibiting political demonstrations as an interference in the internal affairs of Egypt and remarks that if these demands are accepted the present freedom of Egypt will be worse than its former "Protectorate." Will the League of Nations silently watch these excesses and not save a weak country from such tyranny? The *Azad* opines that the British Government by taking advantage of the new Government of Egypt wants to instil awe in the hearts of other Asiatic countries. The *Al Bureed* condemns the action of the Egyptian anarchists and remarks that at a time when Egypt was struggling to achieve complete freedom and the Sudan question was yet unsettled, the anarchists displayed a total lack of foresight in murdering Sir Lee Stack. It is astounding that for the fault of a few anarchists the entire nation has been penalised. The *Al Khalil* describes the British demands as an attempt to indiscriminately ruin the Egyptian Government. The *Arya Varta* says that if the Egyptian Government has betrayed its unfitness to rule by the murder of Sir Lee Stack why should not the same charge be brought against Lord Lytton and his Government for the murder of Mr. Day in Calcutta. The *Sada-i-Muslim* takes to task the League of Nations for ignoring the Egyptian appeal and suggests the appointment of an Anglo-Egyptian Conference. The *Al Natiq* says that England cannot countenance the freedom of Asiatic countries and that by attaching undue importance to the murder of Sir Lee Stack it wants to suppress the so-called freedom of Egypt. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the acceptance of the British demands, despite their utterly unjust nature, by the Egyptian Government shows that it has been overawed and has yielded to the British sword. But this does not mean that the trouble has come to an end. The Egyptian public is utterly dissatisfied with this action of their Government and young Egypt condemns it. In these circumstances the existing Egyptian Government is bound to break up soon and the bomb of dissatisfaction cannot but explode. The *Bharat Jiwan* holds that harsh treatment is being meted out to Egypt by the Conservative Government, simply because the Egyptians are weak. It hopes that the Egyptians will not put up with the insults offered to them and will surely retaliate against them. The *Swadhin* says that the unjust British demands presented to the Egyptian Government are quite characteristic of the British Government, which blinded by imperialism and autocracy is sweeping down upon a helpless nation. The *Aj* points out that there is not even a shadow of doubt left now that the object of the present Imperialistic Conservative Government is to tighten the hold of Britain upon Egypt under the pretext of the murder of Sir Lee Stack. It adds that the severe punishment inflicted upon Egypt is intended to threaten other Eastern countries also and make them quietly accept British authority.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Al Bureed* remarks that the restrictions imposed by the Indian Government on the Hedjaz deputation were generally interpreted as an attempt to trample down the pan-Islamic sentiments of Muslim India and that the obstinacy displayed by the Government in this connection was based on short-sightedness. The *Aligarh*

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Gazette finds fault with the Government for consenting to grant passports to the deputation to avoid further agitation at a time when the people are resenting the Bengal Ordinance and remarks that the Musalmans as a community are not at all opposed to the Bengal Ordinance. Shaikh Mushir Husain Qidwai in a signed article to the *Hamdam* expresses his dissatisfaction at the Amir of Nejd's sway over Hedjaz and suggests that Sharif Ali Hyder Pasha, who commands the confidence of the Turks also, should be appointed as the Sharif of Mecca and Governor of Hedjaz and should be temporarily acknowledged as the Khalifa of the Musalmans. The *Nejat* apprehends a conflict between the Amir of Nejd and Great Britain in view of the latter's greed for territorial aggrandisement and power.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Arya Mitra* asks the Hindu leaders of the Congress first to strengthen and organise the Hindu community before seeking to secure political concessions with the help of the Muhammadans who have lately shown their hostility towards the Hindus and have never regarded India as their motherland, despite their residence therein for centuries. So long as the Hindus remain weak there can be no unity between the two communities. The *Aligarh Gazette* takes objection to the message of sympathy from Mr. Gandhi to the last session of All-India Hindu Conference held at Dehra Dun, and remarks that the propagation of Hindi is a measure directed against Urdu and hence against the Musalmans. Mr. Gandhi and others like him never fail to utilise any opportunity of injuring the Musalmans. The *Medina* says that the Hindus never gave any proof of their toleration and friendship unless they were under some fear or pressure. Today a most cleanly dressed Musalman cannot be permitted by the dirtiest Kahar to touch his utensils and the presence of a Syed is sufficient to defile the house of a Shudra.

Reforms Enquiry Committee.

Referring to the rumoured split between the official and non-official members of the committee, the *Hamdam* remarks that those who were entertaining great expectations from it will be highly disappointed. An Englishman, howsoever much he may like freedom and democracy in his own country, will never fail to resort to extreme repression whenever he spies any sign of awakening in any Eastern country. Public opinion which is held in great esteem in England is regarded as sedition in British possessions not colonised by Englishmen.

The Lee Commission Report.

Commenting on the decision of His Majesty's Government in regard to the recommendations of the Lee Commission the *Pioneer* says that it will be welcomed by the British members of the Imperial Services, who, owing to the exigencies of Home politics, have been compelled to possess their souls in patience for some months. The decision of the Government is in accordance with general expectations. If, as seems practically certain, some deterioration of efficiency has to be faced, that is the inevitable price which India will have to pay for the progressive realisation of the ideal of responsible government. The *Leader* says: In reaching the conclusions which have been published on the report of the Lee Commission, His Majesty's Government and the Government of India have once more made a valuable present to those Indians with whom it has all but become an article of faith that Britain's professions are not worthy of trust or respect and that appeals to the sense of justice of constituted authorities are nothing but a waste of time, money and effort. If the British Government in India and in England have convinced themselves that they are doing the best service in their power to the future of Britain in India by frequently betraying the contempt in which they hold Indian opinion, it is their lookout, we have nothing to say because whatever we may say will possibly make no impression upon their unreceptive minds. Nowadays, it is apparently held to be the quintessence of British statesmanship to ignore, to disregard, to condemn, at times even to repress, that opinion. Be it so. India happens to be powerless and she must put up with the affront. But this does not mean that India is drawn any nearer to England. She is bound to feel a sense of injury and insult. Britain continues to retain her material sovereignty over India but is steadily losing the much more precious and only really enduring empire over the mind and the heart of India. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* congratulates the civilians on the sudden accumulation to their bank account as a result of the recommendations of the Lee Commission being accepted, and says: The British public is heaving a sigh of relief that hereafter the best of England, as before, would seek the Indian service, and thus fit themselves for bearing the whiteman's

burden under enhanced wages! The Memsahib whose accounts disclosed the most heroic and silent suffering by the Britishers in their philanthropic service for ungrateful India, will have now some margin on the credit side. A divided people, as Indians are, are fated to no better treatment. Of course Indians will have *swaraj*, but the British element has to be maintained and the steel frame greased. In another article the paper says: After the Lee Report the very idea of *swaraj* is dead, for the Civil Service is above the Government of the land, and provincial autonomy is an empty dream. The *Advocate* says: The official announcement has caused a great deal of sensation and surprise all over the country. The recent action has increased the strain in the relations between the Government and Legislature and the Government of India committed the greatest blunder in recommending the same after knowing that it has been disapproved everywhere. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the British Cabinet has disregarded the united voice of the country and enforced the recommendations of the committee without making the slightest amendment and has thus forced India to swallow the bitter pill. Does the statesmanship of the British Cabinet serve only to aggravate the difficulties of India?

Kohat riots.

Referring to the Government of India resolution on the enquiry report riots the *Pioneer* says: The main feature of the report is its revelation that the culminating point of a long period of Hindu-Muslim tension in Kohat was the issue of a particularly inflammatory pamphlet by a Hindu, insulting the religion of Islam. The fact that a very small minority of Hindus had the audacity to issue so inflammatory a pamphlet suggests that the minority was very confident of its immunity from attack under the British *raj*. Yet outside hungrily lurked the Frontier tribesmen, and in preventing their incursions the civil and military authorities at Kohat could rightly claim that they averted a conflagration which might well have developed into a minor Frontier war. Referring to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's suggestion to the Viceroy that a committee of enquiry should be appointed to investigate the causes of the Kohat riots, the same paper says: The process of raking up the past by setting on foot an enquiry by a committee, however "mixed," however "non-official," and however "impartial," would certainly not tend to facilitate the restoration of harmony. The paper says that His Excellency the Viceroy's answer should be regarded as authoritatively disposing of the notion that the appointment of a committee of enquiry would effect the beneficent purpose which it is charitable to assume the Pandit's coadjutors have in mind in common with the Viceroy and his officers. The *Leader* says that the Government of India resolution is an astonishing piece of special pleading on behalf of the local authorities who utterly failed to realise the gravity of the situation and to take adequate precautionary measures when the trouble had actually broken out, and whose handling of the situation from beginning to end was as bad an example of ineptitude as can be imagined. The paper asks: Was it "courage and coolness" which the local authorities exhibited, or utter inability to cope with the situation and lack of ordinary foresight? The Government of India's solicitude in explaining away every act of remissness of the local officials and extenuating it as far as possible is truly remarkable and not in keeping with the high standard they profess to follow in the maintenance of law and order. The local authorities instead of being severely censured have been patted on the back and the blame has been cast on those who lost their all in the riots. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: The discredit on British rule that Kohat has brought is indelible. The Government resolution on the Kohat tragedy, based entirely on the finding of the officials on the spot, seeks to dismiss with chilling touches what will constitute an important event in the rise of new Hinduism. To the official the Kohat rising is important because of the coolness and courage displayed by the servants of the Crown and of the astute handling which prevented a frontier conflagration and all complications that such a conflagration would have meant. It is doubtful whether the Hindus would be so satisfied; we sincerely hope that the Government would, at least, have the satisfaction of having the concurrence of the Muslim population in their conclusions. Faith in the British flag on such extreme crisis to the Hindus in India have definitely lost. The only method by which British prestige could now be upheld is by blaming the very people whom officialdom hastened out of the scene of riot. Let the Hindus look to themselves. The lesson of Kohat is the same as the lesson from Lucknow: "to him that hath shall be given." The Muslim is strong and therefore he is very often in the right. The panicky Hindu is to be pitied and only fit to be hurled out of any scene by either special trains or

by section 144. The Hindus, if they want to avoid more Kohats, must adopt scientific *sangathan*, organise themselves as one homogeneous whole, make it impossible for half-fledged intellects or full-fledged fanaticism to answer political missiles with flaming torch and fatal bullet. The British Government, as it is, have said their last word on the subject. But Kohat to the Hindu must now and for ever be a call for *sangathan*, so that panic there will never be, exodus there will never be, but resolution to face the foe. Referring to the cause of the Kohat tragedy the *Success* observes: Let us not cry over spilt milk but forge our way ahead. Let it be a lesson for us, that that which we regard only as a "spark" is not "spark" in its results. The *Pratap* says that the sufferings of the Kohat Hindus constitute an indelible blot upon British rule. The Kohat Hindus were plundered, beaten and harassed on account of the folly and partiality of the authorities. That the authorities should now press them to return to Kohat while refusing to undertake responsibility for the protection of their lives and property is equivalent to sprinkling salt into the wound. If the British authorities cannot protect the person and properties of the Hindus of Kohat, why should they keep Kohat or the Frontier Province under their administration and not transfer it to the Afghan Government. The Amir will prove a better ruler to the people than the British. When indemnity was granted to the sufferers in the Punjab disturbances and the Bombay riots, why should not a similar favour be shown to the Hindu sufferers at Kohat?

Bengal Ordinance.

The *Pioneer* says: The intimidation practised in India upon peaceful people who are suspected of hostility to the aims of the Swarajist party is notorious, and it is to this cause that the absence of vocal support for the Government must largely be assigned. Referring to His Excellency Lord Reading's speech at the dinner given to him by the European Association, the *Leader* asks: Does His Lordship really believe that a mere tinkering with the rules framed under the Act, or with the Act itself, will cure the inherent defects of dyarchy and evoke that spirit of cooperation on the part of the popular representatives on which depends in a large measure the successful working of any constitution. No statesman who has any insight into human psychology and who has studied to any purpose the history of national movements would insist that wholehearted cooperation must precede concession. The paper has absolutely no sympathy with the terrorists and it believes that their methods are not only futile but also fraught with danger to the best interests of the country. It does not agree with Lord Reading that the progress of this malignant malady will not be checked by any political remedy. The satisfaction of national aspirations cannot but be followed by an immense improvement in the general atmosphere. It will divert the energies of many who are being drawn towards destructive paths. A purely negative policy of repression cannot root out the evil which every thoughtful Indian deplores. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: His Excellency the Viceroy, we very much fear, is losing his temper. We look in vain throughout the Viceroy's speech for a single reply to the persistent statements of the popular case against the Ordinance. The *Timely Topics* says: The Swaraj party is perhaps doing a little unnecessary amount of shrieking! It is a rising party, and would naturally seize the opportunity to swell its ranks. We refuse to believe that the Viceroy's "bombshell" is really directed against the Swaraj party. The *Arya Varta* criticises the recent speech of Lord Lytton and asks how the English will now be able to raise their heads before the world if the people are deprived of the right of benefitting themselves even by those laws which have been enacted by the English and in the framing of which the Indians have had no hand. The *Haqiqat* opines: There would have been no need of enforcing the Bengal Ordinance had Lord Reading recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission for granting a further instalment of Reforms to the Indians. The *Vartman* says that the oratorical efforts of Lord Lytton to convince the Bengalis of the justifiability of the new Ordinance are bound to prove futile, because no Bengali, however ignorant and uneducated he may be, can ever believe that the anarchists who are after all sons and youths of Bengal are more capable of doing ill to Bengal and the Bengali community than Lord Lytton, Mr. Stephenson or Mr. Tegart. In another article the same paper points out that if the apprehension of Mr. C. R. Das that the Government will soon intensify the prevailing repression and declare the Congress an unlawful association proves to be true, a revolution in India is assured as in the words of the ex-President of America, Dr. Wilson: "Repression is the way to revolution." The *Muttra Gazette* declares that loyal persons and those who agitate on peaceful and constitutional lines have nothing to fear from the Bengal Ordinance and urges

that every Indian citizen should help the Government in putting down revolutionaries who are a source of danger alike to Government and the people. Commenting on the decision of the Bengal Government disallowing Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to carry on the duties of the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation from within the jail any longer, the *Aj* remarks: This decision is the height of justice! What a farce that one should be imprisoned without trial and that he should at first be given permission to transact public business from within the jail and afterwards deprived of that opportunity. If this affair were not so tragic the action of the Government would certainly have excited laughter.

H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The *Leader* says: The announcement of the appointment of Sir Bhupendranath Mittra in place of Mr. A. C. Chatterjee and of Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habibullah in that of Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi will not come as a surprise. There is hardly any room for independent Indians inside the Government of India and safe men are wanted who have not a mind and a will of their own. From the bureaucratic point of view the choice is excellent, but from the popular point of view it is, it need hardly be said, far from satisfactory. As for Sir Muhammad Habibullah his appointment seems to be due to his signing the Lee Commission report which was universally condemned by Indian public opinion. The country need not expect anything from him.

Congress politics.

The *Leader* says: Mr. Gandhi has abandoned the faithful few to their fate and surrendered to the unfaithful many who have openly avowed their lack of confidence in his principles and policy and who, in fact, were never his convinced followers. As things are shaping they may one day repudiate even his titular leadership and then the Mahatma will find himself in a state of splendid isolation. In another article the paper says: We do urge Mr. Gandhi to give practical recognition to the self-confessed fact of the impossibility of carrying on the non-cooperation movement and definitely to abandon it instead of playing with the situation by declaring only for its suspension and against its abandonment. Passive resistance, *satyagraha*, non-cooperation, boycotts, civil disobedience, *charkha*, *khaddar*—all those are shibboleths which have governed the political activities of large numbers of estimable men and led to nowhere but disunion, dissension, repression and suffering. It is more than time that they were replaced by a sane programme. If this is not done, Mr. Gandhi's attitude can only be correctly described as one of confession and avoidance, an attitude that may be worthy of smaller men but not of Mr. Gandhi. The *Hamdam* is gratified that Mr. Gandhi has accepted the Presidentship of the Belgaum Congress and hopes that he will fully realise his immense responsibility and guide the affairs of the country in a manner the situation demands. The *District Gazette*, Aligarh, advises the Congress to have nothing to do with politics, but to turn its attention to the economic and moral progress of the country. The *Medina* says that the Congress is not now an instrument for the achievement of *swaraj*, but an arena for all the political parties to try their strength. In another article the same paper advises the Congress to draw up a detailed scheme for *swaraj* and remarks that *swaraj* presupposes a free and independent India in which the question of communal rights and representations may be unitedly agreed upon and there may be explicit provisions for safeguarding the interests of the minorities. In a series of articles the same paper dwells upon the possible effect of the Congress compromise upon Muslim politics and remarks that only two courses are now left for the Musalmans, either to adopt the policy of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and win the favour of the Government or to apply themselves with determination to their internal organisation and to the spread of pan-Islamism. The one solid wave of Muslim brotherhood extending from the extreme west of Africa to the extreme east of the Mongolian desert if united with a pan-Islamic tie can well defend itself against the onslaughts and excesses of its enemies.

The All-Parties Conference.

The *Bharat Jiwan* opines that the success of the All-Parties Conference is a happy augury for the future of the country, but urges that the resolution passed at the Conference protesting against the Bengal Ordinance will be of no avail unless a vigorous agitation is carried on throughout the country to impress upon the Government the inequity of the Ordinance and the urgent necessity of withdrawing it. The *Swadesh* remarks that the frame of mind displayed at the All-Parties Conference by the leaders of the various political parties shows that they will once again be united in the struggle for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Bharat Bandhu* thinks that the

All-Parties Conference has opened the door for unity among the various political parties of the country and has assured the forthcoming Congress of the sympathy of all shades of political leaders, whether they may or may not attend it.

The Muslim League.

The *Abhyudaya* disapproves of the decision to hold the next session of the Muslim League at Bombay instead of Belgaum and remarks that by such a decision the Muslim Leaguers may well have given proof of their obstinacy but no advocate of unity can commend this action of theirs.

Communal tension in Lucknow.

The *Leader* praises Mr. Gwynne for his efforts to solve the *arti-namaz* question and hopes that the labours of the committee appointed by the Deputy Commissioner will be fruitful of results and put an end to an unseemly quarrel which can neither promote the interests of the town nor those of either community. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: We congratulate Mr. Gwynne on what we very earnestly hope is a happy termination of the intense question of *arti-namaz* question in the Aminabad Park. The deadlock has been lifted, both the Hindus and the Muslims adjusting their irreducible demands to admit of conciliation. Diehards on both sides must still, we fear, find irreligion and impiety in the compromise, but on the whole, we have reasons to believe that the two communities, tired of the strain, would grip at the olive branch which it was left to Mr. Gwynne to offer. The local Swarajists have almost written their epitaph at Aminabad. They are spurned by their own community, until they have had to shrink back from even expressing their views on current political subjects. Mr. Gwynne is entitled at this crisis to all the support from every Hindu and Muslim leader, for at their word he has hazarded a great deal. Any untoward incident in Lucknow would ruin his official career. The example of Kohat stares us all in the face through the recent Government resolution. The Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow cannot plead that he was taken by surprise.

Improvement Trust Committee.

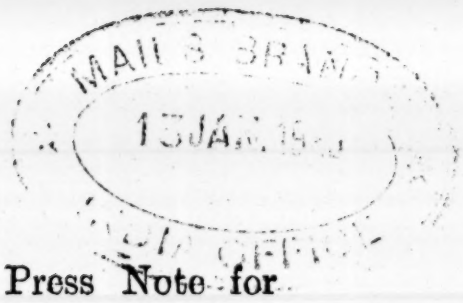
Referring to the report of the Improvement Trust Committee, the *Leader* says: We have not the slightest doubt that the report is what Mr. Fremantle has made it. The committee has considerable criticism to offer on the conduct of the operations of the Trusts. The criticism is in certain respects severe, but it is also incomplete in certain other respects where it is undoubtedly one-sided. They have nothing to say of the Government's part in the affair. The Fremantle Committee has avoided any criticism of the Government's attitude and a perusal of their report would lead one who did not know the fact to suppose that all the guilt lay on the shoulders of the Chairmen of the Trusts. We say with emphasis that this is not a fact and that the Government must share a large part of the blame for the defects that have been pointed out in the report of the committee. We are unalterably convinced that the Trusts should not be officialised and that more of the reserved officers should not be brought into the transferred sphere.

LUCKNOW:
The 13th December, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

NOTICE.



THERE will be no issue of the Press Note for the week ending 27th December, 1924, on account of the Xmas vacations.

ZAFAR OMAR,

The 23rd December, 1924. *Publicity Officer.*

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 20th December, 1924.

Britain and Egypt.

THE *Nejat* characterises the measures adopted by Britain in connection with Sir Lee Stack's murder as unjust and tyrannical and remarks that the attitude of the Conservative Government towards all the Eastern countries is one and the same. India cannot expect different treatment. The *Rahnuma* suspects the murder of Sir Lee Stack to be the outcome of Bolshevik activities and remarks that in his murder Great Britain has found a pretext for destroying the liberty of Egypt. Writing in a similar strain the *Mashriq* deplores that Great Britain has hurled the entire responsibility for the outrage on the Egyptian Government without making full enquiries. The *Al Bashir* remarks that if this tragedy had taken place in England, except unearthing the conspiracy and inflicting deterrent punishment on the culprits, no other step would have been taken. The *Aj* expresses its unqualified disapproval of the announcement of the Turkish Premier that the Turkish Government would not interfere in the Egyptian dispute and remarks that Turkey should reflect as to what should have been her condition if other Eastern countries had also displayed a similar attitude when she was fighting for her very existence. The *Swadesh* asserts that India, despite her dependent position, sympathises with the Egyptians in the troubles brought on their heads by the British Imperialists in their desire to make the murder of Sir Lee Stack by a few misguided Egyptians a pretext to deprive Egypt of her existing liberty. The brutal treatment of the British Government towards Egypt for the offence of a few miscreants is nothing short of an outrage on humanity.

Hedjaz affairs.

Akhtar Ali Makhdoomi of Amethi in a signed article to the *Hamdam* suggests that the Khalifa should be elected by the entire Muslim world and he should have a standing army of 25,000 soldiers and a small fleet, the expenses of which should be borne jointly by the Muslim world. India should contribute 5,000 soldiers and 500 sailors and three hundred thousand rupees per month towards the expenses. The Beduins who make their living by plundering the *hajis* should be enrolled as soldiers. The *Haqiqat* criticises the Khilafat deputation on the ground that the Wahabis are unrepresented and suggests that the Sultan of Nejd should be made the ruler of Hedjaz on the condition that he will only have power of supervision over the holy places whereas the direct administration of the country will be entrusted to an international council, consisting of the representatives of all the Muslim countries.

Situation in Morocco.

Referring to the evacuation of Morocco by the Spanish troops, the *Leader* says: A new situation has been created which may raise issues of a far-reaching nature not only between France and Spain but also among some other Powers interested in the security of Tangier. At another place the paper opines that the best course would be to recognise the independence of the Riffs and to come to an international agreement with them. The *Pioneer* remarks that the unrest in Morocco may lead indirectly to grave menace to Great Britain as well as to France. If Spain's present policy of neglecting the interior of Morocco leads to trouble in French territory, France will doubtless consider herself justified in taking special measures to protect her own borders. That France has no intention of attempting to extend her Morocco zone we have already been assured by Marshal Lyautey, but the inability of the Directory to control Spain's former possessions in the interior of the country opens up unpleasant possibilities.

Reforms Enquiry Committee.

The *Leader* suggests that the whole of the available material regarding the Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee should be placed before the public and the legislatures in India to enable them to assess the value of the reports of the committee and provincial Governors should not disallow resolutions thereon, of which notice may be given by non-official members.

Lee Commission Report.

The Indian Press continues to express dissatisfaction with the recommendations of the Lee Commission. Referring to the reply given to Colonel Wedgwood by Lord Winterton the *Leader* remarks: A very delightful prospect there is here for the wretched Indian tax-payer. May we not add that here too we have a convincing demonstration of the manner in which self-appointed trustees owning no responsibility to anyone but their God and their own conscience are prone to interpret the obligations of trustees to their wards? *Wealth and Welfare* says: Self-government is better than good government. The unemployment problem of Britain should not be solved by the encouragement of unemployment in India. India must and should agitate for the expansion of the Indian services and the reduction of British services, to the utmost limit. The *Oudh Akhbar* describes the enforcement of the Lee Commission's recommendations in spite of the vigorous protest of the Indians as a great insult to Indian public opinion and remarks that the message of democracy as conveyed to India through the Reforms was but a sham. By accepting the recommendations the British Parliament has played with the principles of democracy and has created disgust even amongst the Liberals who were hitherto well-wishers of the Government and who will now cease to repose any confidence in its actions.

Kohat riots.

The *Pioneer* in an article headed "The Lessons of Kohat" says: No one can read the official reports on the recent Kohat disturbances without being impressed by the thoroughness with which the investigation was carried out. The chief consideration arising from the report is not the discussion of the extent to which blame lies on the shoulders of the different parties involved. If such riots recurred, success in preventing the tribesmen from taking a hand might not be repeated. There should be a cessation of recrimination, and responsible men of both communities should sternly discourage partisan attempts to add to the stream of misrepresentation that has been poured out, in the main from one side only. Reconciliation and the restoration of harmonious relations can only proceed from a firm desire to forget the past and to take practical steps to prevent the recurrence of these deplorable events. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Government of India resolution is not even a whitewashing document: it is a jumble of facts and theories embellished with picturesque official handshakes across the ruined Hindu population of Kohat. The Government believes that so far as they are concerned, the resolution exonerates them from all responsibility. If the higher type of Muslims like Muhammad Ali would succeed in inducing the Kohat Muslims to invite the Hindus and to assure them of protection, great impetus would have been given to Hindu-Muslim unity. While we have over-government in Bengal, Kohat suffered from no government. The *Hamdam* agrees with the official report that the entire responsibility for the Kohat disturbances is on the Hindus who first published the mischievous pamphlet attacking the religious sentiments of the Musalmans. In another article the same paper strongly protests against the statement of Mr. Gandhi on the Kohat disturbances and regrets that he has not a single word of sympathy for the Musalmans killed and wounded in the riot. His statement is disappointing to the Musalmans, and if he wants to retain the confidence of the Musalmans he should try to remove the misunderstanding created by it. The *Vartman* remarks: Can any reasonable person believe in this baseless report? It is a mere show under the cover of which the Government is changing its crooked tricks. In order to appease the Musalmans of Kohat it has decided upon the destruction of the Hindus, little caring what the latter think of the grave injustice done to them. Can the British Government continue to have a permanent hold upon the country through such mean tricks? On the basis of this action alone it can be said that it is such things which are sowing the seeds of a future revolution. The *Arti* opines that the report gives no impartial account of the disturbances but only attempts to whitewash the mistakes of omission and commission of the local authorities. The Viceroy's refusal to appoint an independent enquiry committee as requested by the Punjab Sanatan Dharma Sabha is due to his apprehension that its report would expose the bureaucracy in its utter nakedness. In order to protect its officials Government has supported the Muhammadans and laid all responsibility at the door of the Hindus. This has been the policy of Government in all parts of the country in respect of communal disturbances. The Hindus should carefully note this diplomacy of the Government and endeavour to be self-reliant for the protection of their religion and country. The *Aj* remarks that a perusal of the official report confirms the view that if the local authorities had acted with wisdom and prudence the Kohat tragedy would never have occurred, and if it had occurred at all it would not have taken such a gruesome form.

The Bengal Ordinance.

Referring to Mr. C. R. Das' reply to Lord Lytton, the *Pioneer* remarks that his attempt at humour in the reply is sheer buffoonery. If Mr. Das' mentality permits him to believe that this is a matter for humorous treatment, he is an object of pity as well as of contempt. The *Haqiqat* criticises Lord Lytton's Calcutta Durbar speech and remarks that he cannot allay the public resentment by the mere recital of anecdotes and nursery tales. He cannot gain his object by holding Durbars and bestowing honours and decorations. The *Shakti* attempts to refute the arguments of Lord Lytton as adduced in his speeches in defence of the Bengal Ordinance and contends that even if the persons arrested in Bengal are revolutionaries they are the products of the existing administrative policy which ignores public opinion and attaches the first importance to the interests of the Government only. If there are anarchists in the country, even after a hundred and fifty years of British rule, the Government itself should be impugned for it. The *Pratap* takes exception to the statement of Lord Lytton that every one who had been arrested under the new Ordinance was connected with the anarchical movement and remarks that such a statement from the lips of the highest authority in the province regarding those persons who were not given any opportunity of putting in their defence as is offered even to murderers amounts to the murder of law and justice.

The Sikh Sudhar movement in the Punjab.

The *Leader* says: We confess we have much more sympathy with the new Sikh Sudhar movement which has all the appearance of being both more sober and more practical and hence of holding out a better prospect of success.

H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The *Hamdam* hopes that Sir Muhammad Habibullah will justify the confidence reposed in him by the Viceroy and remarks that instead of an old Government servant some independent and capable Muslim leader should have been appointed as Law Member. The *Aj* congratulates Lord Reading on the appointment of Sir Muhammad Habibullah and Sir Bhupendra Nath Mittra as members of his Executive Council and remarks that he shall never have cause to regret these appointments. Indeed, by signing the Lee Report and recommending the loot of Indian money Sir Muhammad Habibullah had acquired the claim for the highest office in the Government. And Sir Bhupendra Nath Mittra has been appointed an Executive Councillor perhaps on account of the absence of an independent spirit and broad political outlook which is so characteristic of him as of all those who have risen up from clerical service.

H. E. the Viceroy's tour.

The *Pioneer* commends the Viceroy's speech and says: In his statesmanlike speech at the dinner of the European Association at Calcutta Lord Reading once more lucidly expounded the policy which, with the support of successive British Governments, has been consistently pursued by His Excellency and his co-adjutors. May thoughtful Indians ask how long the country is to be incessantly disturbed by violent agitations which lead nowhere, which have inflicted grave injury on the Indian people, which have resulted in barbarous crime and have indubitably exacerbated racial feeling and accentuated communal and religious differences. If the *swaraj* which these men claim were delivered into their hands what would be the fate of India? Their aims are purely negative; they would have neither the ability to carry on the civil administration nor the power to protect the country from the invasion which would follow the withdrawal of the British. It is, therefore, of the first importance to India that the more stable elements should seek means for giving public testimony to the faith that is in them and for combating the propaganda of destruction. In this task they would have the whole-hearted support of the responsible non-official British element in this country. Commenting upon the Viceroy's speech in reply to the memorial of the Musalmans of Bombay the *Nejat* opines that his speech must have opened the eyes of the self-appointed representatives of the Musalmans. He trampled down the demands of the Musalmans and has failed in his attempt to please them with empty words. The Musalmans are well aware of his false sympathy and know too well on what consideration he delayed the grant of passport to the Hedjaz deputation.

United Provinces Legislative Council.

Commenting on the explanation of the President of the Council for disallowing the resolutions on Muzaffarnagar affairs, the *Leader* remarks: An officer of Government may abuse his authority, may humiliate respectable Indians, and may defiantly proclaim that whatever the Councillors may say or do the Government was sure to support him.

If the President's ruling is correct then the Council has no right to criticise the actions of District Officers who may run amok. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The interest in educational advancement, the predominant feature of the political consciousness of the people, found vent in the resolution on the Benares Hindu University. While we sincerely desire that the grant to the Aligarh University will be enhanced in the future, we must persistently point out that in its treatment of this great Hindu institution the Government have displayed a spirit that is most unfortunate. Referring to the debate on the appointment of honorary magistrates the same paper remarks: The defeat of the resolution on honorary magistrates, after the speeches that were made on the subject, is a sad confession of lack of cohesion among the members.

Congress politics.

The *Hindustani* is gratified that Mr. Gandhi has accepted the Presidentship of the Congress. The *Hind-i-Jadid* hopes that Mr. Gandhi will try to place Hindu-Muslim unity on a stronger and permanent basis and remarks that Dominion status can neither be beneficial to the Hindus nor to the Musalmans whose cause is likely to suffer under a united Congress as in that case the Musalmans will find themselves between two enemies—the Hindu majority on one side and British Imperialism on the other. The *Zulqarnain* in a communicated article deplores that the leaders are making the public resentment over the Bengal Ordinance a basis for the unity of the various political parties and warns that a unity which is based on the hatred of a third party is sure to result in dire consequences.

The Punjab Political Conference.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that one of the striking features of the Punjab political conference was the absence of Muslim leaders. The fact is the Hindus of the Punjab, as of Lucknow, have lost faith in their leaders who cannot suggest any remedy for communal differences. In the opinion of the paper the time has come when Hindu *sangathan* should obtain more prominence than even *swaraj*. After *sangathan* has welded the great Hindu population into an organised and harmonious whole, we can easily whistle for *swaraj*. For some time Hindu and Muslim leaders must agree to openly part company to work in their own way, but avoiding communal outbursts.

Muslim League.

The *Hamdam* lays stress on the importance of this year's session of the Muslim League and remarks that the Musalmans should first strengthen the foundation of their own national existence; then only their alliance with other communities can be useful. The *Rahnuma* expresses its satisfaction that the session of the League will not be held at Belgaum and heaves a sigh of relief that the Musalmans have realised the fundamental mistake of making the League subservient to the Congress.

***Arti-Namaz* settlement in Lucknow.**

Referring to the discussion in the Legislative Council on the resolution regarding communal disturbances in these provinces, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Lucknow today thanks Mr. Gwynne for deliberately staking his political career, actually walking into the den of the rioters. It is no small credit to the Hindus that they have accepted temporarily a settlement which does not concede what they claim. Equally creditable it is to the Muslims that leaders like the Raja of Salempur, who demanded Mr. Ruttledge's head on a charger for his Amethi action, should have come forward to stem the Muslim fanaticism that swelled against the tinkling of the temple bell. Of course, it is not Mr. Gwynne's influence but the force of the police that is behind the back of this temporary settlement. And the present situation would never have risen at all if the British official on the spot had acted in the beginning with courage and coherency. As it is, Mr. Ruttledge behaved exactly as the Swarajist leaders did: willing to wound but afraid to strike. In the opinion of *Success* the atmosphere is clear. Conditions are rapidly having a happy turn. Parties appear to be satisfactory. In fact it is not the so-called grievances that actually beget troubles. "It is rather the pictures drawn by fine artists that are, to a great extent, responsible for civil commotions here and everywhere in the world. Anyhow, thank goodness, our city is once again in its normal mood and let us pray for permanent peace." The *Anand* expresses its gratification at the settlement of the local *arti-namaz* controversy by the Deputy Commissioner and remarks that it must cause satisfaction to the Hindus whose religious sentiments have been attached due weight therein. They should not grudge the concession to Muhammadans of the stoppage of conch-blowing during the last five minutes of the performance of *arti*. The compromise reflects great credit on the tactfulness and farsightedness of the Deputy Commissioner. The

Arti, on the other hand, considers the compromise in respect of the *arti-namaz* question to be unsatisfactory inasmuch as it allows only five minutes' time in reality for the performance of the *arti* in three temples, which is altogether inadequate, inasmuch as it is very difficult to carry it out in actual practice owing to the punctual observance of the time limit and inasmuch as it does not preclude the possibility of a communal conflict, as crowds are bound to collect in the park, when the *namaz* is allowed to be held there. It says that the Hindus may well accept the compromise as a temporary measure but for the permanent solution of the question they should await the decision of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Agra Tenancy Act.

Nasir-ul-Hasan, zamindar of Ghazipur, in a signed article to the *Haqiqat* complains that in the new Bill the rights of the zamindars have been overlooked and those of the tenants have been extended to such an extent that there is every probability of the latter's going out of control and rendering the zamindars powerless to help the Government in time of need. In view of their great responsibilities and financial difficulties the petty zamindars stand more in need of protection than the tenants.

British Empire Exhibition.

The *Pioneer* says: The exultation of the Swarajists at the Government of India's decision not to take part in the Exhibition next year shows that they would rather mar the Exhibition's success, in order to gratify their anti-British sentiment, than advance the prosperity of Indian workmen and industrialists.

Anti-Indian propaganda in America.

Referring to the anti-Indian propaganda in America the *Leader* says: This misleading propaganda, full as it is of half-truths and untruths, is carried on through the American newspapers which obligingly place their columns at the disposal of those who, either through conviction or for mercenary considerations, have opened their columns to a campaign of vilification of the Indian nationalist movement and are educating the uninformed Americans into the belief that the British bureaucracy are the best friends of the Indian masses. The *Vartman* refers in condemnatory terms to Lord Sydenham's anti-Indian propaganda in America and points out the need of sending Indian propagandists to foreign countries with a view to refute from the press and the platform all such baseless allegations as are made against India by Lord Sydenham. The *Aj* holds that although the Sydenhamite propaganda may succeed in deceiving the American Imperialists yet it cannot deceive the whole world and Indians will never rest on their oars until *swaraj* is attained.

LUCKNOW:
The 20th December, 1924.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MAILS BRANCH
3 FEB. 192
INDIA OFFICE

No. 1 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the fortnight ending the 3rd January, 1925.

Spain and Morocco.

THE *Leader* says: The coastal strip of Moroccan territory assigned to Spain is one of great strategic importance and Britain would not like that its control should pass into the hands of a great power like France. Spain may find its position untenable and decide to evacuate it. Who will then take its place? Britain may not for diplomatic reasons make a direct claim to it, but would probably be not averse to supporting the claim of Italy to control it. France would, however, be strongly opposed to Italians stepping in. The problem may be referred to the League Council. The best ccurse would be to recognise the independence of the Riffs and to come to an international agreement with them. The zone should be converted into neutral territory.

Crisis in Egypt.

Referring to the latest manifesto issued by Zaghlul Pasha the *Pioneer* says: If the votes of the ignorant sections of Egypt's population are sufficient to secure a majority in Parliament for Zaghlul Pasha and his party, it will be a calamity for Egypt unless the Nationalists approach their task of directing the destinies of the country in a very different spirit from that which they have evinced in the past. The *Desh Bhagat* in a strongly worded article exhorts the Indians to condemn the British policy in Egypt and advises them not to give any help to Great Britain against Egypt. The emancipation of India is linked with the emancipation of Egypt and if the Indians help the Egyptians in achieving independence they can themselves achieve freedom as the Suez Canal, which is the key to India's independence, will be in the possession of the Egyptians. The *Hamdam* severely criticises the speech of Mr. Austen Chamberlain and remarks that in the dictionary of British diplomacy the words "Liberty" and "Non-interference" are construed to mean slavery and extreme interference. If the British statesmen still do not take any lesson from the present situation they will certainly fail to make amends for their blunders and will rue the consequences of their policy.

Indians in the Colonies.

Referring to the condition of Indians in South Africa the *Leader* says: The Government of India have protested in the past and may protest again. But their documentary protests have produced no effect. What is needed is retaliatory action and Indian public opinion has been urging upon them the necessity of adopting such measures, but they have shrunk from a policy of strong action. Do not the Government of India owe a duty to Indians lawfully settled in South Africa? Must they look on impotently and helplessly and content themselves with ineffectual protests while the Indian settlers are being deprived of one right after another and disability after disability is being imposed upon them? The paper advises the Natal Indians to rely largely upon themselves and upon the people and the Government of India and continue unabated the struggle for tolerable and honourable existence until the Union Government undo the wrong. The anti-Indian crusade of the white settlers in South Africa has been producing a very undesirable effect on the attitude of an increasing number of Indians towards the Imperial connection, but British statesmen do not seem to realise the great injury that is being done to the imperial cause by the policy of exclusive racialism in South Africa. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The Europeans find that the Indians compete with them successfully; and the best way to meet it is to eliminate the competing factor. This is being done. The ladder by which they ascended is the Indian. Now that the ascent is over, the ladder is being kicked. And yet there are Indians who desire that we should have enthusiasm for an Empire, where such gross outrage on Indian citizenship is possible. The *Hamdam* protests against the new Municipal electorate regulations of Natal and apprehends that the Indian emigrants will be very hard hit by them. Lord Reading's Government which holds the protection of the wealth of the English capitalists to be its foremost duty cannot be expected to safeguard the rights of the Indians who have rendered greater services than the English colonists in the development of Natal and in strengthening British supremacy in South Africa.

As long as the Indians are slaves in their own country they cannot be expected to safeguard the interests of their countrymen abroad. The *Bhavishya* remarks that the assent given by the Governor General in Council, South Africa, to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance which deprives the Indians settled in Natal of municipal franchise shows that the Union Government is seeking to reduce the Indians to a position of utter degradation. The Indians in Natal are looking to India for help. It is therefore the duty of the Swarajists to take up the matter and press the Government of India to come to the help of the Indians in Natal.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the Lucknow and Kohat disturbances the *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: The short, straight cry that the Muslims want it all their way will gather the Hindus together; and the cry that Hindus strive for *swaraj*, because they desire Hindu *raj*, would drive the Muslims to the official side. This is the inevitable culmination of the present process—unless checked. And the result? Triumph to bureaucracy and, for a time at any rate, death to all concerted political efforts in this country. Let us fight the Government and Muslims, would be the Hindu attitude. Let us join the Government and crush the Hindu majority, would be the Muslim reply. The *Arti* attributes the communal disturbances to the desire of Muhammadans to secure equal political rights with the Hindus and adds that the Government too directly or indirectly encourages the Muhammadans to entertain such a desire. It urges the Hindus to accept no Hindu-Muslim compact which gives the Muhammadans more than is their fair share. They should not be taken in by any camouflage seeking to curtail their rights in the name of the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity. In another article the same paper says that the renewal of proposals for Hindu-Muslim unity are out of question at the present time when the atmosphere is still surcharged with communal tension and the Hindus have not forgotten the atrocities perpetrated on them by the Muhammadans. The Hindus indeed cannot even consider any such proposals until they are convinced that the Muhammadans sincerely want peace and unity and give an assurance not to interfere with the legitimate religious observances of the Hindus. The *Anand* warns the Hindu congressmen against accepting any Hindu-Muslim pact at the Belgaum Congress without consulting the general Hindu public, otherwise they will find themselves placed in a very false position, in case the Hindu community refuses to recognise it.

The Belgaum Congress.

In the opinion of the *Pioneer* the presidential address of Mr. Gandhi at the Belgaum Congress is calculated to daze the reader. Professions of love for all mankind combined with gross and unfounded accusations against the British are there in profusion; but, above all, we find the insistence on the efficacy of the spinning wheel as India's anchor of salvation. Mr. Gandhi's advocacy of the boycott of imported cloth is backed up by preposterous charges against the British which cannot fail to inflame the minds of the ignorant. The paper thinks that Mr. Gandhi's panegyrics on the beauty of virtue and of love and his periodical penitential fasts will not bring back the dead; nor will they undo the mischief caused by non-cooperation and by the advocacy of the boycott as a divine instrument for the creation of prosperity and good-will. In another article the paper opines that the disunion which prevails in the ranks of the adherents of the Congress has been significantly emphasised by the proceedings at Belgaum. The belief that the Liberal party might be induced to throw in its lot with Mr. Gandhi and his coadjutors has been rudely dispelled by the reception accorded to the presidential speech by Liberal leaders at Lucknow. The *Leader* characterises Mr. Gandhi's address as "A unique address" and says that it cannot be compared with any other address of its kind. The Mahatma's singular qualities are reflected in the address as in mirror. The address is marked by simplicity, by urbanity and by honesty; it is distinguished, as it was bound to be, by moral elevation. Superficially it strikes one as being scarcely political; yet it is deadly politics in every page and in every line of it. A perusal of the address, without prejudice and with an anxious desire to glean from it some slight hope for the reunion of public workers separated since Mr. Gandhi's advent on the scene, leads one to the distressing but unescapable conclusion that there is no ground of unity, almost no meeting point except the love of country and the desire for *swaraj*. In politics, however, methods are hardly less important than ideals. The whole address brings one conviction to the non-cooperator's mind: there can be no united Congress on Mr. Gandhi's terms. Referring to the adoption by the Congress of the yarn franchise, the paper says that every member of the Congress must now either spin or get spun by others the prescribed quantity of yarn. The paper holds that if the new condition of Congress

membership is rigidly enforced it is not improbable that after some time the Congress will become merely an association of hand-spinners and will cease to inspire the national movement to any appreciable extent. At another place the paper says: *Charkha* has been made for the time being to dominate the policy of the Congress, but the economic fads of a few individuals, however eminent they may be, can furnish no outlet for the surging national spirit of the country which may seek to find expression through other organisations unless Mr. Gandhi discovers his mistake in time and agrees to do away with the yarn franchise. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is perhaps the shortest address that has ever been delivered. It is a direct, forcible, face to face talk with the soldiers by the commander who is conscious that he sustained a severe defeat and does not desire to mislead his followers as to what exactly they may expect and where they stand. The vigour of imagination, the force of language and the vein of absolute sincerity, the characteristics of the Mahatma's utterances and writings certainly mark the Congress address; but as he has nothing to say that can be said to be new, the student of the address will necessarily rise from its perusal with no overpowering enthusiasm or sudden inspiration; on the other hand, the cold, merciless self-examination to which he has subjected the character and capacity of public-workers, must impart a feeling of despair whether, after all, the goal of *swaraj* will ever be reached. To us the presidential address reads almost as the sepulchre of the political career of Gandhi. The high idealism that Gandhi clings to will not appeal to the masses at present; it is doubtful whether they will evoke even a thought in the Government immersed in the pleasant task of legislating the Reading Ordinance into the law of the land. We must frankly say that it is almost like Lord Reading asking us to believe that Subhas Chandra Bose is guilty and is therefore in jail when Gandhi asks us to believe that *swaraj* would be attained by spinning because he is sure of it: or that the path to *swaraj* is by the Hindu showing his left cheek to the Muslim bully to beat because the bully has beaten on his right cheek. The bureaucracy would find its strength considerably increased by the confusion and evident purposelessness that characterise the conclave of Nationalist workers in Belgaum. Under an article headed "The failure of the Congress" the paper remarks:—By concentrating on what we may call domestic affairs, namely the relations between the Swarajists and the No-changers, the Indian National Congress has lost its glamour to young India, which drew inspiration year after year from the courageous exposition of views and policy that came from that quarter. The debates in the Congress are devoid of life and reality. By attempting to import into it cast iron business methods, we fear the Congress, as an appealing force to the masses, will be killed. Referring to the franchise resolution the paper says: In fact the entire debate on the subject has a false ring about it, unworthy of an assembly over which Gandhi presides. In spite of his appeal for all to think and act for themselves, they have all humoured Gandhi—to his own political destruction. The *Haqiqat* describes this year's Congress as the *charkha* Congress and remarks that the chief feature of it was that it started with and ended in *charkha*. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that it was the shortest presidential address ever read in the Congress and though under the present circumstances it may not be disappointing and unsatisfactory to the country yet certainly it cannot be termed praiseworthy. A correspondent writing in the *Sada-i-Muslim* favours the view of Maulana Hasrat Mohani that the attainment of complete independence outside the British Empire should be the goal of the Congress. Every Indian should insist on the change of Congress creed and definition of *swaraj* so that the world may be apprised of the real sentiments of the Indians. If the country really feels any sympathy for the oppressed Bengalis, it should boycott British goods and bring about the revival of the non-cooperation movement. Writing on the eve of the Congress the *Aj* says that the non-cooperation movement which was started with such vigour in 1920 at the Nagpur Congress will now be given an indecent burial at the Belgaum Congress. The paper hopes that Belgaum will not stigmatise its fair name by destroying the political existence of the Congress which the abandonment or the indefinite suspension of the non-cooperation programme evidently means. The same paper is strongly opposed to the yarn franchise laid down by Mr. Gandhi and remarks that while the propagation of *khaddar* is undoubtedly calculated to strengthen the national forces and weaken those of the enemy it cannot be made the life-work of the Congress or given a predominant place in the Congress programme. The *Vartman* writing on the prospects of unity in the Congress remarks: We do not want unity if it is to be obtained by sacrificing the ideal of independence. The goal of the Congress is not unity, but national freedom. The attempt to bring back the Moderates who are uncompromising opponents of

republican ideals into the fold of the Congress is not only fruitless and imprudent but is also calculated to raise fresh dissensions within the Congress. Any talk of unity with those who disapprove of complete independence as the goal of the Congress is absurd. In another article the same paper remarks that the address delivered by Mr. Gandhi as president of the Congress is not only marked by brevity and lucidity which are Mr. Gandhi's characteristics but also by his ability to solve the most perplexing problems with great facility. The *Aj* says that Mahatma Gandhi's address makes it plain that a new era has dawned in the country. It shows that the era of words is yielding place to the era of work. The paper, however, takes exception to the Mahatma making the *charkka* a necessary condition for membership of the Congress. In another article the same paper regrets that the national assembly has now been converted into a *charkha* association. We do not hold it to be an honour for congressmen to become spinners, nor can we reconcile ourselves to the view that *charkha* alone can bring about India's emancipation.

The Liberal Federation.

Referring to the Lucknow session of the National Liberal Federation of India the *Pioneer* writes: It might have been hoped that the National Liberal Federation of India would attempt to give a lead to sober opinion in this country. But the discussions at Lucknow proved absolutely sterile. The Liberals are numerically weak; their organisation is notoriously imperfect. They would have shown political acumen if, learning from the bitter lessons of the past, they had concentrated on consolidating their position and had formulated a programme which would attract to their ranks the large and steadily increasing number of influential, thoughtful and broad-minded Indians who view with apprehension the situation which has been created in this country by insensate agitation. A perusal of the report of the proceedings shows that the Liberal Federation failed lamentably to rise to the occasion. Some of the sentiments uttered at Lucknow were worthy of Belgaum. The outstanding achievement of the Federation at Lucknow was its vehement denunciation of Government for its attitude towards criminal conspiracies in Bengal. According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* the presidential speech lacks political steadiness or resolute patriotism. It traverses the usual grounds associated with that orthodox political school and where it attacks the Nationalists, it must remind even Dr. Paranjpaye of some unruly schoolboy with whom he might have had to deal. For this small man, immersed in Government conclaves, to speak in spiteful scorn and sit on judgment on selfless patriots like Gandhi, Das and Nehru is grossest piece of impertinence one could think of; and that a handful of retired ministers, who made up the grandiose National Liberal Federation, should have sat regaling themselves beneath this silly performance is the strongest condemnation of this fruitless show which the Liberals still persist in running with pathetic persistence. In one word Mr. Paranjpaye's address is intended not for the people of India but for the Government from whose embrace one fine morning the Swarajists rudely tore the doctor and his gang. Commenting on the speech of Mr. A. P. Sen, Chairman of the Reception Committee, it says: His criticism of the Swarajists is in the style and manner that must extort the respectful attention of those whom he castigates. His appeal for unity is tuned to almost Gandhian pitch for utter selflessness and height of patriotism. The *Haqiqat* remarks that the presidential address is replete with sarcastic remarks against the Congress and the Swarajists. It betrays a spirit which is calculated to promote disunion between the different political parties.

The Khilafat Conference.

Referring to Dr. Kitchlew's address at the Khilafat Conference, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that it is not likely to pour oil on the troubled waters in the Punjab. He has dipped his pen deep in communal ink. The *Pioneer* says: The leaders of the Khilafat Committee have no claim to speak for the Muslims and we believe that the Muhammadan community as a whole will realise that the resolutions passed at the Conference, notably that congratulating the Riffs, were conceived more in a spirit of hostility to the British than of sympathy with the people. The "warning" to England regarding any hostile action on her part against the Riffs was as uncalled for as it was vain, and it will be so regarded by innumerable Indian Muslims whose desire for the welfare of Muhammadans in other lands is as great as that of any of the Khilafat leaders. The *Abhyudaya* is not satisfied with Dr. Kitchlew's presidential address at the Khilafat Conference and remarks: Dr. Kitchlew's address has lessened rather than increased our regard for him. It is marked by an undignified attempt to minimise the faults of the Muhammadans and magnify those of the Hindus. Muslim organisation, separate representations

and proselytisation is the burden of his address. The Hindus can get a glimpse into the Muslim heart through this address and beware.

The Muslim League.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* congratulates the Hon'ble Syed Raza Ali for touching a deeper chord in his Muslim League address, and says: He refused to play to the gallery; he has displayed the qualities of a statesman at a time when such qualities might have been misunderstood even by his own followers who hanker for communal outlook in life. The address of the presidents of Muslim League and Bengal Provincial Muslim Conference come to hearten up nationalist workers that the canker of disunity has not yet eaten into the vitals of our Muslim brethren. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the presidential address was very moderate in tone. Syed Raza Ali has faithfully voiced the views of the Musalmans on questions particularly concerning themselves.

The Punjab Political Conference.

The Muslim press is dissatisfied with Mr. Gandhi's attitude. The *Sada-i-Muslim* describes Mr. Gandhi's speech in the Punjab Political Conference as his greatest political blunder and an incitement to the Hindus against the Musalmans. It asks whether the principle of non-violence is to be applied only towards a powerful enemy, the English, and whether a strong party can be permitted to indulge in violence against the weaker one. The *Al Bureed* says that Mr. Gandhi's speech has dealt a severe blow to the trust which the Musalmans hitherto reposed in him and has gone a long way in provocating the Hindus against the Musalmans. If he wants to throw a challenge to the Musalmans we have no other alternative but to accept it.

The Maha Sabha.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* recommends to the public the address delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the Hindu Maha Sabha and says: His definite pronouncement that self-government and communal aggression in India cannot go together is the last word on the subject. The solution of Hindu-Muslim differences is not political pact; the appetite of the political minded Muslim has grown as he gets more. He has already outlived the Lucknow pact; he wants more. The only secret of Hindu-Muslim unity is in the strength of the Hindus. Power in the hands of Hindus would never be abused, as it is being abused by Europeans in Europe or Americans in America. And it were time that every Hindu concentrated on Hindu *sangathan*. The resolutions passed by the Hindu Sabha stand out as a powerful call to the community to combine and act. But the strongest call is Kohat, not for money which is the least, but for the determination that such things shall never be again. With the fall of the Congress the Hindu Maha Sabha has risen. And once Hindus display their strength and their will to unite and win *swaraj* the Muslims would rapidly fall in line with them.

Kohat riots.

The *Al Bashir* says that the attempt of the Hindu leaders to lay the entire responsibility of the Kohat disturbances at the door of the Musalmans is tantamount to throwing dust at the moon. This will result in widening the gulf between the two communities all the more and increasing a feeling of hatred and animosity between them. It is a pity that even Mr. Gandhi could not refrain himself from betraying national partiality. Writing in a similar strain the *Medina* describes the official report as quite impartial and free from communal hatred, religious antipathy and communal animosity. It takes to task the Hindu leaders for raising a hue and cry over it and calling it one sided. The *Nizam-i-Alam* resents the statement of Mr. Gandhi regarding the Kohat disturbances and takes to task the Muslim leaders for being pro-Hindu and thereby losing credit in the eyes of their community. They are sympathising with the Hindus and have not a word to say regarding the losses suffered by the Musalmans. The *Arya Varta* describes the official report as unjust, one sided and disappointing and regrets that the Viceroy did not accept Pandit Malaviya's suggestion of appointing a mixed enquiry committee of the officials and non-officials. By describing it as mere error of judgment the Government has tried to whitewash the criminal negligence of the local authorities in not protecting the Hindus. The *Swadesh* remarks that the fact that the official report on the Kohat affairs is one sided and lavishes encomiums on the official need not cause surprise to anybody seeing that the accomplices themselves conducted the inquiry. The attempt to throw all the blame on the Hindus and exonerate the Muhammadans of any share in it, the paper suspects, is the outcome of the new policy of the replacement of Sikhs in the army by frontier tribesmen.

Viceroy's speech.

Referring to the reply given by the Viceroy to a deputation of Bengal Muslims that waited upon him, the *Leader* says: The Viceroy concluded his observations with high-sounding advice to the community to work for the larger interests of the country and promote the cause of unity. Those familiar with the course of Indian politics will not be surprised at what is happening in Bengal and elsewhere. We will only say that whatever success it may achieve will be temporary and that those who are working for self-government have to fear nothing from it provided they go forward wisely and earnestly with their task.

The U. P. Legislative Council.

Referring to the Council proceedings in respect of the *Leader's* remarks about the President, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* expresses regret for the vote of censure passed by the Legislative Council against the *Leader* and opines that instead of moving a censure and taking vote on it, the purpose would have been served if the article had been formally brought to the notice of the Council and the President had administered rebuke. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the commission of such an act of intolerance by such a powerful body is the precursor of a deplorable and disgraceful state of affairs not only for the press, but also for the country. Such actions of the Council deserve to be condemned. The *Azad* remarks that the attitude of the Council towards the *Leader* was totally unjustified and was the result of personal prejudices. In strongly criticising the action of the President in disallowing the resolution of censure against the District Magistrate of Muzaffarnagar the *Leader* has simply discharged its duty. The action of the President is calculated to stiffle public voice and adversely affect the right and power of the Legislature. The *Haqiqat* resents the Government opposition to the resolution of Babu Mohan Lal Saxena regarding the Hindu-Muslim disturbances and condemns the non-official members for sacrificing their independence of opinion simply to please the Government. They are in fact pieces of Government machinery and care little for national interests. In another article the same paper regrets that in all important questions which particularly concern the public the zamindar members of the Council always support the Government against the people. If they persist in thus ignoring the claims of the people whose representatives they are they will certainly lose their confidence.

The Benares Hindu University.

Referring to the refusal of the grant-in-aid to the Benares Hindu University by the United Provinces Council, the *Leader* says: Where would the several lakhs of money come from to give effect to the Lee Commission recommendations? More than enough money is always available for pampering the higher services but the Government becomes bankrupt when the question of more expenditure on beneficial objects comes up. The Hindu community must feel grateful to the Muslim members for the support they gave to the resolution. In spite of the opposition of the Finance Member we hope the Government will reconsider the position and respect the wishes of the Council in the matter by making a substantial provision in the next budget for rendering assistance to the university, though not at the expense of other educational institutions.

Political propaganda.

Strongly protesting against the Viceroy's Calcutta speech the *Nejat* exhorts the Indians to go on vehemently opposing the present system of Government and remarks: It is better to die than to lead a life of humiliation. It is deplorable that His Excellency is still labouring under the illusion that the Indians repose trust in the English Government. The *Medina* says that the policy adopted by the Conservative Government is a prologue to the Imperialistic policy of the German Emperor before the Great War for the destruction of which the entire world had combined. Indians should combat against this policy otherwise the seal of perpetual slavery will be impressed on their country's fate. The *Vartman* supports Mr. C. R. Das' scheme about village organisation in Bengal and remarks that if it is carried into effect it is bound to accelerate the political emancipation of Bengal. It asks the leaders of other provinces to emulate the example of Mr. Das. The *Hamdard* notes that the village *panchayats* have defeated their very object and have been converted into bodies for personal aggrandisement. It suggests that they can perform their functions properly only when they are made elective bodies and the elections are held every year. One Mr. Shiva Charan Lal Sharma writing to the paper remarks that the Hindus should feel ashamed that a considerable portion of their community should be declared criminal by the Government and handed over to the Salvation Army

which is an organisation of the Christians and preaches Christianity to them. What right has the Government to cut off a portion of any community, declare it criminal and hand it over to the Salvation Army, an organisation of different nationality and religion? The *Arti* says that Lord Willingdon's recent speech on further reforms in India cannot satisfy the Indians specially when they know that the history of British rule in India is a glaring example of breaches of promises that even the Labour Government with all its high and noble principles sanctioned the promulgation of the black Bengal Ordinance. No honourable country can tolerate to remain within the British Empire as it is constituted at present. The Indians would consider it to be desirable to be a part of the British Empire were it a federation of Commonwealths constituted on a true basis of equality. Indians know that British rule in India is weakening them day by day and that though its withdrawal may prove very dangerous to them in the beginning, it will be to their permanent good ultimately. They will therefore do well not to be taken in by camouflage but to depend upon self-help only for the attainment of their political ideal.

LUCKNOW:
The 5th January, 1925.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 10*th January*, 1925.

Evacuation of Cologne zone.

THE *Pioneer* says that the British Government can have no desire to remain in Cologne a moment longer than is necessary to secure the fulfilment of Germany's obligations, and prompt compliance with the demands which will be based on the report of the Inter-Allied Commission of Control is the only course open to Germany if she desires to remove the distrust which at present exists in regard to her intentions and motives and to hasten the time when it will be possible to commence the evacuation of the occupied areas. The *Leader* remarks: The decision of the British Government not to evacuate the Cologne zone on the ground of the failure of the Germans to carry out the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles must be regarded as unfortunate. It will retard the process of reconciliation and produce a reaction in Germany. The decision implies the abandonment of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's policy of conciliation and a concession to the earlier French militarist policy.

Indians in the Colonies.

In a leading article headed "The Kenya Trusteeship" the *Leader* deplores some recent transfers of land to white settlers and says that the policy of land-grabbing and the ruthless exploitation of the natives in Kenya continues unabated. It was given out to the world that every other interest would be subordinated to that of the natives, but it appears that in Kenya while His Majesty's Government proposes Sir Robert Coryndon disposes. It was he who backed by the threat of the armed revolt of the white settlers brought about the abandonment of the Wood-Winterton agreement and it is he who is making the policy of the Kenya White Paper so far as it is in favour of the natives a dead letter. The *Anand* expresses surprise that England which strongly condemned the action of the Turks in expelling the Armenians from their territory does not protest against the measures of the South African Government in seeking to oust the Indians in Natal and asks whether such ways are calculated to strengthen the good will of Indians towards the British Empire.

The Singapore Naval Base.

Tha *Vartman* holds that the determination of the Conservative Government to establish a naval base at Singapore, the despatch of battleships from Great Britain to Australia and also their manufacture there and the rapid increase of the naval expenditure of America go to demonstrate that within the next ten years Britain and America will declare a terrible war against Japan.

The Congress.

Referring to the Congress presidential address the *Mahashakti* remarks: The address is as different from the speeches delivered in previous years from the same chair as the present Congress from the old. It is not a speech. It is a message, hope-inspiring, thought-provoking. It is not political discourse. It is an exposition of faith, as unshakable as he himself. It is a performance eminently characteristic of him. We see Mahatma Gandhi in every line of it. At another place the paper regards both the attendance and the results achieved at the Congress as a notable success. The *Hamdam* holds it dangerous to make the emancipation of India dependent on the propagation of *charkha* as the ideal set up by the Congress is not likely to benefit the country and may even jeopardise the cause of the Congress itself. The emancipation of Egypt is of primary importance for the success of India's struggle for liberty and it is to be regretted that no words of sympathy on behalf of united India were expressed for the Egyptians regarding the oppressions and tyrannies perpetrated there by the Conservative Government. In another article the same paper remarks: It is our earnest desire that every Indian should try his best to make the *khaddar* programme a success, as the stoppage of the import of Lancashire cloth is likely to awaken the Englishmen and make them realise their duties towards India. The *Medina* says tkat no one can doubt the truth of Mr. Gandhi's statement regarding the boycott of foreign cloth and if the country acts upon his advice the British attitude is sure to undergo a change. The *Haqiqat* has no doubts as to the failure

of the Belgaum Congress and calls it imprudence to ask men to spin. No useful results are likely to accrue from the *charkha* resolution. India's future hope is centered in the Swaraj party only. The *Nizam-i-Alam* says that the presidential address, though short and simple, contains nothing new in it for the Indians. Mr. Gandhi has tried to assert his personality and to merge the Swaraj party in the Congress and strengthen the Hindu *sangathan*. It has given absolutely no lead to the country. The *Hindustani* favours the introduction of *khaddar* on economic grounds, but doubts its success as an instrument for the attainment of *swaraj*. It hopes that the meaning assigned to *swaraj* by Mr. Gandhi will go a long way in removing the distrust and misunderstanding prevailing in the country. The *Sada-i-Muslim* resents the attitude of the Congress in trying to defend the Hindus and throwing the entire responsibility of communal disturbances on the Musalmans. In referring to the Gulbarga riot the Hindus of the Congress seem to have been actuated with no other motive than to insult and defame the Nizam because he is a Muslim ruler. The *Al Khalil* says that by laying stress on the *charkha* Mr. Gandhi has rendered impossible the unity of different political parties. Musalmans are losing their power in the Congress which is falling under the control of the Hindus and is likely to become subservient to the Hindu Sabha. Mr. Gandhi owes his influence to the Ali Brothers only who continue to be loyal to him though thereby they are injuring the interests of the Musalmans. The *Bharat Bandhu* considers the Belgaum Congress session to be a great success inasmuch as it has re-united the two wings of the National Assembly and inaugurated a new era in the political life of the country by introducing the yarn franchise. On the other hand the *Anand* thinks that the adoption of the yarn franchise by the Congress will in no way bring the country nearer to *swaraj*, but on the contrary thin the membership of the Congress. It also opines that neither the spinning-wheel nor the boycott of foreign cloth can bring about the industrial regeneration of India and thereby help it forward on the path to *swaraj* and that the Belgaum Congress session has instead of pushing forward the political agitation in the country dragged it backwards. The *Abhyudaya* maintains that the Belgaum Congress was unique and indicative of Mahatma Gandhi's greatness and statesmanship. It was by no means a contemptible achievement of the Congress that party factions were buried and a common programme which would be worked up alike by all parties within the Congress was arrived at. The *Aj* remarks that now that the Congress has decided upon the propagation of the *charkha* it is incumbent upon the non-cooperators and the Swarajists to devote themselves whole-heartedly to the task and that other political parties also should help in the furtherance of the cause. If every Indian becomes independent in the matter of food and clothing and has not to look to the foreigners for these necessaries of life, India will surely have made one big move towards *swaraj*. The *Vartman* considers it to be a great misfortune for the Congress that Maulana Hasrat Mohani has resigned from it. The Congress has lost in him one of its oldest and truest leaders. By the Maulana's resignation the party of "complete independence" in the Congress has received the greatest set back.

The Liberal Federation.

The *Leader* opines that the Liberal party considers the establishment of responsible self-government the safest and soundest way of counteracting the disintegrating forces that are at work, and therefore the Federation has rightly indicated in clear terms what the party wants in the interests of the country. What the country needs is a well-considered and well-thought-out scheme which is suitable to its special requirements and is also in keeping with modern democratic conceptions. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that the Liberals are gaining ground and says: Unless Gandhi once more bursts upon the land with some powerful rallying cry, the Swarajists will go under, beneath the stroke of the Government and the steady progress of the Liberals and either merge in them or evaporate into nothingness. The *Medina* is sceptical about the success of the Liberal creed and remarks that resolutions passed at Lucknow will remain confined to paper only as the Liberals have neither the determination nor the capacity to act. The president has indulged only in abusing the Congress, non-cooperation and the Swarajists. The *Hamdam* takes to task the Liberal Federation for not accepting the invitation of the Congress for unity at such a critical juncture. The presidential address was rather a militant one and every attempt was made to undo all the efforts for unity and obstruct the path of reconciliation. The *Aj* remarks that the difference between the Congress presidential address and Dr. Paranjpaye's address at the Liberal Federation cannot but strike even a superficial observer; while the former breathes an atmosphere of love and peace, the latter fulminates

every prejudice and even malice. It is regrettable that Dr. Paranjpaye should have presided over the Liberal Federation at a time when the leaders are engaged in establishing unity in the country. It is a redeeming feature, however, that there are not many among the Liberals of Dr. Paranjpaye's way of thinking. The *Vartman* says that a perusal of Dr. Paranjpaye's presidential address leads one to the conclusion that he belongs to that class of Moderates which lost its political influence long ago and which even now when the British policy regarding India has been completely exposed, regards British rule as a divine favour and a heavenly blessing. This address will act like a bomb upon the prevailing talk for political unity and is likely to completely block the narrow path for it.

The Muslim League.

The *Hamdam* expresses its gratification at the success of the Muslim League session and remarks that the League has fully discharged its duty in representing the Muslim sentiments regarding the Kohat disturbances and in refuting the misrepresentations spread in that connection. The resolutions passed by the League are not devoid of conciliatory spirit and have pointed out a path for cooperation with other political and communal bodies. The *Abhyudaya* observes that all those who know Syed Raza Ali or who have read his presidential address at the Muslim League will agree with us that his election as president of the League specially in December 1924 was unsuitable. Narrow outlook and the achievement of hollow selfish interests are his ideal. He has not only attributed the communal riots wholly to the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements but has also in a suppressed tone supported the Bengal Ordinance. We have no complaint against him. We only want the country and the Hindus to beware of the activities of the Musalmans.

The Khilafat Conference.

The *Aj* characterises Dr. Kitchlu's presidential address at the Khilafat Conference as disappointing and remarks: Although Dr. Kitchlu has left the political field for some time, yet the Indian public had not expected such an anti-Hindu spirit from him as he exhibited in his address. His remarks regarding the Hindu agitation in the Punjab and the Kohat disturbances are mere assertions without proof. It does not become a Nationalist leader like him to rule the Hindus alone as selfish. His assumption of the rôle of a party advocate is most regrettable.

The Hindu Mahasabha.

The *Patriot*, a new weekly from Lucknow, congratulates the entire Hindu community on the successful deliberations at the special session of the Hindu Sabha and says: We are sure that if both Hindus and Musalmans keep this point in view that communalism and nationalism cannot co-exist we shall soon see the end of the tragedies such as happened at Kohat and many other places during the last four years. We do not agree with those who are never tired of telling us that the causes do not matter as much as how we propose to bring about a unity, without which we are handicapped at every step in our national life. The paper entirely agrees with the president, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, when he said, referring to the recent Hindu-Muslim riot, that he was convinced that but for the weakness and cowardice of the Hindus some of them could have been averted. The *Oudh Akhbar* is opposed to separate communal bodies like the Hindu Maha Sabha as the Congress provides a common platform for all religious and political questions and remarks that the establishment of separate schools and places of worship for the "untouchables" will adversely affect the upliftment of the depressed classes and will afford a loophole to the high caste Hindus. The *Sada-i-Muslim* describes the Maha Sabha as an effective weapon of creating a majority against the Musalmans; while rejoicing at the independence of Nepal the Hindu Sabha ought to have shed a tear at the slavery of India. The *Aj* congratulates Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the improvement which the recent session of the Hindu Maha Sabha marked over the previous ones inasmuch as the last session was a conference of the patriots who are really grieved at the misery of the Hindu community and not of orthodox conventional pandits and was also attended by National Muslim leaders. The paper, however, does not agree with the views of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya regarding the functions of the Maha Sabha and contends that if the Sabha is to help in the emancipation of the country it should have nothing to do with political questions and should by no means be conceded the rights of the Congress and that separate political organisation of a particular community will do more harm than good to the country.

The Cow Conference.

The *Nizam-i-Alam* doubts the success of Pandit Malaviya's scheme of establishing Hindu Sabhas and Cow Sabhas in every village and apprehends that they will prove a fore-

runner of disturbances at places where none has taken place as yet. Writing in a similar strain the *Sada-i-Muslim* remarks that the Hindu-Muslim rupture will become complete if Cow Sabhas are extensively established as in that case it will not be difficult for the parties to pick up quarrels.

The Bengal Muslim Conference.

The *Advocate* criticises the proceedings of the Conference, but praises the presidential speech. The paper says : The president who is a man of independent views made an excellent speech. He has truly expressed his inmost feeling and has given sound advice to his Muhammadan brethren. Referring to the event that some of the members left the meeting as a mark of protest against the speech of the president, the paper says : This is the first occasion that we find that men of prominence are behaving in such a rude way. Their present conduct has cast a great slur on the etiquette of the society and if such will be their behaviour what else can we expect from their followers and descendants. The *Medina* condemns the resolution passed by the Conference in support of the Bengal Ordinance and remarks that the Conference did not represent the views of the Musalmans of that province. The Conference and the resolutions passed are an open disgrace to the Musalmans of Bengal. We hope our great men will not disgrace Indian Musalmans by supporting the tyrannies perpetrated by the Government. The *Abhyudaya* says that it is clear from the address of Nawab Muhammad Husain, the president of the Bengal Muslim Conference, and the resolution passed against him by the Conference what the Muslim heart aspires to. The Musalmans now want to seek once again the protection of the Government and the Government also in order to weaken the power of the people is desirous of bringing the Musalmans under its influence by throwing to them crumbs from its table. The Hindus should bear it in mind that the angle of vision of every Musalman from Mr. Shaukat Ali downwards is one and the same. The *Aj* insinuates that the Conference was held at the instigation of the Government and that its real object was to help Lord Lytton in his desire to lay low the Swaraj party and place the life of the Bengalis at the mercy of the bureaucracy by making the illegal Bengal Ordinance the permanent law of the province. But it is gratifying, remarks the paper, that despite these preparations several patriotic and religious Musalmans did not deviate from the right path and refused to be led away by these machinations. The *Anand* reads in the Bengal Muslim Conference the revival of the old policy of patting the Muhammadans and pitching them against the Hindus and remarks that it is to be seen how many people are ensnared in this net by the tempting bait of the fifty-five per cent. of representation.

Constitutional advance.

A new weekly from Allahabad, the *Muslim Views* says : It appears expedient to devise ways and means of safeguarding the Muslim interests in the present reformed institutions and in all further instalment of reforms that may be granted. "*Swaraj*" with all its blessings, if it has any for the Musalmans, can very well be secured tomorrow if not today but nothing can compensate for a drop of Muslim blood shed in wanton annoyance. Let the Musalmans see that their separate interests are not only guarded and respected but are also not brought into conflict with other sister communities. Further, the paper remarks : Mr. Gandhi has submitted and completely surrendered to the Swarajists and in this way has retarded the progress of the country for a century still to come. It urges upon the Muslims the necessity of safeguarding their interests in the present constitution and in all future reforms. It would be unwise to adhere to the Lucknow Pact of the Congress and Muslim League which has brought down the Musalmans in India to the point of nonentity. As the Reforms Enquiry Committee has concluded their investigation time is ripe to pay particular attention to the demand of the Muslim community in all matters educational. Their education is being hopelessly neglected and something must be done to brighten the future. In considering all these matters we would suggest that a radical change be effected in the Government of India Act, the Local Board Act, the Universities Act and the Intermediate Education Boards Act to provide effective representations and due shares to the Muslims in all the representative and controlling institutions in the services of the country along with all their religious and social feelings and sentiments. Nothing short of it is likely to give peace or bring prosperity to the Muslims in India.

The Swaraj party.

The *Pioneer*, in a leading article, remarks : The unreality of the programme of the Swarajists has contributed to obscure vital issues, and if the Muhammadans concentrate on those issues and cultivate the discipline and solidarity of a vigorous party group they may be of service to their community and also to the country at large. Referring

to the announcement that the Swarajists in the Central Provinces would accept responsibility to work the Reforms, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes to say that signs are that all the political parties in India will soon dwindle into helpless nothing as before the powerful communal move that surges all around. The firmer tone from inside the Muslim League is not for *swaraj* nor in the offer of thanks for the Hindus for standing by them during their Khilafat travail, but for the tearing up the scrap of paper known as the Lucknow Pact and reapportioning the loaves and fishes of office and seats in elected bodies so as to secure adequate Muslim representation from the Muslim standpoint. The paper advises those who work for the political emancipation of this country that they must make up their minds to take into account this new Muslim phase in Indian politics. It is not a question of what the Hindus have done to alienate Muslim feeling and action for *swaraj:* it is the actual reality that the Muslims suspect Hindus. And the price at which this suspicion can be removed is the revision of the Lucknow Pact into some near approximation of the Bengal Pact. Are the politicians prepared to pay the price? The *Aj* expresses its strong disapproval of the rumoured decision of the Central Provinces Swarajists to accept office and remarks that in the face of this decision there is little difference between them and the Liberals. If the local Swarajists are tired of the resumption of the administration of the transferred subjects by the Governor they should better leave the Ministerships to the Liberals and themselves support or oppose their action as the situation may demand.

The Bengal Ordinance.

The *Leader* congratulates the Bengal Legislative Council on having done the right thing in throwing out the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. The paper praises Lord Lytton's speech in the Council, which it says is marked by evident sincerity and worded in temperate language. It was their plain duty, remarks the paper, to throw the Bill out and it is glad that they did their duty patriotically and manfully under the leadership of Bengal's most active Liberal, Sir P. C. Mitter. The *Pioneer*, on the other hand, says that the decision will render it necessary for the Government to act independently of the Council. So long as Great Britain is responsible for the maintenance of order there will be no shrinking from full acceptance of that responsibility. Terrorism must and will be suppressed, whether the representatives of a limited electorate support Government or refuse their cooperation. It is lamentable that such a situation should have arisen. But when within a year attempt after attempt has been made to ship arms to this country for revolutionary purposes, when active Bolshevik propaganda is being carried on in the East, there can be no faltering on the part of those to whom the solemn duty of maintaining civilised government in India has been entrusted. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that it is to the credit of the self-respect and patriotism of the Council that the Bill was rejected. India has considerably risen in status by the conduct of the representatives of Bengal in the Council. The Government have suffered a defeat, the most crushing in the annals of the British India. The Government have been defeated, but not yet disillusioned. They will still persist. They will certify the Bill that has been rejected. They may suspend the Council—the precious gift that the Swarajists want only to destroy. There is no hope at all of any broad-minded action on the part of the Government, which have gone on far too long defying the people. They would only get more excited by this display of popular will.

LUCKNOW:
The 10th January, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 17th January, 1925.

Crisis in Egypt.

THE Indian press continues to adversely criticise the British policy in Egypt. In a leading article headed "Britain's love for the Sudan" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The most important product of the Sudan from the point of view of Manchester is cotton. And it is this that makes the Sudan so valuable to Great Britain and the Empire cotton growing corporation besides some plantation companies, so much so that Great Britain is ever anxious not to allow any one to come in the way of this precious possession. The *Haqiqat* is sceptical as to the success of the Moderate party in Egypt in the pending elections as the Egyptians are now intoxicated with the spirit of liberty and can hardly be duped by the tactics of the Zewar party which is probably secretly supported by the English. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that the British Government's attitude towards Egypt is more deplorable than the murder of Sir Lee Stack and that a Government cannot be made responsible for an act which is the result of political intrigues. The *Aj* remarks that the terrorism which the British Government has spread in Egypt is altogether unjust. Britain's opposition of the desire of the Egyptian Government to refer the dispute to the League of Nations is based on the apprehension that no impartial judge will support its Nadir Shahi (absolute despotism). The oil of Mosul, the cotton of the Sudan and the man-power of India are necessary for the maintenance of the British Empire and so justice must ever yield to necessity in British politics.

Deputation to the Hedjaz.

A correspondent writing to the *Mashriq* remarks that the Indian deputation to the Hedjaz does not represent the general Muslim public of India as it has had no hand in selecting the delegates. The latter are the sympathisers of the Wahabis and the deputation can hardly be expected to serve any useful purpose. The Conference of the Muslim world should not be held at a place which is under the influence of the Sultan of Nejd.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* has little hope of any beneficent result from the Indian protest against the Natal Boroughs Ordinance and says: Natal knows how Indians are being treated in India, and surely would not respect our brethren more than we are respected here. The *Anand* says that despair has begun to prevail among Indians in Natal in consequence of the recent activities of the White Colonists to reduce them to the position of serfs and urges that if the British Empire is to be preserved the British Parliament and the British public must deal justly by the Indians and curb the high-handedness of the South African Government.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Al Bashir* sees little chance of lasting peace being established between the two communities. It is only when a spirit of true nationality is created among the Indians that a foundation of real unity can be laid. The distrust prevailing between the two communities should be removed and separate representation is the only remedy. The *Hindu Gazette* regrets that no resolution of sympathy for the Hindus who have suffered in the Kohat and Gulbarga disturbances was passed by the Khilafat Conference. If the Musalmans had condemned their co-religionists for desecrating the holy temples the bad characters would not have dared again to commit such base acts and the Hindus would have been consoled. Under the circumstances how can we know that the Musalmans are as desirous of unity as the Hindus. The *Gyan Shakti* complains that at the last anniversary of the *Anjuman Islamia*, Gorakhpur, poems were recited which were calculated to hurt Hindu feelings. The Hindu advocates of *shuddhi* were described as bastards.

The Congress.

In a leading article the *Muslim Views* writes: Those looking forward for the communal uplift and the welfare of the country must return disappointed and disgusted from all that they have witnessed within the Congress *pandal* at Belgaum. Undeceived by Gandhian sophistries, no doubt, it requires some moral courage for the Musalmans

to think freely and independently without the help of the filmy circumstances—Hindu obligations and benefaction, by working out their own problems and encouraging self-growth, self-expression and self-respect to safeguard Islamic culture and civilisation politically and morally. Further, the paper asks as to what length Mr. Shaukat Ali will go in pursuit of setting up blasphemy and anarchy, and says: Long months in mockery of hope and efforts have passed and now we must cease to look to these so-called leaders, who have no right to speak in the name of Musalmans and their failure to mete out popular Muslim feelings and sentiments with gross breach of faith of Islamic injunctions have torn from the heart of Musalmans all confidence and reliance. The *Medina* deplores that the Congress has belied all expectations and has failed to place any sensible programme before the country. The rejection of the resolution of condolence on the death of Lenin can only be interpreted as a demonstration of presidential autocracy. It is possible Mr. Gandhi may not have liked to displease his English friends to whom Bolshevism is a terror. The *Oudh Akhbar* takes to task the Liberal Federation for regarding Congress as a backward body which would merge itself into the Federation. Mr. Gandhi should try his best to make all the political parties join the Congress. The *Mashriq* opines that the presidential address is full of inconsistencies and contradictions and the greatest defect of the Congress is that it has no means for enforcing its resolutions. The *Hindustani* doubts the success of the Congress in uniting the Hindus and the Musalmans in view of the present communal bitterness. The *Arya · Varta* exhorts the Indians to carry out the programme chalked out by Mr. Gandhi, at least for one year. It describes Mr. Gandhi's voice as the message of liberty and remarks that it has emancipated us from the fear of death. It is the voice which Rama had raised against Ravan, Maharana Pratap had raised against Akbar and Sivaji had raised against Aurangzeb. The *Sada-i-Muslim* describes the Congress session at Belgaum as a failure and regrets that its resolutions have not gained the confidence of Indians. The *Swadhin* opines that the propagation of the *charkha* cult adopted at the Belgaum Congress cannot enable Indians to get rid of alien rule and that the Congress failed to place before the country a practical programme capable of spreading political education among the masses, which is the crying need of the time. The *Surya* remarks that Mr. Gandhi attached too much importance to the spinning-wheel in utter disregard of the conditions of this Twentieth Century and that the country cannot adopt it as an effective instrument for the attainment of *swaraj* unless Mr. Gandhi convincingly expounds its miraculous powers. The *Garhwali* points out that the adoption of the yarn franchise in the Congress makes it clear that the experienced Liberal party will perhaps be able to identify itself with that body. The *Hindi Kesari* says that at the Belgaum session the Congress has greatly narrowed its sphere of action, displayed utter indifference to its own traditions and altogether ignored many important political and economic problems and thus it is difficult to maintain that the last Congress session was a success.

The Liberal Federation.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: If the programme of the Liberal party entailed any sacrifice, the prospects of the party would be more bright than what the Liberal Federation showed us—merely abusing Mahatmas and Maulanas and actually giving indirect support to the Bengal Ordinance. The *Swadhin* thinks that the proceedings of the Liberal Federation were very promising and if they are carried out they can do more good to the country than Mr. Gandhi's *charkha*. The paper, however, regrets that the President of the Federation has increased the difficulties of political unity by unnecessarily condemning the Swarajists and the Congressmen.

Non-cooperation.

Under an article headed "Is non-cooperation dead?" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: Our rulers need not be under a delusion, and re-start their wreckless career. Non-cooperation is not dead. It is a great mistake to say otherwise. Non-cooperation has carried in its train all that is necessary for the uplifting of the people. It has imparted a vision that is not going to die and will not die. It is true it is inactive, but, all the same, it is fully alive to give battle to the bureaucracy, whenever seriously challenged. In the opinion of the *Muslim Views* non-cooperation has failed hopelessly. The *Leader* says: There are few things more amusing or pathetic in present day public life in this country than the peculiar courage with which the apostles of the forlorn cause of non-cooperation go about trumpeting its achievements and abusing its critics whose every prediction has been justified by the event.

The Muslim League.

The *Mahashakti* is of opinion that the debate at the All-India Muslim League at Belgaum on the Kohat tragedy was wild and windy, striking out of the current of controversy beautiful bubbles, some iridescent emptiness and some emptiness without the iridescence, which it describes as putting the cart before the horse. In a communicated article the *Hamdam* remarks that the Bombay session of the Muslim League was more successful than the Congress, the Khilafat Conference and in fact other conferences held at various places in India. The presidential address of the League is in no way behind the contemporary presidential addresses in enthusiastic support of the national interests and the president deserves to be congratulated on successfully rowing the boat of the League through turbulent waters.

The Bengal Muslim Conference.

Commenting upon the Muslim Conference in Bengal the *Hamdam* remarks that the Government of Bengal is trying to win over the Musalmans in order to crush the Hindus. By holding out all sorts of inducements it succeeded in making the "loyal" Musalmans convene a conference in defence of the new Ordinance. But we want to warn the Government that it should not repose too much confidence in the resolutions of loyalty passed by the Conference. It is a pity that the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal pay no regard to the signs of the time and the British officers in India intentionally want to remain in a "Fool's paradise". The Indian Musalmans should abstain from taking any step which may turn them into puppets in the hands of the bureaucracy.

Constitutional advances.

In a leading article entitled "The hope of India" the *Pioneer* writes: The stumbling blocks in the path of material advance are not insurmountable; most of the factors that make for poverty could be eradicated by scientific application and cooperative effort. The opportunities for genuine public service are boundless, and there is, indeed, no country in the world where greater benefits could be secured by co-operation for the common weal by the classes which enjoy educational advantages as yet inaccessible to the bulk of the population. There is, then, hope for the future of India. That hope would be brighter if less were heard of the glories of a mythical past and more of the practical possibilities of the living present. In an article headed "The only remedy" the *Leader* says: Between extremists at either end, one set of them constantly wavering between policy and policy and having consequently become forcible feeble at the best, the cause of the country is suffering enormously and steady progress is at a discount. There can be only one remedy for this undesirable and unhappy impasse. Moderation and reason must re-assert themselves and reign in the place of obscurantism and recklessness. In another words, salvation lies in Liberalism. In another article the same paper remarks: The present transitional system of government, while it is not responsible government, is not even genuine diarchy but a travesty of it hardly distinguishable from autocracy. The sooner the constitution is mended so as to bring into being genuine responsible government, not diarchical but unitary, the better for India and England and for the cause of good government.

The Bengal Ordinance.

Referring to the appeal made by Lord Lytton in his address to the Bengal Legislative Council the *Leader* says: No one can question the transparent sincerity of this appeal nor the goodness of heart from which it proceeded. A great deal can be done if officials and non-officials joined hands and earnestly tried to improve the lot of the people and to develop local self-government on sound lines. A courageous constructive policy is needed. But it is not in sight. It is one of the tragedies of the situation that such a good and sympathetic Governor as Lord Lytton should have rendered himself responsible for a measure of repression which has aroused almost universal opposition among Indians and made him the target of attack. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is understood that Lord Lytton has certified the Ordinance Bill that the Bengal Council threw out. This was expected. After all it is Lord Lytton and Lord Reading that are responsible to the British Parliament for the government of India, and not Mr. C. R. Das or Gandhi. Hence, while the Congress vote and the voice of the people rise against repression, the bureaucracy rolls on in silent unconcern—they are certainly not responsible to the people but to Parliament. The *Weekly Observer* says: That the measure was summarily thrown out by the Bengal Legislative Council is an index of the state of feeling prevalent at present in Calcutta. The absolute rejection of the Bill, however, does not mean it will not be passed into law by executive action. The *Hamdam* is

gratified that the Bengal Council has rejected the Bengal Ordinance Bill and that the Governor of Bengal has totally failed in his attempts to win over the Musalmans by holding out all sorts of inducements and temptations. The members have discharged the duty imposed upon them as the representative of the people and deserve to be congratulated on. Writing in a similar strain the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the alleged anarchy in Bengal does not require any special law for its prevention and the efforts which are being made to suppress it are calculated to spread a more dangerous unrest throughout the country. The *Haqiqat* says that the Governor by adopting a wrong policy has alienated the sympathy and support of the public. The *Anand* points out that the failure of the Government to secure support to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the Bengal Council must convince it that it is not proceeding on right lines in regard to the suppression of anarchy and that it should only adopt such measures for the purpose as commend themselves to the public. The *Aj* is elated at the rejection of the Black Bill by the Bengal Legislative Council and remarks that although the Bill will be passed into law by means of certification, yet it is a matter reflecting glory on the Council and the future of India that popular representatives did not join hands with the Government in the suppression of freedom. In another article the same paper says that by rejecting the Bill the Bengal Legislative Council has maintained its own self-respect and preserved the honour of Bengal. The *Vartman* writes: The rejection of the "Black Bill" by the Bengal Legislative Council shows that the warnings, threats and counsels of Lord Lytton, the pleadings of Sir Hugh Stephenson, the prolonged stay of Lord Reading at Calcutta, and the secret midnight conferences in Government House have all proved futile. Lord Lytton must be rubbing his eyes at the unexpected decision of the Legislature and Lord Reading must be wondering as to what is going to happen in India. The Musalmans of Bengal voted against the Bill in spite of the certificate of loyalty given to them by Lord Reading. Such an insult to Readingism! And such a jest played upon the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England in his old age!

The Swaraj party.

The *Pioneer* says: Even Pandit Motilal Nehru has been constrained to admit that the Swaraj party has not up till now achieved anything definite for the country's good, yet instead of attempting to win *swaraj* by working the Reforms and thus demonstrating their fitness for it, the Swarajists obstinately persist in the very tactics which have proved barren in the past and are not a whit more likely to achieve "anything definite" in the future. The *Leader* observes that the best course for the Central Provinces Swarajists would certainly be to revise their policy once for all in the light of experience and to seek re-election on its basis. They may also consider Lala Lajpat Rai's advice who is reported to have said that the Swarajists should support the Moderates in office when they initiate or propose measures beneficial to the country. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: The struggle between the Central Provinces Swarajists and the Swarajist leaders over the question of acceptance of Ministerships seems to be rather sharp. They are evidently tired of *ennui* in the Central Provinces and after the breezy scenes from Caloutta they would perhaps prefer action to sloth. But to accept Ministerships would mean to work the system of diarchy: a thing that even the Liberals are now ashamed of. The *Medina* remarks: We are perfectly sure that the Nagpur meeting will advise the Swarajists to accept the ministerial portfolios and the Swarajists will gradually step into the shoes of the Liberals, as if the Congress is gradually receding to the place whence it started. In another article the same paper remarks that the work of Mr. Das can neither be destructive nor a constructive one, but it is rather a political delusion and deception. The Swarajists have adopted this method as the sacrifice demanded by the movement of Mr. Gandhi was beyond their power and by degrees they will come to have the same angle of vision as the Moderates.

Kohat affairs.

The *Pioneer* remarks: The breakdown in the negotiations over the settlement of the Kohat question has happily turned out to be only temporary, and the signature of an agreement, now announced, is to be welcomed, although it would be premature to express a decided opinion on the reality of the reconciliation effected. In the opinion of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* the Kohat agreement does not place the Hindus in any favoured position: it is, on the other hand, a frank acknowledgment of the helplessness of the Hindus that they should have had to agree to such conditions. The Hindus of India will have Kohat rankling in their minds until they have come under the influence of *sangathan*. Even more poignant than the loot is this agreement: it is the helpless lamb walking into the lion's den, because it has no other to go to.

President of the Punjab Legislative Council.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Punjab has no hope: even the election of the president of the Council is made a communal question. The Muslims want a Muslim; and because the Muslims are combined and the Muslim candidate is backed by Sir Fazl-i-Husain, the Hindus are alarmed and are making a dead set. They are for a European president. Of course, what Sir Fazl wills is law in the Punjab and so the European president will go to the wall. The Hindus have explained their attitude with a frankness that must give heart to the bureaucracy.

The United Provinces excise policy.

The *Leader* characterises the Government resolution on excise administration as a somewhat curious document, and says: We daresay there has been a certain increase of illicit practices. It has been an age-old pretext of revenue and excise officers in opposing proposals of temperance reform that the consequence of the adoption of such proposals will be the growth of illicit practices. The paper asks: Are the Government content in the light of experience to make progress on the lines laid down by the Pim Committee and followed by the late Governor and the late Ministers, or at least to let well alone instead of showing themselves unduly revenue-minded? We derive some encouragement from the announcement made in the resolution of the institution of new licensing boards in seven more towns. May we humbly suggest that while this is good it is not enough? They should confer more powers upon such boards. They should resist the temptation of upsetting their recommendations because of the opinions of Collectors of districts. They should treat the boards as responsible and self-governing bodies should be treated. There is one point more of real importance to which attention must be drawn. They should not increase the interest of Collectors in excise administration. Collectors are purely revenue officers. Temperance reform is not their concern. The direction of reform in excise policy and administration should be increasing freedom for the department from the control of the District Officer and not *vice versa*. We are thoroughly satisfied that it will do no good to the cause of temperance reform to draw Collectors nearer to the Excise department. We think that Deputy Collector excise officers should disappear. The Ministers, acting through the Excise Commissioner in full control over officers of his own department and with no obligation to respect the views or wishes of Collectors, should be the real and sole authority.

Government and Muhammadans.

The *Anand* apprehends that the old policy of patting the Muhammadans and pitching them against the Hindus is being revived throughout the country in general and in Bengal in particular. The bait held out to Muhammadans of fifty-five per cent. of representation in Bengal forms part of the same game. The *Swadhin* says that the Viceroy's reply to the Muhammadan deputation offering them the bait of excessive representation in Services and Councils is designed to secure their support in the policy of repression and autocratic government. These regrettable and reprehensible ways of strengthening the autocratic alien rule in India may well serve the interests of the Government for a time but they are bound to prove very dangerous ultimately both to itself and the country.

The Fine Arts Exhibition, Lucknow.

Referring to the speech delivered by Sir William Marris in opening the Exhibition, the *Leader* remarks: It was a masterly address. It is difficult to say which to admire most, its elevated style and elegant diction, or its thorough grasp of a difficult and ethereal subject and the lucid presentation of the same in pregnant and expressive language, or the sound advice contained in it. Further, it says that if the Government revise their policy of indifference and actively help in the stimulation of Indian art rapid progress can be achieved.

The Bombay outrage.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, referring to the recent outrage at Bombay, says: The brave act of Lieutenant Siegert in standing between the victims and the murderers in the outrage is a golden link which makes us, for a moment, forget Lyttons and Readings with their hands dripping with Ordinances and repression, and that impels us to embrace the Britisher with esteem and affection. For the sake of unknown men and women, here were Englishmen willing to lay down their own lives simply because they thought that they must help the distressed. This is bravery; such acts bring man nearest to his Maker.

LUCKNOW:
The 17th January, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 24th January, 1925.

The Paris Conference.

THE *Pioneer* says: The new Conservative Government in Great Britain are to be congratulated upon the success of the Paris Conference, which has been received with general satisfaction by the British and French people. Definite progress has been made from time to time, and the Paris Conference undoubtedly marks a further step towards the goal which responsible statesmen have in view.

Situation in the Hedjaz.

The Muslim press continues to show concern with regard to affairs in the Hedjaz. The *Hamdam* hopes that Great Britain will not create any fresh complications in the politics of the Middle East by interfering in the Hedjaz affairs and will not plunge into fresh troubles the Muslim world which has already been excited by the treatment meted out to the Muslim Powers by Great Britain. Any slight interference on the part of Great Britain will prove to be the last straw to break Muslim patience. The *Medina* resents the British High Commissioner's note to Ibn Saud and remarks: Sultan Ibn Saud is not a Sultan of Egypt and is not under British subjection. He is the master of about three hundred thousand Arabs and a friend to the Musalmans. If under international law air raids are lawful on account of the misdeeds of a few tribesmen the defence of the fatherland and the protection of life and property of the Musalmans is a divine injunction for them. In another article the same paper views with suspicion the activities of Zaid, the youngest son of Sharif Husain in England and suspects that he is busy in purchasing arms and ammunition there instead of prosecuting his studies. The Allies are still playing a deceitful game and striving to further their object and resorting to anti-Muslim policy. The *Nejat* says that Great Britain in spite of its professions of neutrality is interfering in the Hedjaz affairs and wants either to reinstate the Sharif's family on the throne or make the Sultan of Nejd act according to her policy. But this is impossible as the Muslim world is now well aware of the anti-Muslim policy of Great Britain. The latter cannot now check the growing power of the Musalmans and if she interferes in their religious affairs she will lose the moral and material support of the Indians.

Struggle for liberty in Morocco.

The *Haqiqat* is jubilant over the victories of the Riffs which have perturbed the European Powers. If the Riffs remain firmly united and do not fall a prey to the bribes offered to them by the European conspirators they are sure to achieve still greater victories and inspire an indomitable spirit of liberty amongst the Musalmans of Africa.

Indians in the Colonies.

Referring to the portion of the Viceroy's speech dealing with the position of Indians in South Africa, the *Leader* says: If the representations made to His Majesty's Government by the Government of India fail, His Excellency has no remedy to suggest except counselling patience. Should not the Governor General move His Majesty's Government to advise the Crown to disallow the Ordinance under section 65 of the South Africa Act? A policy of retaliation ought also to be adopted as a protest against the anti-Indian policy of the Union Government. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Lord Reading may claim relationship with the Orient on account of his religion, but certainly the man has no imagination, else he would have made capital use of the Natal Ordinance in the present excited state of the popular mind. The *Leader* says: In his speech in opening the winter session of the Indian Legislature Lord Reading announced that his Government was considering the question of deputing an officer to examine the lowland areas in Kenya from the aspect of their suitability for Indian settlement. Have the Government of India accepted the principle of racial segregation in Kenya and of the decision to exclude Indians from the highlands? The Indian Legislature ought to see that there is no sliding back in the matter. It should make it clear to Government that it is emphatically opposed to the introduction of the principle in Kenya.

Khilafat funds.

Commenting on the statement of the income and expenditure of the Central Khilafat Committee, the *Leader* remarks: The impression left on one's mind on glancing at the figures is that there was considerable waste of funds raised from an unquestioning public. What amount of good could not have been done to the community if a fraction of the amount raised had been devoted to the promotion of its well-being. The net result of all this expenditure of huge sums of money and Khilafat propaganda has been to intensify the communal feeling among Muhammadans, which has reacted on the Hindus, and to cause a serious set-back to the national movement. There is mutual bickering and fault-finding among the communal leaders who, very naturally, are trying to cast the responsibility for the existing deplorable state of feelings on shoulders other than their own. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* does not criticise the Khilafat accounts, but admires the cohesion and feeling of the seventy millions of Muslims in India who moved as one mass and collected nearly half a crore of rupees, not for their own good but for the good of their co-religionists far away. That is a remarkable testimony to the bond that binds the Muslims to their religion. Those interested in Hindu *sangathan* might well imitate them in finding the sinews of war for the purpose and profit by avoiding Muslim lavishness. The *Oudh Akhbar* says: Everybody including Maulana Muhammad Ali is aware that the miserable condition of Indian Musalmans is not such as to warrant the postponement of the rendering of the account in Heaven more than once.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Al Bashir* accuses the Hindus of narrow-mindedness, short-sightedness, selfishness and bigotry and exhorts the Musalmans to forbear from taking any part in the emancipation of India and devote themselves to their national organisation and education. It further remarks that a time will come when the future generations of the Hindus will curse and condemn the Hindu leaders of the present day. The *Hamdam* takes strong exception to the resolution regarding the prevention of cow-slaughter to be moved in the United Provinces Legislative Council and exhorts all the Muslim and Christian members to oppose it. The efforts of the Hindus to stop the slaughter of cows by legislation will only result in aggravating the existing unpleasantness between the two communities and strengthening the tension between them at the cost of national progress and welfare. The *Hifazat* protests against the efforts of certain leaders to place the responsibility of communal disturbances at the door of the Government and remarks that they are chiefly the result of our religious prejudices and ignorance. *Swaraj* will be a Hindu *raj* and will be prejudicial to the interests of the Musalmans. The *Al Khalil* deplores that the Muslim leaders have been so solicitous for the maintenance of the spurious Hindu-Muslim unity that they have not dared to raise their voice against the excesses committed by the Hindus. The *Prem* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap urging that the Hindu-Muslim problem can be easily solved if propaganda work in this direction is conducted on right lines. If the religion of love is propagated by a band of earnest workers who regard themselves to be equally Hindu and Musalman, most of the Hindu-Muslim dissensions can be removed. The *Swadesh* tries to make out that all the activities of the Government as reported in the press in connection with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council clearly go to show that it is the bureaucracy itself which sows the seed of discord between the Hindus and the Muhammadans by its policy of divide and rule in order to strengthen its own hold on the country. The *Aj* says that the Musalmans of Nagpur have displayed generosity, forbearance and patriotism in the settlement of the communal quarrels there and urges the Hindus to rise equal to the occasion and reciprocate this feeling by deciding not to play music before mosques as it is likely to disturb the Muslims in their prayers. The *Mahashakti* says: The Arabs failed to conquer the Hindus in spite of almost desperate efforts for three hundred years. Muhammad bin Kasim had succeeded in planting his foot in Sindh, but was ignominiously routed from Rajputana, and not long after his death Sindh was reconquered by the Rajputs. Indeed, the Hindus, as fighters, have proved unsurpassable even at the present day. Hindus are not inherently weak or cowardly, though surely not up to the mark in hooliganism. Their weakness, as sometimes manifested in relation to modern hooliganism, is the want of cohesion among them.

Hindu organisation.

The *Pratap* urges that the organisation of the Hindus should be carried on not for serving narrow political interests, securing official favour and Government service or retarding progress of other communities, but for removing the weaknesses, dissensions and

evil customs prevailing among the Hindus. The *Arya Mittra* warns the Hindus against the activities of the Muhammadans to increase their own numbers by gaining converts from among the former by fair or foul means and says that Government too finding the Hindus to be weak and disorganised considers it desirable to pay greater attention to the strong and organised Muhammadans. The entire attitude of the Government towards the Kohat affair seems to confirm this suspicion. The Muhammadans under the pretext of propagating socialism are also gaining the sympathy of the Soviet Government. They are always dreaming of pan-Islamism and there appears to be lurking in the heart of some Muhammadans the desire to invite outsiders to invade India. As regards conversion of Hindus to Christianity the missionaries are having a happy time of it and the manner in which the Government has entrusted the reclamation of criminal tribes to the Salvation Army shows that the Indian Government renders the fullest possible help to missionaries in their proselytising activities. The Muhammadans and the Christians do not consider themselves to be Indians and thus they are a burden to India and serve to tighten the chains of slavery. The paper opines that if the Hindus become organised it is very probable that the Muhammadans and the Christians too may come to the right path. The *Anand* asks the local Government to provide a special grant for the spread of education among Hindus in rural areas where they are educationally more backward than the Muhammadans and says that it should have no objection to the proposal as it has already made a similar provision for special Muhammadan education in the province.

Persecution of the Musalmans in Siam.

The *Hamdam* protests against the religious persecution of the Musalmans in Siam, who are being forced to change their religion on pain of forfeiture of their civil rights and exhorts the Musalmans of India to send a strong deputation to Siam to represent Muslim feelings and views on the subject. It advises the adoption of *jehad* as a duty of every Musalman in case the deputation fails. The *Medina* says that it is a strange irony of fate that the followers of Buddha's religion which is a strong advocate of peace and non-violence and which even holds it to be a sin to injure even an insect, perpetrate all sorts of atrocities on the Musalmans whose sad plight in Siam should serve as a warning to the Indian Musalmans. It exhorts all Muslim associations which profess to be the guardians of Muslim honour to give their early attention to the matter.

The Viceroy's speech.

In an article headed "A pitiless criminal organisation" the *Pioneer* refers to the address delivered by Lord Reading at the new session of the Indian Legislature and thinks that Lord Reading's masterly exposition of the events which led up to the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance and his justification of the policy adopted by his Government will carry conviction to every enlightened and unprejudiced observer. If any doubt remained in the minds of the Swarajists and their allies regarding the determination of the authorities in this country, backed up by His Majesty's Government, by the British Parliament and by British public opinion, to deal relentlessly with criminal conspirators in Bengal, it should effectively have been dissipated by Lord Reading's speech. The uncompromising attitude adopted at Delhi by His Excellency will be heartily welcomed by the sober and responsible elements in Indian society. In the opinion of the *Leader* Lord Reading's speech was full of platitudes and gave no indication of any progressive policy in the matter of constitutional advance, though it is a subject which overshadows all others. We will not say that the utterance was a disappointing one, for we did not expect that His Excellency would strike any note of far-sighted statesmanship, or would make a hope-inspiring statement. Indeed, it would have caused surprise if he had done so. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that, as anticipated, the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy will be read with disappointment by the politically-minded people. The Viceroy can send Subash to jail without trial; but he cannot make an Indian trust him simply because he asks for that trust. The country, in fact, is rudely awakened to a sense of utter insecurity by the happenings in the Bengal Legislature. The paper asks: What are Reforms worth in the face of the bureaucratic terrorism of which the Ordinance is the dreadful emblem? Today the attention of the people is concentrated on the contemptuous disregard of public opinion on a matter that has exercised the intensest feelings all over the country. In the name of self-respect we must protest against Lord Reading assuring us that the Bengal Ordinance would not interfere with the ordered progress of the country and the Reforms. Further it says: Nothing that Lord Reading has had to say on any other subject would,

after this, be read with patience or appreciation by the public. His reference to the Reforms was as hollow as his anxiety over the Hindu-Muslim dispute was overdrawn. The message of patience from the author of the Bengal Ordinance to a nation seething with humiliation and dismay at the Natal Ordinance is not likely to appeal. It is not patience but despair that has possessed the people. And Lord Reading's speech has made it clear that there is no remedy. Never was there such utter helplessness and irresolute wavering in the popular mind in India as at the present time.

The Taxation Committee.

The *Hamdam* regrets that no efforts have hitherto been made to voice the sentiments of the poor Indians in the evidence given before the Taxation Committee. In fact nothing could be expected from a committee which was appointed in the teeth of opposition of the Legislature and against the wishes of the public and it fears that Indians will be forced to bear the burden of additional taxation. Such things can be done in India where autocracy is the order of the day, while it is asserted before the world that the Government is being run on constitutional lines. This state of affairs can only be remedied if the present Reforms are scrapped and fresh Reforms on democratic principles are introduced.

Problem of medical relief in Bombay.

Referring to the recent resolution of the Government of Bombay on the extension of medical relief in the villages the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It serves to sharply remind us amidst our struggles for *swaraj* and the self-laudation of the British on their grand work done in India, of the condition of savagery in our villages as distinguished from the enlightenment in towns. A standing scandal against the efficiency of the system of government in this country is the woeful neglect of medical relief. To the villager, from whom the tax is gathered with unrelenting regularity, medical relief on modern lines is practically unknown. On the principle that something is better than nothing the paper welcomes any move in the direction of providing better medical relief. But it opines that it is more effective to acknowledge the benefits of the indigenous systems, and to strive to bring under the folds of some organisation and training the thousands of *hakims* and *vaids* who are to be found in the villages. The medical graduate is sure to fail, because his prescriptions are not likely to be made. The Government ought to come forward to subsidise the village physician, to enable him to prepare his medicines on a large scale to distribute them to the poor and to train apprentices.

Constitutional advance.

Quoting passages from the views expressed by Mr. Oswald Moseley in an interview with a representative of the *Bengalee*, the *Leader* writes: Some of the best friends of India in England are misled by the mendacious propaganda which is carried on by opponents of Indian progress, and it is very regrettable that there is no organisation of our own to counteract it by means of publicity. The result is that the reactionaries are having it all their own way except for the British Committee on Indian Affairs under whose auspices Major Graham Pole, Mr. John Scurr and others have been doing admirable work in circumstances none too encouraging. Commending the observations of Mr. Moseley regarding the policy of terrorism to those who believe in methods of violence and those who inwardly sympathise with them, the paper hopes that those who rely on methods of terrorism for achieving the freedom of India will ponder over his observations and derive instruction therefrom. Indian Liberals have also been trying to emphasise this truth on the public and the paper is glad that Mr. Moseley has so forcibly and lucidly pointed out the direction in which lies the prospect of assured progress. What is needed at present is concentration on political issues without neglect of economic questions. Political power is essential for economic amelioration.

The Bengal Ordinance.

Commenting on the certification of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the *Pioneer* says: The action of the Governor of Bengal will be welcomed by the law-abiding section of the community, however unpalatable it may be to certain politicians who obstinately refuse, in the face of the clearest evidence, to recognise the gravity of the situation with which the Bengal Government are confronted. The comparative tranquillity which Bengal enjoys at the present time is entirely due to the salutary effect of the arrests which have been authorised under the Ordinance. The *Leader* observes that as expected Lord Lytton has committed the fresh blunder of certifying the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. To have certified the Bill was on the part of Lord Lytton easily a greater blunder than his recommendation to the Governor General to promulgate the Ordinance of October last. We are perverse enough to continue to hold that no adequate case was made out for

the Ordinance and none whatever for the use of the Regulation III of 1818 or for the certification of the Bill as Lord Lytton has now done. The Government's disregard of Indian opinion has been unmistakable, persistent and increasing. Referring to the Viceroy's speech in the Indian Legislature the paper says: The whole attitude of Government in the matter has been one of flouting the most clearly and widely expressed public opinion. The entire country, with the exception of a handful of misguided fanatics, abhors the methods of political assassination and violent crime. But in spite of this fact, it cannot but view with the greatest misgiving the enactment of a measure which substitutes the reign of discretion for the reign of law, and makes no provision for the speedy trial by a judicial tribunal of those whom the executive believe to be guilty. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The most natural piece of intelligence that one had in the course of the last few years of political sensations is the certification of the Bengal Ordinance Bill by Lord Lytton. In fact certification is as natural a legislative process nowadays as the assent of the Governor to any Bill. And in this particular case certification was almost a predetermined factor if the popular elements asserted as they did assert. The Liberal Minister has eagerly come forward to proclaim that only "Liberal methods" should be pursued; which of course mean protest and petition and repetition of the *mantram* of the Rowlatt Act. The loyal Muslim is, as might be expected, certain that the Government have done right. But what is to be the answer of the Swarajists? They represent now the only force that counts in the country. In other words, what is the view of Mr. C. R. Das? The *Advocate*, in an article headed "Lord Lytton's Obstinacy," writes: The obstinacy of Lord Lytton is leading him into a series of blunders and the result of the latest one will be that Bengal will remain for five years under the reign of discretion or indiscretion in the place of the reign of law. The *Vartman* remarks: The Governor of Bengal may be thinking that the national movement will now come to an end. But he does not know how can that movement now die out which could not be suppressed even by the Rowlatt Act, Martial Law and the firing upon innocent persons by machine-guns. He should bear in mind that this movement will cease only that day when Indians will have attained *swaraj*. The *Azad* is gratified at the rejection of the Bengal Ordinance Bill in spite of the persuasions of the Government and congratulates the people of Bengal on their political sagacity. It thanks the Bengal Musalmans for wisely adopting the right course and making common cause with the Hindus. The *Hind-i-Jadid* says that now that the Government has witnessed its discomfiture and tested the force of patriotism and the spirit of nationalism, it should, to safeguard its own honour regard the Swaraj party as the representative of entire India. Repression serves only to stimulate the national movements instead of suppressing them. The Government should now release all the prisoners on bail, prosecute them in open courts and strike off Regulation no. III from the Indian Statute Book for good. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the reliance of the *Pioneer* on the strong arm of British officials can only be justified if the present Reforms are admitted to be a total failure. Every political party in every province of India has individually opposed the enforcement of the new Ordinance in Bengal. Anarchy and disaffection should certainly be suppressed, but not through the new Ordinance or through the exercise of special powers, or by destroying the political life of the country or by unnecessarily harassing innocent people. The *Anand* remarks that if the Bengal Government after what has happened to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the local Legislative Council does not realise its mistake and still considers it to be its duty to adopt a repressive policy it cannot inspire feelings of love and good-will among the people, but will only accentuate discontent which will be harmful both to the Government and the people. The *Swadhin* opines that if the Government spreads panic and terrorism in Bengal by certifying the Criminal Law Amendment Bill despite its rejection in the local Legislative Council it will only establish that inebriated with autocracy it is reducing the Councils into a mere plaything. The *Hindi Kesari* says that every Indian will congratulate the Bengal Legislative Council on the sense of devotion to duty displayed by it in rejecting the "black Bill" and thereby frustrating the designs of Lord Lytton to legalise his bludgeon-rule in Bengal for five years.

The Swaraj party.

The *Leader* says that Mr. Moti Lal Nehru's Nagpur speech is the latest evidence that has been furnished to the public that the points of view of Swarajists on one side and Liberals on the other still diverge materially and that unity as distinguished from cooperation between the parties is as yet unattainable. The *Haqiqat* advises the

Swarajists to accept the Ministerial offices and take into their hands the administration of transferred subjects in order to expose the defects of the Reforms. The *Pioneer* refers to a speech made by a Swarajist legislator at Nagpur and says: The Swarajists could no more "run the Government" in India than they could control the solar system, and their ridiculous pretensions emphasise the futility of parleying with such people. In an article headed "Bengal Ordinance in Assembly" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The Swarajists long ago ceased to play the part of persistent obstructionists. It would now seem that they have willingly taken up the rôle of the clown. The *Oudh Akhbar* approves the decision of the Nagpur meeting and remarks that as far as national interests are concerned it is an accepted fact that without a change being effected in the present constitution it will not serve a useful purpose to accept the Ministerial posts. The *Zulqarnain* remarks that *swaraj* cannot be attained through the *charkha* or through the obstructionist policy of the Swarajists. The day is not far off when the Swarajists will also adopt the ways of the Liberals and will not hesitate from visiting the bungalows of the Government officials for consultation and exchange of views. The *Aj* says that the willingness of the Nagpur Swaraj party to accept "true and real responsibility" and the appointment of a committee by it to consider the existing situation with a view to bring about the necessary changes in its policy are but a farce. The time has certainly not come when the Swaraj party should consider the question of revising its policy. If the Swaraj party is tired of obstruction it should confess that in unequivocal terms. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the executive committee of the Nagpur Swaraj party has acted wisely in deciding that the members of the Swaraj party will not accept office, because its acceptance would have been equivalent to laying an axe at its own feet.

President of the Punjab Legislative Council.

The *Pioneer*, referring to the appointment of the new President of the Legislative Council in the Punjab, considers that it is unfortunate that the desirability of electing a President by a unanimous vote did not seem to have occurred to the members of the Punjab Legislative Council, and the voting for Mr. H. A. Casson's successor appears to have run almost entirely on communal lines. Still it is satisfactory that, on taking the chair, Mr. Shaikh Abdul Qadir was congratulated by and assured of the support of all parties. The new President will have a difficult task before him as the events preceding his election have shown, and his success will depend in no small degree on the readiness with which both shades of opinion are prepared to rely on his impartiality.

The Agra Tenancy Bill.

The *Abhir Samachar* remarks that if the Agra Tenancy Bill is passed into law in its present form it will very seriously injure the interests of the cultivators and their life will become one of slavery to the zamindars, the slaves of the Government, and urges that if the Government and the zamindars do not listen to their just demand and pass an arbitrary Act they should prefer death rather than yield to such an injustice and they should not stop their agitation till that Act is suitably amended.

The Bombay outrage.

The *Advocate* says that the tragic drama which was enacted on Malabar Hill has struck the whole country with horror and disgust. It is the duty of the Government to find out the real culprit and book him at once. Under no circumstances should he be allowed to go scot free, otherwise it will cast a great slur on the prestige of the British Government. It is the bounden duty of Lord Reading to lead all his mighty forces in tracing out the real culprit of this horrible crime. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* fears that the Mumtaz Begum affair will cost the Maharaja of Indore very dear. Already there have been ugly rumours of his voluntary abdication, hardly contradicted. Close upon the heels comes this sorry scandal implicating intrigue in high quarters. But the paper has one consolation. At the head of the Indore administration today is a distinguished statesman Mr. Narasinga Row who will fight every inch of ground before allowing the Ruling Prince to be made a scapegoat by his designing courtiers. The *Leader* does not make any comments but advises those papers which are writing on the subject to remember that every person should be presumed to be innocent until his guilt is proved, and that journalistic zeal ought not to outrun certain well-recognized canons of fair play.

Exportation of monkeys.

The vernacular press is much perturbed at the export of monkeys which are held sacred by the Hindus. The *Hindustani* resents the slaughter of monkeys in connection with rejuvenescence experiments and exhorts the Hindus to protest strongly against

this brutality. Writing in a similar strain the *Oudh Akhbar* apprehends that the Hindus will launch a great agitation against it. The *Medina* sympathises with the Hindus on the export of the descendants of "Hanuman" and regards the expulsion of the ancestors of Darwin as a good omen for India. The *Swadhin* remarks that as monkeys cause immense loss to the people there should be no objection to their exportation for scientific purposes, but that if the people are ready to bear this loss cheerfully under the influence of religious sentiments it is futile to oppose their strong religious susceptibilities. The *Aj* favours the deportation of monkeys from inhabited areas to jungles, but not their exportation to Germany for thyroid gland treatment.

Revolutionism.

The *Vartman* publishes two articles on "Revolutionism" in which it points out that as a result of the failure of peaceful and constitutional methods for the attainment of liberty and the determination of the rulers to dub the subject people as anarchists and revolutionaries and subject them to boundless and impudent repression so as to suppress the national movement for freedom, Indian youths are now inclining towards red revolution. It describes how youths come to entertain revolutionary ideas when national efforts at emancipation are defeated with brute force by foreign Governments. The success of revolution in European countries, England, Italy and Russia serve as a historical allurement to India. The paper next expounds the principles of anarchism and says that the time when the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's personality will after his failures vanish in the political field the ideas of armed anarchism will be born in the mind of Indian youths. Alarmed at this fear the Government of India do not want to allow even the smallest sprouts of anarchism to remain in India. This is the reason for enforcing the black Ordinance in Bengal so autocratically. But can it be proper for a foreign Government to do things against the feelings of the people? Is it not an open proclamation on its part that this Government has allowed to be forfeited all rights and sanctions of keeping administrative authority in its own hands!

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* points out that if moneyed classes in the world continue to covet other's land and wealth and ruin the poor, the number of capitalists will decline and the poor who form the majority will one day or another establish a socialistic republic by subverting the capitalistic rule.

Political propaganda.

The *Jain Martand* in the course of an article headed "Expiation of Sin" remarks: "The Indians who are the descendants of great *rishis* are today insulted everywhere in the world, and are slaves even in their own home. Those people whom they allowed to set their foot into the bosom of their mother under the influence of their principle of universal brotherhood are today engaged in sucking the blood of the mother. If the Indians claim that they alone have a right to the milk of their mother and that no power should dare to grind daily their brethren in the mill-stones of humiliation in foreign countries by making them black coolies against their will, they are repressed. If one were to say that India is of Indians and that aliens could live here only as friends of the world, then those intoxicated with the wine of self-interest are seen appearing with irons, fetters and gallows: . . Let us boycott foreign cloth, the main prop of dependence." The *Pratap* exhorts political workers to devote themselves to village organisation, impressing upon them that though village work may not bear fruit immediately, it will greatly increase their strength in the long run. The *Swadesh* writes: We will do well to be ready to face repression. It can do us no harm if we do not bow down before it. The more the Government indulges in repression the more it weakens itself and strengthens us. If we but remain firm and courageous our future is assured and our efforts for the attainment of *swaraj* bid fair to be crowned with success. The *Pratap* publishes a letter from Lala Har Dayal from Sweden stating that he is working for the Labour movement and that he has now become a regular contributor to the *Karambir* of Lahore and expressing the opinion that India will attain freedom and *swaraj* through sacrifice and courage. The same paper also publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Paris in which he controverts the statement of that paper that until Indian Muslims give up the idea that they come from Arabia, Persia or Kabul they cannot love India and remarks that Indian-Aryans can under no circumstances consider Kabul or Persia to be foreign countries. It was Mahmud Ghaznavi who separated Afghanistan from India and sowed the seeds of dissensions between these two countries. These dissensions which were created by Mahmud Ghaznavi for the attainment

of his selfish ends proved advantageous to other foreign ruling Powers also and are even now useful to the British. This is why they still prevail. The British may say what they like and those who eat the crumbs from their tables may ditto them but an Indian should never say anything against the Afghans or the Persians who belong to his own race. When the Punjabis and Madrasis are fellow-countrymen the Afghans and the Persians can never be considered to be foreigners. This feeling should be propagated throughout the whole of India, Afghanistan and Persia.

LUCKNOW:
The 24th January, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 5 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 31*st January*, 1925.

Situation in Egypt.

In a leading article the *Pioneer* refers to the coming Egyptian elections and remarks: The new Government in Egypt have a strenuous task before them in their fight against the corruption and intimidation which have gained for the Wafd party an unenviable notoriety. The Wafd party is well organised and it has shown that it is utterly unscrupulous in its methods. The contest, therefore, is likely to be a keen one. The success of Ziwar Pasha would be in the best interests of Egypt, which might then look forward to a period of stable government. But the inexperience of the electorate which lends itself to facile exploitation by unscrupulous politicians is a factor in favour of Zaghlul and his party. The *Aj* remarks that the subjection of the Sudan is now complete with the removal of its army from Egyptian control. Old Egypt has been divided into two. The *Sudan* has been sacrificed to meet the requirements of the Manchester manufacturers. And Egypt has been awarded subjection in the name of freedom in order to maintain intact Britain's control over India. It is to be seen where this terrible imperialism and commercial greed would end.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Nejat* views with suspicion the warlike preparations of Amir Ali whom it characterises as a mere toy in the hands of aliens and one who has inherited disloyalty and faithlessness from his aged father. It is the duty of the Musalmans not to allow any member of the Sharif's family to carry on intrigues against Islam. The *Sada-i-Muslim* regards the convening of the Muslim Conference and the proclamations of Ibn Saud as the outcome of British propaganda. If he is independent enough to establish relations with foreign nations the Musalmans can repose confidence in him, otherwise there is no difference between him and Sharif Husain. The *Mansur* remarks that it is prudent for British officers not to interfere in the affairs of Islamic States as it will antagonise the Muslim world against them and they shall never be able to appease the Indian Musalmans. The *Hamdam* bitterly resents the action of Amir Ali in detaining the Indian deputation at Jeddah and remarks that in case the deputation is forced to come back the Indian Musalmans will naturally conclude that there is some other Power behind the curtain, which has stood in their way. On the basis of the obstacles thrown in their way by the Indian Government in the matter of passports they will be justified in suspecting Britain as the cause of all this trouble.

The Natal Ordinance.

Referring to the address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy, the *Pioneer* observes: The address, while putting the Indian point of view with cogency, did not overlook the existence of certain economic difficulties confronting South African statesmen in their handling of the situation. This recognition of the need for a sober interchange of view is admirable and the reply given by the Viceroy should make it clear that on this subject both the Government of India and responsible European and Indian opinion are at one.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the strained relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans the *Success* observes: What lies at the root of the mutual hatred and enmity is religious antagonism. It is this religious antagonism which, however, carried to extremes, has many a time turned gardens of Eden into pools of misery and human degradation. We may join hands with each other for some time like hypocrites but real peace and lasting tranquillity can only be attained if we, from the bottom of our hearts, accept the *Vedas* and *Rishis* as from God, and the Hindus likewise expel all malice from their hearts and accept the Holy Prophet as a true prophet from God. Remember that it is this course alone which can bring about a real union between the Hindus and the Musalmans. It will act like water and wash away for good all dross from the hearts.

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The *Haqiqat* opines that the Hindus and Musalmans can never be reconciled to each other unless the Lucknow pact of 1916 is revised and the Musalmans are assured that their just rights as regards their representation in public bodies and their share in public services will not be assailed by the Hindus. The progress of the *swaraj* movement depends only on the removal of mutual ill-will and distrust. The *Bharat Dharma* publishes an article by Rao Gopal Singh Bahadur of Kharwa who deplores the existing Hindu-Muslim dissensions and pleads for unity between the two communities saying that even the establishment of *swaraj* will be of no good, if Hindus and Muhammadans remain hostile to each other and thereby ruin the country. The bellicose attitude of the Muhammadan hooligans cannot but react on the Hindus and prepare them for retaliation with the result that blood feuds will become the order of the day to the misfortune of their common country.

The Viceroy's speech.

With the exception of the *Pioneer* and the *Weekly Observer* which applaud the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Indian Legislature the papers are generally dissatisfied with it. The *Weekly Observer* characterises His Excellency the Viceroy's speech as a notable pronouncement, surveying comprehensively the whole field of Indian administration and politics, internal as well as external, and remarks: It is to be hoped that the new legislation will not only scotch the terrorist movement but also help the people of Bengal to realise that the Government's action, despite widespread opposition, has saved them from a very real danger. The *Pioneer* says: The speech has evoked from a section of the anti-British press a torrent of abuse which, when the great position occupied by His Excellency is considered, may justly be characterised as indecent. Among the responsible classes outside the ranks of strenuous politicians there is a strong sentiment in favour of the measures adopted to suppress revolutionary conspiracies which, if unchecked, would bring ruin upon India. The opponents of the Government, however, are impervious to reason or argument, and indifferent to the fact that their proceedings are regarded with hostility by the responsible members of every political party in England. The *Nejat* describes the Viceroy's speech as an ode in the praise of his own Government and remarks that it has only sprinkled salt over the wounds of the Musalmans. It shows that the greatest protector of the bureaucracy has not been the least affected by our wailings and lamentations and that the late Chief Justice of England is not at all prepared to give up his autocracy and despotism. The *Hindustani* regards the speech as meaningless and disappointing and remarks that Indians can never agree with the views expressed by him. The *Garhwali* says that whatever hopeful view the Viceroy may take of the economic condition of the country the grim spectacle of dire poverty and gross ignorance among the masses tells a different tale. As regards the Viceroy's remarks about the position of Indians in South Africa, the paper observes that if the Government of India had courage and sympathy it could get the Natal Borough Ordinance repealed, or at any rate could adopt the policy of retaliation. The *Anand* remarks that the speech cannot satisfy the Indians. The Government of India should accord stronger support to the cause of Indians in the Colonies before it can claim to have championed it effectively. His Excellency's statement regarding the Bengal Ordinance Bill and his reticence over the Reforms Enquiry Committee go to show that the Government of India's attitude towards Indian aspirations is getting unfavourable. Hindu-Muslim unity and vigorous political agitation are an absolute necessity to counteract this. In the opinion of the *Abhyudaya* there is nothing in the speech which may give indication of the Viceroy's farsightedness, political sagacity and loving solicitude for the people. A perusal of the speech leaves the impression that a grown up person has attempted to coax or mislead children. Not in one but in several matters His Excellency has done whitewashing, and concealing the real picture has placed before the members a spurious one. The *Vartman* writes: The speech was a sort of phonograph on hearing which the members of the Assembly must have thought what a nice record the British have sent which sounds the same note every time. It appears that the farce enacted by the Viceroy has come to an end and that he too wants to leave India discredited like Lord Curzon.

India's leper problem.

The Viceroy's appeal for help to fight leprosy has been well supported by all sections of the press. The *Pioneer* remarks: Seldom has a Viceroy called for public support of a campaign in which the whole of India is more deeply interested than on Tuesday, when Lord Reading at Delhi launched his timely "appeal for the moral and financial support of all classes in India in my endeavour to remove the menace of leprosy from our midst." The spread of knowledge of modern discoveries

in regard to the disease will encourage people to insist on active search for its victims. It will hearten the victims themselves with the knowledge that theirs is not an incurable malady exposing them to the disgust of others, and that facilities exist for them to be restored to full health, a restoration which will be all the speedier if they present themselves for treatment as soon as they are aware of their condition. This is a form of propaganda which should be welcomed in every province and State in India, since leprosy is not local in its incidence, nearly all parts of this country being, in greater or less degree, affected. The *Leader* says that the appeal of Lord Reading should meet with generous response from those who are not insensible to the terrible sufferings of those afflicted by this dreadful malady and who are not blind to the danger of its spread. If the community makes up its mind to help this labour of mercy, we have little doubt that in a generation or two the disease can be extirpated, as it has been in other countries, where a systematic campaign was waged against it. The humanitarian campaign started by Lord Reading has received the blessings of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and we hope that sufficient funds will be forthcoming for achieving the noble purpose in view. In the opinion of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* it was a great humanitarian movement that His Excellency the Viceroy inaugurated when he gave his support to the movement to eradicate leprosy in India. Never before had any Viceroy used his influence and position to better purpose than did Lord Reading when he undertook to give the lead to the philanthropic work connected with leprosy work. It is essential, if the movement is to succeed, that the leprosy homes should be devoid of missionary influence.

The Reforms.

Referring to the "anti-Indian propaganda" started in England the *Leader* says: The die-hards are at work. They have virtually a clear field before them. At such a time is it not the duty of Indians to close up their ranks and to offer united constitutional opposition to the forces of reaction? Any policy which has the effect of strengthening the hands of the reactionary forces ought to be abandoned as suicidal at the present juncture. Referring to the rumour that the Reforms will be shortly withdrawn as the people failed to cooperate in working them out, the *Hamdam* remarks that Indians regarded it as an insult and disgrace to cooperate in the working of the Reforms which are mere crumbs from the table of the British Parliament. Even the confirmed cooperator will not now venture to cooperate with a Government which has displayed such a spirit of autocracy in the enforcement of the Bengal Ordinance.

The Nagpur compromise.

The *Hamdam* expresses its dissatisfaction at the compromise arrived at between the two communities and regrets the want of toleration on the part of the Hindus. The *Sada-i-Muslim* regards the Nagpur decision as the outcome of force and compulsion and based on religious bigotry and hatred. The Musalmans should adopt all possible means to stop the practice of the Hindus of playing on musical instruments before mosques and should condemn the *fatua* of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the weakness displayed by the Nagpur Musalmans in accepting the decision. The *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates the Nagpur Musalmans for displaying unique toleration and broad-mindedness.

All-Parties Conference.

Referring to the proceedings of the All-Parties Conference the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Frankly speaking, the account of the preliminary meeting of the Unity Conference at Delhi does not encourage the hope that any large sacrifices would be made by any political party to attain unity. The paper thinks that the rock on which the Unity Conference threatens to split is the Hindu-Muslim problem and says that the worst that can happen to the unity sub-committee now sitting at Delhi is that it may break away without coming to any conclusions. The *Advocate* regrets that Mr. Jinnah does not stick to one principle but he advocates both the principles so that the Muhammadans may derive full benefit without losing in any way. We strongly condemn these tactics and wish to point out that no real unity can be arrived at unless the leaders give up these tactics and adhere to one principle. Commenting on the proceedings of the All-Parties Conference the *Success* observes: In the background of Hindu-Muslim unity lurk dangerous demons that are awaiting the fateful hour when they will pounce upon the last toilers for peace. These two demons are the communal tension and the distrust and the suspicion that exist in India today. The *Vartman* remarks that along with the scheme of *swaraj* the All-Parties Conference should also formulate such a programme of vigorous agitation as may be acceptable to all the political parties in the country and may help in carrying into effect the *swaraj* scheme successfully. The

Hamdam regrets that the Hindu leaders have totally ignored the point that the duty of showing toleration and granting concessions to the minorities has been enjoined upon them by virtue of their being in majority in this country. The *Sada-i-Muslim* lays stress upon the fact that before any lasting compromise is effected it is essential that the decision arrived at in the conference held in September last should be totally ignored as the conference was not a representative one and its decision cannot be binding on the Musalmans. Any reference to that conference is useless as the Musalmans cannot accept the decision of Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Abul Kalam Azad.

The Bengal Ordinance.

The *Pioneer* says: Is it too much to hope that those members of the Assembly who are prepared to give attention to reasoned expositions of policy will take note of the gravity of the Viceroy's reference to Bengal at the opening of the Legislature and of the abundant assurance which he and Lord Lytton had previously given of the stern necessity for the Ordinance and the measures taken under it. Referring to the Home Member's speech in the Legislative Assembly the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The speech of the Home Member was the purest performance that we have had hitherto ever from him. His persistent cry of wolf can never perturb the patriots who have the hand on the pulse, and who are surely not irresponsible when they uncompromisingly stand against such Russian methods of rule. If, as the Home Member said, the back of the movement is broken, surely it were time to gracefully withdraw a piece of legislation that seeks to deny to the people the elementary right of trial before conviction. The *Leader* says: It is extremely doubtful if the debate in the Legislative Assembly in connection with the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance would induce the Government to revise their decision which has aroused such an amount of feeling and opposition in the country. If the time has come close in Bengal when the safety of the State is the only law and if it is a time when the State must grapple with the forces of terrorism or go under, it means that there exists such a powerful revolutionary organisation in Bengal that it was about to overthrow the Government. The existence of such a serious state of affairs ought to make Government furiously to think as to what is wrong with the system. Such a desperate political movement must have a cause. Do the Government think that without any serious attempt to deal with the cause or causes they can suppress the movement by clapping into jail scores of men on suspicion and without trial? The revolutionaries probably regard the Ordinance as a triumph of their activities and as creating an atmosphere suitable for securing fresh recruits. It is the verdict of history that revolutionary movememts which work underground cannot be suppressed by repressive laws only, however drastic. A purely negative policy is no remedy and the Government should not rely merely on force. The *Azad* deplores that Lord Lytton has used his last weapon in enforcing the new Ordinance in Bengal and remarks that the result alone will show whether the remedy applied will cure the disease and allay the unrest in Bengal. When Martial Law and machine-guns failed to suppress the movement for liberty, this remedy will also fail and will rather aggravate popular discontent and alienate public sympathy. The *Oudh Akhbar* says: The obstinate attitude adopted by Government in direct opposition to public opinion can never be termed desirable. Commenting on the certification of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill the *Aj* remarks: Lord Lytton has certified the Bill and with the assent of the Viceroy which must come forth as a matter of course it will become the permanent law of the land. Let the rulers think what respect the people can have for law in a country where laws are enacted against the wishes of the latter. The *Bharat Bandhu* wonders how long the administration can be carried on by the exercise of special powers and says that there can be no peace and happiness in the country where public opinion is disregarded. The *Vartman* observes that this black ordinance will re-enact the scenes of the Martial Law days and then it will be difficult to improve the state of affairs. The days are past when tyranny and despotism could be the order of the day. So far the Congress is only endeavouring for *swaraj* within the British Empire, but if the Viceroy's autocracy continues things may assume a different aspect. The *Bharat Dharma* writes: The Governor of Bengal placed the milk-mouthed pitcher of poison before the people who kicked it. So His Excellency will now forcibly make the Bengalis and for the matter of that the Indians drink that poison by the exercise of his special powers. But he should bear in mind that that poison after circulating in the veins of the people cannot but find its entry into the stomach of the Government itself. Then will he realise what fun there is in playing with fire.

Legislative Assembly.

The *Leader* praises the Legislative Assembly for passing the resolution for granting bounty to firms manufacturing steel. The attitude of Government in the matter of protecting this industry against Continental competition is highly commendable. The *Indian Daily Tel·g·aph* expresses surprise at the attitude of the Government in the Legislative Assembly against Dr. Gour's Bill and regrets that the Government should ever adopt such suspicious attitude against genuine attempts at social reforms. The charge against the British Governm nt is that in the name of religious neutrality, it seeks to perpetuate ignorance and superstitions by giving undue importance to retrograde social views.

Exportation of monkeys.

The *Prem* urges that the resolution of the Brindaban municipality regarding the deportation of monkeys should not be given effect to until satisfactory arrangements have been made for their safe transportation and accommodation and the people have been given an assurance that the monkeys will not be exported to Europe for scientific experiments involving their destruction.

The Malabar Hill tragedy.

The *Anand* says that the murder of M. Abdul Qadir Bawla at Bombay has exposed the depravity of the Maharaja of Indore. People should be got rid of such mean-minded princes in some way or other. The Government of India in order to vindicate justice should punish the guilty persons in this case, howsoever exalted their rank may be. The *Prem* remarks that the disclosures in the Midland Bank and the Bombay murder cases betray fully the moral degradation of Indian princes and show what sort of education and training is imparted to them and how the one way of betaking themselves to licentiousness and moral depravity is left open to them under the British Government. The *Pratap* thinks that it is a wrong and improper course for various journals to cast aspersions on the Maharaja of Indore for the Bombay murder until his guilt is established in a law court. Even if it is proved that he had a hand in the murder yet in existing circumstances much blame cannot be thrown on him. Indian Chiefs are themselves not to blame if they take to licentiousness. As a result of the manner in which the British Government has arranged for the upbringing of Indian Chiefs such a passion is reared in them in their young days for enjoyment, licentiousness, drinking, young women and trips to Europe that they cannot get over them even in their manhood. The *Haqiqat* opines that deterrent punishment should be inflicted on the perpetrators of the murder. The Government of India will stand discredited in the eyes of the Indian public if it shows the least favour to any one in this connection. The *Medina* says that the perpetration of the tragic murder is the worst blot on the British Government established by law. We find no moral, religious or legal cause on the basis of which the worldly position and status of a culprit may shield him from the penalty for his tyrannical crime. The ever-growing oppressions and misdeeds of the Indian Rajas demand that they should be treated like ordinary criminals. The *Hindustani* resents the disparaging remarks of certain papers about the Maharaja of Indore and remarks that to accuse the Maharaja of a charge which has not yet been proved against him is the outcome of personal malice. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the responsibility for the misdeeds of the Indian Princes to a great extent lies on the Political Agents and the Residents who shirk their duty of reforming them. The Legislative Assembly should agitate and see that the affairs of the Native States are not allowed to pass unnoticed.

United Provinces Legislative Council.

The *Leader* is in entire sympathy with the resolution moved by Maulvi Shahab-ud-din for making the courses of study easier and reducing the number of subjects prescribed for the middle and high school examinations. Intellectual development of pupils of tender age is not helped but retarded by an overcrowded curriculum. The *Pioneer* characterises the resolution as a deliberate attempt made to lower the standard of the School Leaving Certificate examination and says: The disposition to temper the wind to the shorn lamb is so strong among certain politicians that it is a wonder some one does not seriously propose to abolish examinations altogether and to give certificates of matriculation or even of graduation to all candidates who can show that they have attended classes in a recognised institution. Referring to the resolution on corruption in public services the *Leader* observes: No one can deny that the evil exists in almost all departments in varying degrees, but the conditions are not so bad as some members tried to make out. While it is certainly the duty of Government to check corruption by strict supervision and by removing the economic causes, as far as possible, which make honesty an almost

impossible virtue in the case of a certain class of its employees, we agree with the Finance Member that the evil is bound to grow less with the spread of education and growth of public opinion. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: We cannot congratulate our Government on the stand taken with regard to corruption in public service. The Government did not deny that there was corruption; but it was quite content in pointing out that so long as the majority of the people were not educated, there must be corruption. Referring to the resolution recommending the establishment of a university at Cawnpore, the *Pioneer* remarks: In the opinion of some people the be-all and end-all of educational policy would seem to be summed up in the multiplication of universities. The adverse effect of this multiplication of universities upon educational progress by its tendency to lower the standard of examinations is admitted by many who are not opposed in principle to a policy of university expansion, and the Council are to be congratulated on their prudence in rejecting the proposal.

Excise policy in the United Provinces.

The *Leader* says: The annual report on the administration of the Excise department in the United Provinces for the year 1923-24 must afford gratifying reading to the advocates of temperance reform. The *Anand* notes with satisfaction the decline in the consumption of intoxicants in the United Provinces as disclosed by the last excise report, but urges that the provincial Government should adopt a more vigorous policy so as to stop the consumption of intoxicants altogether without delay and before it has produced serious deleterious effects upon public health.

Revolutionism.

In continuation of its previous articles on the subject the *Vartman* opines that from the standpoint of civilisation and psychological evolution it is not desirable for any country to employ revolutionary methods, because even the success of revolution has been found to be attended with serious dangers to its people and their economic development. In such countries as are badly sunk in the mire of poverty like India, where the villagers cannot bear the terrible effects of revolution and the reaction thereafter, it is very dangerous to make revolution the weapon of political emancipation. Mahatma Gandhi's movement can succeed and the red revolutionists of India can be quietened only when the British Government does not allow repression to assume a provocative aspect. In the success of Mahatma Gandhi's movement lies the good of both the people and the British Government.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* publishes an appreciatory article on the occasion of Lenin's first death anniversary saying that it was he who broke the brutal authority of money and religion and laid the foundation of the destruction of those who on the strength of money were making the people of such a big world dance at their bidding. His gospel to the poor is being more honoured in the world than the *Vedas*, the *Qoran* and the Bible. The workers, the cultivators and the labourers hold him as their God. The sinful and the selfish fear him as much as murderers and dacoits fear a judge.

LUCKNOW:
The 31st January, 1925.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 6 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 7th February, 1925.

Russo-Japanese treaty.

THE *Abhyudaya* congratulates not only Russia and Japan, but also the whole East on the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese treaty and says that the alliance of Russia and Japan is no ordinary thing as it has a great importance in international politics.

Persia and Great Britain.

The *Medina* avers that Great Britain, the great enemy of the Muslim world, was secretly supporting the rebellion of Shaikh Khizil and that recent developments in Persia show that she has suffered an unforgettable defeat in her greedy designs.

Egyptain affairs.

Referring to Mr. Chamberlain's speech on Great Britain's foreign policy, the *Pioneer* says: The speech at least can be said to have summed up clearly and concisely the efforts which the Government are making to cope with the different problems with which they are confronted. His reference to the "sharp lesson" which the murder of Sir Lee Stack compelled the British Government to give to the Government of Zaghlul Pasha and to the latter's exorbitant and exaggerated claims and evasion of responsibility admirably sums up recent events in Egypt and the question at issue between the British and Egyptian Governments, and will be generally welcomed by Englishmen who have a due regard for their country's obligation and prestige.

Situation in the Hedjaz.

The *Medina* in a series of articles strongly protests against the detention of the Khilafat deputation by Amir Ali and remarks that the members of the deputation are entitled to British protection as they are duly armed with British passports. They are neither Swarajists nor ex-convicts who may be regarded as offenders. The preparations of Amir Ali have aroused the suspicions of thinking Musalmans and they are justified in accusing Great Britain of secretly helping him to shed Muslim blood on the sacred soil of Arabia. In another article the same paper remarks that both the rebel Sharif and his son are unfit to govern Hedjaz which should be made a common republic of the entire Muslim world and no non-Muslim Power should be allowed to interfere in its affairs. The *Haqiqat* says that the stay of the deputation in Jeddah is a sheer waste of time and an unnecessary burden on the Khilafat Committee, which would not have been put to such financial loss if it had consulted Amir Ali before the departure of the deputation from India.

Indians in South Africa.

Referring to the reply of the Viceroy to the deputation which waited on him to represent the position of Indians in South Africa, the *Leader* says: The reply indicates that His Excellency fully realised the gravity of the issues involved and the intensity of feeling aroused among Indians by the disabilities that are being heaped upon them in that part of the British Empire. Quoting passages from the *Natal Advertiser* and the *Natal Mercury* the paper remarks that an ungodly and un-Christian spirit is prompting the white settlers in South Africa. If allowed to triumph, it is bound to produce an enormous repercussion in India. The *Mahashakti* in an article headed "Legalising the colour bar" writes: Those of our friends who are so eloquent in criticising the caste system of the Hindus are significantly silent on so real an evil and so revolting an insult to humanity as the colour bar among Christians. If Christ were to come back, how would he fare in Christian South Africa with its anti-Asiatic laws? The *Weekly Observer* says that the delicate negotiations to which the Viceroy referred and in which the Union Government is believed to be participating should not be impeded by foolish or precipitate action from any quarter. The *Anand* says that the helpless position of Indian colonists in South Africa which the British Government does nothing to improve despite the representatives of the Government of India, has exasperated the Indians and they have begun to apprehend that it is difficult for them to secure justice and equality of treatment within the British Empire.

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Afghanistan and India.

The *Nejat* reproduces an article from the *Ittihad-i-Mashriq* of Kabul denying that Afghanistan is aiming at territorial aggrandisement like the Western Powers. The Afghans only desire their brethren in Africa and Asia to lead a life of freedom. The Hindu leaders should rest assured that the ruler of Afghanistan or any of his servants never desire to cut the throat of the Indians, assail their honour, destroy their liberty or force them to give up their religion. The Indians should unite if they want freedom.

Indian States.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: A most pathetic story comes from Bastar of how a marriage is being forced on the young Rani who has succeeded to the throne. The mother protested in vain. Religious objections, so important to Hindus, were cast to the winds. The orders of the Governor "were final" and had to be obeyed to avoid "serious consequences"—was it voluntary abdication or any new terrors that the bureaucracy has invented for use against Indian princes? The story as unfolded by the Rajput Mahasabha, with the prestige of the name of the Maharaja of Alwar behind it, is sorry reading. Where is this new policy towards Indian States leading to? Over every Indian prince and princess a veritable Damocles' sword seems to hang on a hair. Yet another incident is the unauthorised marriage of the daughter of the Maharaja of Nabha with Kalsia. It is terrible that even with "voluntary abdication" the terrors of the bureaucracy for that independent Indian prince should not be exhausted. It is a disgrace to the princes that such callous treatment of one of their order should be tolerated without a manly protest from them. Perish their Narendra Mandal the assembly of slaves and flatterers of political officers in uniform.

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Azad* severely criticises the speech of the Viceroy at the opening of the Indian Legislature and remarks: He said nothing about the Reforms, treatment meted out to Indians in the Colonies, and while he is anxious to cement happy relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans, he does not mention what practical steps his Government has taken to achieve this end. The *Medina* describes the speech as greatly disappointing to the Indians and accuses the Viceroy of showing utter disregard to Indian public opinion. His utterance regarding the Bengal Ordinance is insulting to Indians. The *Hind-i-Jadid* says that the Viceroy in supporting the Bengal Ordinance has shown that in the armoury of special powers there are arrows still more fatal and deadly. He reckoned on the support of certain classes of Indians but he must have been disappointed to find the new Ordinance condemned by Indians of all shades of opinion. If entire responsibility of everything lies on the Viceroy, what is then the use of the Legislative Assembly, and why is the wealth of India and the precious time of its representatives being wasted. The *Swadhin* remarks that Lord Reading's expression of gratification at the growing commercial prosperity of the country is a pretty indication of the British greed for exploitation of India. If His Excellency had the least sympathy for the grievances of Indian colonists in South Africa he would never have ignored the Indians in their own country. His remarks regarding the Bengal Ordinance only add insult to injury.

All-Parties Conference.

The *Patriot* says: We have no faith in pacts. We only wish there were no pact at Lucknow. Is there any guarantee that in case any new pact is made the same thing would not happen again and after a few years we shall have to face once more this very question? To us the question can only be solved permanently on one basis, the only one possible—i.e., the leaders of both parties should try to create an atmosphere of real confidence in each other. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* hopes that the statement made to a press agency by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru on the working of the unity conference committee is not the faint herald of the announcement that the committee had to break up for want of common debating ground. Owing to its extreme backwardness the Muslim community in India lends itself to be conveniently sold by its leaders for some concessions from the Government. The Hindu *sangathan* must be politically acknowledged; and side by side with the yarn franchise we must have the severest of active participation in the *sangathan* movement. The *Anand* urges the Hindu members of the All-Parties Conference to be on their guard against the baseless pretensions of Muhammadans to excessive political rights and not to lose sight of Hindu interests in the mirage of the so-called unity. The demand of Muhammadans for ever-growing political rights after every tension of communal feeling goes to show that communal disturbances are always engineered with an ulterior motive. The *Sada-i-Muslim* strongly protests against the opposition of the Hindu leaders to the separate representation of the Musalmans and remarks that it is due to the

deplorable mentality and the vindicative spirit of the Hindus that they resent Muslim sympathy with their brethren abroad. Musalmans cannot sacrifice Islam to unity or liberty and as long as they follow the teachings of the *Qoran* they can never sever their connection with Hedjaz and Turkey. The *Al Khalil* expresses its disappointment at the speeches of Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai and remarks that unity between the two communities is impossible. The *Hamdam* is gratified at the appointment of a sub-committee to consider the question of Hindu-Muslim unity and the scheme of *swaraj* and hopes that the country will attach due value to its findings. The *Medina* says that the Hindus have little to lose in remaining under the British rule and in slavery, but the Musalmans cannot remain inactive as they are being ground down between the tyrannies of the foreigners and the excesses of the Hindus. There is no hope for *swaraj* if the Hindu feelings are so delicate as to get outraged at the cutting of certain trees and killing of certain animals. The *Nejat* resents the speeches of the Hindu leaders and remarks that they are trying to keep the Musalmans in their present deplorable condition. The presence of an alien Government is ever a source of danger to our unity and before preparing any programme for *swaraj* it is essential that the tension prevailing between the two communities should be removed.

The Bengal Ordinance.

Commenting upon the debate in the Legislative Assembly on Mr. Patel's Bill the *Pioneer* says: The support given by the members of the Assembly to Mr. Patel will be taken to mean that they endorse his extravagant contention that the Government were responsible for the menace in Bengal. Nor can there be too strong condemnation of the monstrous insinuation by a prominent member that the leaflet now being circulated is the outcome of the activities of Government agents. In another article the paper refers to the resolution condemning the Bengal Ordinance passed by the Legislative Assembly and says: We cannot believe that those who composed the majority were all of them happy in their own minds in giving their votes. Members of the Assembly may treat lightly the Home Member's pointed reference to the possible interpretation which may be placed on their action by the world outside, they cannot thereby escape the consequences. The airy impertinence of the member who dared to abuse the privileges of parliamentary debate by bringing two of his lawyer confrères on to the same plane of judicial eminence as that occupied by Lord Reading may be gratifying to the callow exuberance of Young Swarajya. It must utterly fail, however, to convince the larger world, to which the Viceroy's reputation as a man of affairs and a distinguished jurist is fully known. And the verdict passed on the Assembly's decision in that light will be authoritatively and devastatingly damaging to its claim for consideration as an exponent of democratic principles. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that though the Government would throw Mr. Patel's resolution into the waste paper basket it would have been sufficiently impressed by this face-to-face talk with the elected representatives, heed the popular view and would supersede the ordinance at the earliest opportunity. Never before has public opinion been more ruthlessly trampled down upon them than now. Referring to the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Bengal Ordinance, the *Vartman* remarks that in view of the obdurate and shameless policy of the Government regarding the ordinance it is a great mistake for the members of the Assembly to hope that such debates can do the least good. The *Pratap* writes: The impotent rage of the leaders in the Assembly can do no good. Debates cannot prove useful to a subject nation. Councils and Assemblies can be effective only when the Cabinet depend for their existence on their vote. Where the Councils and the Assemblies depend on the Cabinet for their existence, they are imbecile bodies. The destruction of that nation which is dependent upon others is inevitable. Self-reliance is the only way to emancipation. Will the nation move forward on the path? The *Hamdam* remarks that by vesting autocratic powers in the hands of an irresponsible and incapable bureaucracy Government is itself playing with human lives.

Legislative Assembly.

Commenting on Mr. Neogy's Bill for the abolition of the reservation of third class compartments for Europeans in certain railway trains the *Pioneer* observes: Here is to be found a curious example of the zeal with which some of our politicians will tilt at windmills. The attempt to use the Indian Legislature to remove this small privilege must be characterised as not merely a gesture of defiance of the rights of minorities, but a lamentable lack of sense of proportion. The *Leader* says: We confess to a certain sympathy with the criticism of Sir Charles Innes that matters of petty detail affecting railway administration and management should not form the

subject of interpellation or debate in the Legislative Assembly. We entirely agree that non-official members should show greater discretion and an increasing capacity of selection of proper subjects as well as of drawing their questions and resolutions in a skilful parliamentary manner. But the officers of the Government have also a great deal to learn and a great deal to do to bring about a result that will be satisfactory to all parties.

United Provinces Legislative Council.

The *Leader* says: We do not know how the Government would have lost or how the interests of the Allied Indian Woodcrafts Company and the Bobbin Company would have been adversely affected if they had vouchsafed information on the relations subsisting between these two companies, as desired by an honourable member of the local Legislative Council who put a number of searching questions on the subject. The Government know that a great deal of curiosity, not idle but justifiable, exists in the public mind about the genesis of these companies and as to the extent, if any, to which the interests of the tax-payer may have been sacrificed. Far from satisfying this legitimate desire, the Government have been trying further to mystify the atmosphere of mystery by their reticence and secretiveness. Referring to the resolution of Thakur Hukum Singh urging the amendment of the Oudh Rent Act the paper says: The defeat of the resolution by a large majority shows how weak is the position in the Council of those who may be expected to espouse the cause of the tenants. Referring to the resolution of Pandit Har Govind Pant for liberalising the rules for the issue of arms licences the paper remarks: The whole policy of the Government in the matter is dominated by a spirit of distrust. Although the resolution was carried we do not expect that anything will come out of it. Referring to the Hon'ble the Finance Member's speech in the Council on the question of dates and duration of the Council the papar says: It is the opinion of many an observant and informed critic that of the many defects of the present transitory constitution there is none more glaring or more urgently calling for remedy than the excessive and arbitrary powers vested in the Governor, the while he is rendered immune from criticism by the Council. Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan and probably a few other members of the Council have been affecting grave concern at the non-conferment upon the Council of powers of discipline over outsiders. The paper suggests that they will be more usefully employing their time and talents if they divert a portion of their energy to an effort to secure some more powers to the Council over the executive.

Judicial administration.

The *Gharib* says that in a poor country like India where millions of people have to go without sufficient food it is derogatory to the dignity of the Government to charge high court fees and stamp duties in the name of administration of justice and to make it a source of income. This system of selling justice, so to say, makes it impossible for poor people to obtain it. The Empire where justice becomes a rare commodity in this manner cannot expect itself to be secure and the Government and the members of the Council alike should take steps to stop this business in justice to vindicate the honour of the country and the Empire. The *Aj* says that whether bribery may or may not have been more rife under Muhammadan rule it is certain that the existing bribery is of a very bad type. It beats down even the existing legal trickery and the pompous show of justice. It is common knowledge that to have recourse to a law court against a rich man is to court one's own ruin. The root of the prevailing bribery lies embedded in the alien, unnatural and harmful systems of education and of administration. Unless and until they are radically changed bribery cannot be stopped.

Chief Court for Oudh.

Referring to the Hon'ble the Home Member's speech in the United Provinces Legislative Council when introducing the Chief Court Bill, the *Leader* observes: It is to be hoped that the non-official members of the United Provinces Legislative Council will resolutely decline to be dictated to by the local Government or the Government of India or the Secretary of State on the important question of the constitution of the court. It should consist, if not wholly, at least of a majority of lawyer judges. And the Chief Judge should always be a lawyer and never an officer of the I. C. S. As a matter of administrative practice the majority of the judges should be Indians. If this is not to be better far that the Bill should be defeated. If we are only to be blessed with a court with an I. C. S. Chief Judge and a majority of service judges, Oudh and the United Provinces will do very well without it. In principle, too, legislature should never permit dictation by any executive authorities however eminent.

The Swaraj party.

The *Surya* opines that the experience of the last four years shows that neither the non-cooperation movement nor the obstructionist tactics of the Swarajists have done any good to the country. The policy of obstruction can yield no results unless the country has recourse to mass civil disobedience, but it is quite obvious that it is not prepared to follow such a perilous path. The obstructionist policy of the Swarajists only provokes the Government to enact repressive legislation and in no way brings the country nearer to its goal.

Export of monkeys.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The monkey is looked upon as a sacred animal in India, and if they should catch a monkey at Ajodhya or Muttra a commotion among the Hindus may be predicted. Perhaps the monkey is serving humanity by dying so as to give youth to a human being on the verge of collapse. Man is mortal. Has he the right to kill for the sake of living a little longer in the possession of youthful powers? This war against nature is something that will not appeal to Indian philosophy.

Revolutionary party of India.

The *Pioneer* in a leading article headed "Revolutionaries and India" says that it is of special significance that the revolutionary manifesto now being circulated secretly in India bears a close resemblance both in sentiment and phraseology to the Bolshevik literature which was disseminated in Persia during the closing stages of the Great War. A situation has arisen in India when it is essential that India should possess a striking force adequate to meet any contingency that may arise on her frontiers and that revolutionary efforts within her borders should be firmly suppressed. A grave responsibility lies on the authorities in India and an equally obvious duty rests with Indian public men. Referring to the situation in Bengal the paper remarks: It is not too late for the Legislative Assembly at Delhi to rise to a full sense of its duties in the grave situation that has arisen. In the controversy over the action taken by the Government in Bengal the opponents of the Ordinance have signally failed to adduce a single valid argument in support of their case. The *Weekly Observer* says: There is no question that this revolutionary party is bent upon a determined pursuit of its sinister and secret activities. The debate in the Assembly on the Bengal Ordinance shows that the majority of non-official members have not yet fully realised the extent of the widespread and powerful organisation which aims at the destruction of Government by assassination. The *Vartman* remarks that the repression practised by the Government under the impression that it would help in making its rule permanent has caused despondency in the country and has also led the people to think that the agitators have been suppressed thereby. This has afforded the revolutionary party a great opportunity to convert the despondency of the people into indignation and violence. The Government wants to crush the constitutional agitators by repression, but it is unable to trace out the real revolutionaries. It is due to this folly of the Government that the revolutionary party is growing strong.

Agra Tenancy Act.

In a signed article to the *Hamdam* Rao Bahadur Muhammad Abdul Rahman of Raipur, district Saharanpur, remarks: The present Agra Tenancy Bill, like the Bolsheviks, has made an open attack upon capitalism as the zamindars have invested lakhs of rupees in agricultural projects and crores of rupees in the purchase of land. On what ground the persons accused in connection with the Bolshevik conspiracy case have been punished when the Government itself is following the ways of the Bolsheviks? People are at a loss to understand for what fault the loyal zamindars are being thus punished. The Government should realise the delicacy of the situation and refrain from adopting a policy which may create discord and disunion between the tenants and the zamindars.

Bolshevism.

A correspondent writing to the *Agra Akhbar* takes strong exception to the message sent by the notorious agitator M. N. Roy on the occasion of the Belgaum Congress and describes him to be a disguised enemy of India. Indians can never accept the Bolshevik doctrines which are opposed both to Hinduism and Islam and have caused great misery in Russia.

Political propaganda.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: That the two speeches on one day, one from Sir William Vincent and the other from Sir Michael O'Dwyer, followed by a memorial from the Anglo-Indian Association against the abolition of the Indian Medical Service point to the existence of active foreign propaganda against this country. Sir William

Vincent has touched unerringly the weakest point in the Indian situation today when he says that the people are tired of political agitation. The *Vartman* urges that it is not only difficult but impossible to attain *swaraj* without organising the labourer and the *kisan*. The same paper says that the territorial aggrandisement of the imperialistic powers of the world and the enslavement of the poor by capitalists have created misery and unrest in the world and that both Bolshevism and non-cooperation have proved ineffective in ameliorating this state of things. But, says the paper, those who want to make this earth heaven have not been disappointed at this. They are endeavouring that the people of the world may advance along both the lines and bring about an opportunity when mankind may become deserving of heavenly government. The *Aj* reproduces from the *Bharat Mittra* of Calcutta an article from Lala Hardayal from Sweden in which he remarks that the responsibility for awakening political life in the country lies on the Swaraj party. It is imperative to make the Swaraj party in the Punjab a strong body. The Hindu nation of the Punjab lost its *swaraj* during the war that took place between the years 1845 and 1849 and only half *swaraj* has been left in some of the Indian States. The *Gharib* in a lengthy article tries to show that British rule in India is merely a business concern, which while keeping the Indians in a dependent position maintains itself by finding markets among them for English goods and by raising taxes from them and that it is mere camouflage to assert that British rule in India is based on altruistic motives. The consumption of foreign goods in India to the value of billions which yield forty-five crores of rupees in customs duty alone has rendered the Indians utterly destitute. Such was not the case in India even under Muhammadan rule, owing to the Muhammadans having adopted it as their motherland. The *Vartman* publishes an article by Mr. Savarkar in which he says that if the Congress calls itself the Indian National Congress it is its duty to give a suitable place to Nepal also within its fold, because from a geographical, historical and national standpoint, Nepal, like other provinces, is a part of India. Nepal is a Hindu State, and lest it should be lost sight of as such we should exhort our Nepalese brethren to organise a Hindu Sabha in Nepal and send to the next session of the Hindu Mahasabha delegates who may be able to take part in deliberations dealing with social and sectarian questions and with *sangathan*. The *Hamdam* says that the subject nations have now well realised that the awakening will come through repression and coercion only and without a general awakening the goal of liberty cannot be reached. A little foresight would have shown to British statesmen that a policy of repression is prejudicial to their own imperialistic interests and the bitter feelings and ill-will which it gives rise to among the subject nations are a deadly poison for the ruling nation. The *Vartman* apprehends a war in Asia as the result of the new Anglo-American alliance and the establishment of a naval base at Singapore and remarks that it is a settled fact that the next war will be closely bound up with the future of India, and that if England and America become unanimous there will be no delay in declaring it. The same paper publishes an article from Ras Behari Bose from Japan in which he writes : The Singapore naval base is a pistol aimed at Japan with a view to swallow China. The object of the establishment of this base is not only to crush Japan and China, but also to dominate over other Asiatic nations and perpetuate the slavery of India. But India has sufficiently awakened through Mahatma Gandhi's movement and the activities of the Swaraj party. India should not send one single soldier or gun to help in the fulfilment of Britain's wicked design at Singapore. Indian leaders should proclaim it to the world that they have nothing to do with this action of the British.

LUCKNOW :
The 7th February, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 7 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 14th February, 1925.

Situation in Europe.

REFERRING to the British note to France with regard to the debt question the *Pioneer* says that this note constitutes a remarkably generous offer can hardly be disputed. The French have somewhat misrepresented the British offer in their contention that the less Germany pays the more they will have to pay. A fairer way of putting it would be to lay stress on the fact that the more Germany pays the less France will have to pay. The conflict of opinion as to the precise interpretation to be placed on the principle embodied in the Balfour Note seems to preclude the possibility of an early settlement. It will be seen that a settlement of the question is beset with difficulties, though the friendly spirit shown by both French and British statesmen at the Paris Conference affords grounds for hoping that these will not prove insuperable. The *Leader* has no doubt that from the point of view from which the British public has looked at the question of the repayment of the debt which France owes to Britain, the offer contained in the British note is a generous one. In another leading article headed "An indefensible position" the same paper observes: The comments of the French press on the British note regarding the Franco-British debt indicate the difficulties in the way of an early settlement of the question. While Britain did not, nor perhaps America either, join the war through wholly altruistic motives and that the former, in making the stupendous sacrifices it did was strongly influenced by the desire to safeguard its own imperial interests, this fact cannot in the least afford any justification for the extremely selfish attitude of France. Far from feeling grateful to Britain for the crowning victory which it was able to achieve over Germany with the assistance of the British Empire and British credit, the French Government are drawing fine distinctions between commercial and political debts and have adopted an attitude which can only be described as being opposed to national honour as also to national security. Unless it abandons this attitude and accepts the principle of the very fair British proposals with good grace it may feel assured that in future in the hour of need it will receive no financial, military or naval help from Britain or America and thus its shortsighted policy of security will bring on its own nemesis. If the light of truth does not dawn on France it will be destroyed by its own suicidal policy. Under the heading "Tangle of inter-allied debts" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The latest British note to France with regard to the debt question is rightly characterised as a generous offer which brings the repayment of France's debt to England within the range of practical politics. Nothing could have been more generous than the Balfour Note as regards France. Britain has brought down her claims to an irreducible minimum. One wonders when and where all this tangle is likely to end. If France will meet the offer in the same spirit as that in which it is sent and a new basis for American co-operation with Europe is established it is all well and good otherwise Europe may again plunge in a chaos.

The International Opium Conference.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: America's withdrawal from the Opium Conference is at once a protest against the waste of time and absolute insincerity of the entire show. The fraud, in fact, was too transparent; some Powers were unwilling to sacrifice the advantages of the income from opium. America has done several great services to the cause of civilisation; nothing has been greater than this contemptuous gesture against insincere verbiage and fraudulent benevolence which have sickened all careful observers of the Opium Conference proceedings. The *Bhoot* says that Lord Cecil's advocacy of the retention of opium cultivation in India need not cause surprise to anybody seeing that his Lordship is a mere tool in the hands of the same British Government which in its greed for money forced the whole of China to become opium-eater and left no mean act undone in order to further this scheme.

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Spain and Morocco.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* exhorts the Indian Musalmans to respond liberally to the appeal made by His Highness Sir Agha Khan and the Right Hon'ble Justice Ameer Ali for the relief of the Riffs and to subscribe to the relief fund started by the *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore emphasising that the Riffs stand in need of immediate relief as Spain still covets their land and the exigencies of the situation leave them no time to attend to their internal affairs.

The Albanian Republic.

The *Rohilkhand Gazette* hails with delight the establishment of a Republic in Albania. It comemnds the spirit of independence displayed by the Albanians and prays for the prosperity and the stability of the Republic.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Success* says that of such cardinal importance is the present political situation in the Hedjaz that a study of the same is imperative. To Islam it is a question upon the solution of which hinge many of all-important problems very closely connected with interests of every Musalman whether he belongs to Cairo or Calcutta. The entire Islamic world is directly connected with even the most insignificant incident that occurs in the Hedjaz today. Let alone the intentions of the various political praties the foremost duty of every Musalman today is to do his utmost in putting a stop to the bloodshed on the holy soil. Commenting on the refusal of Ibn Saud to interview the Indian deputation in connection with the management of the Muslim holy places the *Aj* remarks: This is but natural. So long as the Indian Musalmans do not think themselves to be the sons of India and give proof of their political existence no nation can have any dealings with them. The Indian Musalmans overlook this fact. They disregard their own country and want to make other Muslim nations their own. They have repeatedly failed in their attempts and it were better if they took a lesson now and gave up their extra-territorial patriotism. Hindu-Muslim unity and the freedom of India are indispensable for the protection of Islam.

Commonwealth of India Bill.

The *Leader* records its sense of grateful appreciation of the vast labour that contributed to the making of the draft by Dr. Besant of the Commonwealth of India Bill, and says: If on careful and detailed examination it is found that the draft Bill, for all the conscientious care bestowed upon it, is defective in several respects, this does not detract from the credit due to Dr. Besant. Probably it will be found to be more convenient for Indian reformers to put forward a scheme in a series of propositions as was done in 1916 and to leave to expert draftsmen their translation into precise legal terminology. The *Hamdam* holds that the Commonwealth of India Bill on which Mrs. Besant is laying such stress has no chance of being accepted by the British Parliament. It, however, agrees with Mrs. Besant that by drafting a unanimous scheme of *swaraj* the Indians should disarm the bureaucracy of the plea which it often puts forward that there is no unanimity amongst the Indians as to the kind of *swaraj* they want.

Indians in the Colonies.

Referring to Mr. Gandhi's views that a vigorous *satyagraha* campaign is needed to meet the situation, the *Leader* remarks: His own passive resistance in South Africa yielded only temporary results and the fact that everything won by him and more has been lost does not encourage the hope that the adoption of his methods will bring about a lasting solution. Referring to the debate in the Legislative Assembly the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is impossible for anyone to read the speech delivered by Mr. Graham in reply to the resolution on Tanganyika without a feeling of pity for the Government that could so unblushingly speak to us in the spirit of the Boer of Africa. The debate and the vote on the resolution distinctly proved that the patience of the people of this country had been sorely tried. There has been, of late, woeful relaxation in the treatment of the various problems that arise in connection with Indians overseas. We insist that our Government must take up our cause and not plead for Tanganyika and South Africa. If the Government were wise they would mark and profit by determined attitude of the Assembly in such matters and cease repeating the irritating *mantram* of "representation." The *Aj* remarks: We hope our leaders will not repose faith in the sweet words of Lord Reading regarding domiciled Indians. The Government of India were formerly opposed to the reservation of the entire highlands in Kenya for the Whites but it now appears that it has secretly played false to India and has recognised the special rights of the Whites with regard to the highlands.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Gyan Shakti* says that it was all a diplomatic move on the part of the Muhammadans to obtain the support of the Hindus in the Khilafat agitation. All the talk of love and unity at that time on the part of the Muhammadans was intended to serve their own selfish ends. If the Hindu realise this they can improve their condition even now without being deluded any more by sophistry.

All-Parties Conference.

In an article headed "Communal representation" the *Leader* observes that it is a position accepted by many, although approved by fewer, that communal representation should continue for as long as the Muslims did not say that they no longer wanted it. It is a very difficult and delicate position in which Indian nationalists find themselves. Should they boldly declare themselves against the continuance of the separatist arrangements, they run the risk of alienating an overwhelming body of even advanced Muslim opinion, of which Mr. Jinnah may still be taken as the exponent, albeit he has for a little time lamentably imbibed the accents of a communalist and only feebly whispers true national sentiments. Thereby they add enormously to the lions in the path of *swaraj*. If for this reason they were to make a fresh compromise with what they believe to be a bad thing, they find themselves faced by so many new demands which never can be settled. The situation illustrates the unwisdom of "illegitimate compromises" for the sake of a passing advantage. The area over which communalism and separatism extend should not be enlarged. It is far more in the public interest that we should wait and watch in the hope that the combined wisdom and patriotism of the public men who will re-assemble in Delhi at the end of the month may not fail to reach agreed conclusions marked by moderation and equity and acceptable to temperate and reasonable men in both communities. The *Hamdam* is gratified that the committee appointed by the conference has accepted the principle of communal representation. It says that while in Bengal and the Punjab the system of mixed electorate can be adopted it is imperative that the system of separate electorate should be applied to those provinces where the Musalmans are in a minority. In another article the same paper asserts that all sections of the Muslim community are unanimously in favour of the retention of communal representation and that no Muslim leader however popular and respected he may be can dissuade the community from demanding separate representation. In yet another article the same paper supports Mr. Jinnah in demanding the amendment of the Lucknow Pact with a view to giving to the Musalmans due representation in the legislatures and local bodies and in public services in accordance with their importance and numerical strength in different provinces. The *Vartman* remarks that by accepting the principle of communal representation the All-Parties Conference has committed itself to a position from which it cannot come out successfully. At the bottom of this anti-national principle lie such selfish and despicable aspirations as can never be fulfilled by any agreement whatsoever.

Bengal Ordinance.

Referring to the Bengal Ordinance debate in the Legislative Assembly the *Leader* says: It is useless for the supporters of the Ordinance to make vilification of critics do duty for argument. It would be wiser for them to recognise the extent and the intensity of the opposition to that special legislation not only in Bengal but throughout India and also the complete failure of a whole series of repressive laws beginning with the year 1897 to achieve their professed object, and to set about sincerely and earnestly to apply those constructive remedies, political and economic, which alone can be an effective and enduring cure of a chronic situation steadily growing worse. The *Weekly Observer* says: Were a continuance of such defeats on matters affecting the peace and tranquillity of the country at large or any part of it to become the principal feature of such discussions in the Legislative Assembly in future the outlook would become extremely grave, as it would show the farcical nature of the Legislature's so-called responsibility, besides emphasising the apparent futility of the Government's attempt to placate the politicians. After all, if the ultimate results of these Council debates were to be nothing but government by certification, none could shut his eyes to the obvious fact of the failure of the Reforms. Under such circumstances, any kind of responsible government or *swaraj* would be a mere chimera. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the certification of the Bengal Ordinance Bill, despite its rejection in the Council, shows what value Government attaches to the councils. The indiscriminate repression practised by the Government after the enforcement of the Bengal Ordinance has only victimised the Swarajists and has failed to reach the real revolutionaries. The Viceroy

should know that brickbats thrown in the dark will hurt himself and cannot check the march of the country towards *swaraj*.

Legislative Assembly.

In an article headed "The Legislature and the Indian Railways" the *Pioneer* writes: The creation of the Central Railway Advisory Council and its off-shoots, the Local Advisory Committees, marks a definite attempt on the part of the Government to keep the Board in the closest possible touch with public opinion. It is, therefore, a matter for serious notice that within the last few days the Commerce Member has had to give expression to more than one warning of the danger of undue interference by the Legislature in the administration of the railways. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that if the railways are to perform their function of giving the public a cheap and efficient means of transportation, their management must be allowed to exercise freely and fairly its expert knowledge of railway problems, which include the handling and control of large bodies of men of all grades and capabilities. The *Leader* regrets that Mr. Patel's Bill for the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code so as to do away with advantages given to colonial whites over Indians in criminal trials in India, should not have succeeded. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: Government in India depends on its force not on popular approval. The mandated majority in the Assembly may vote and voice what they like; the Government knows what it wants and would not be argued into reason or justice. The budget is coming. The Swarajist menace last year cast a shadow over the Government and shattered its prestige throughout the world. This year the Government stands for naked repression. It would be fatal for any Swarajist to sacrifice any principle in a fight with repression for the purpose of conciliating Jinnahs and Rangacharis. Referring to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's speech on Mr. Patel's Bill the paper says: To have made a speech as the one for which the leader of the Swarajist party had to castigate the money bag from Bombay was a disgrace to any Indian. The poor man cannot understand the difference between self-respect and retaliation. Politicians who hope to barter national rights for official favours might study the superb speech of the Panditjee. In an article headed "Postal employees' grievances" the same paper says: The reply on behalf of the Government by Sir B. Mitra to the resolution on the grievances of postal employees is surely not calculated to put heart into that class of hard-working and honest men. Referring to the Hon'ble Raja Rampal Singh's resolution on military training, the paper is glad to notice that the Commander-in-Chief was able to hold forth some promise, what it is will be known in less than a fortnight. We sincerely hope that a stone will not be thrown at the Raja when he is asking for bread; if the Commander-in-Chief should surprise us with a faint imitation of his wonderful scheme of Indianising the Army and formulate a plan by which one-hundredth of our young men in the universities would have facilities in the short space of three hundred years. Every time that the question of fitting the people of this country for military service comes up and the Government is confronted with a direct question, we have failed to get the correct answer. The *Aj* refers to Mr. Patel's Bill regarding the repeal of repressive measures and remarks: The Government should give up its method of administering the country, establishing peace and protecting the lives of the citizens and the officials with the help of old and undesirable regulations. The régime of these regulations is the miniature of Martial Law. It is only when universal dissatisfaction prevails in the country that these regulations are enforced. Let the Government first admit the existence of universal dissatisfaction and then think of carrying on the administration with the help of arbitrary regulations. To call its administration popular and yet to rule by a century old regulations is at least disingenuous if nothing else. The *Anand* says that there is no organised revolutionary party in the country and that the propaganda of a few misguided anarchists can have no effect on the people. Government should repeal the repressive laws and thereby show that it attaches no value to anarchists who will disappear of themselves for want of support from any quarters.

British Empire Exhibition.

Commenting on the final report on the United Provinces Court of the Indian Pavilion of the British Empire Exhibition the *Pioneer* says: The report testifies to the remarkable interest taken in Indian articles by visitors. The *Leader* congratulates the secretaries on their excellent report and on the admitted success of the United Provinces Court, which was largely due to their indefatigable exertions. Whatever one might think of Indian participation in the Exhibition on political grounds, due to the

disgraceful Kenya decision of the British Government, there can be no two opinions that Mr. Madan Mohan Sinha amply justified his selection as the secretary of the United Provinces Court.

Malabar Hill tragedy.

The *Muslim Views* says: The murder of Abdul Qadir Bawla at Bombay has sent a thrill of horror throughout all Muslim India. The *Aj* refers to the press comments on the alleged complicity of the Maharaja of Indore in the Bombay murder and remarks: Our contemporaries ought to know that the matter is still *sub judice* and that it is an offence to hold one guilty before trial. Is it not a matter for surprise and regret that in the face of the injustice meted out to the ex-Maharaja of Nabha we should ourselves be anxious to sacrifice one more State at the altar of Reading justice? On account of his independent-mindedness the Maharaja of Indore has become the object of bureaucratic wrath. We fear that finding public opinion to be hostile to him the Government of India may mete out the same treatment to him as it did to the ex-Maharaja of Nabha. The heir-apparent of Indore is a minor, and if the Maharaja of Indore is dethroned the State will fall into the hands of the bureaucracy. Even the thought of it is unbearable to us. We know that the majority of the States are badly administered. But even knowing this, we do not wish that the Indian States may be destroyed and bureaucratic administration established in their place. Indian States whether good or bad are ours. When we get an opportunity we will improve them. We do not want to hand them over to the foreigners. In all disputes between the Indian States and the bureaucracy we must side with the former, and in those between the States and their subjects we must side with the latter. The *Haqiqat* views with suspicion the appointment of Sir Sivaswami Iyer to a high post in the Indore State and insinuates that the Maharaja is now trying to screen the real culprits responsible for the murder of Mr. Bawla and to influence through Sir Sivaswami Iyer the decision of the Government.

National schools.

Referring to the decision of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to close down the Arts courses of the "National" College, Bombay, the *Pioneer* says: The popularity of such institutions, even among the young hot-heads of the non-cooperation movement, has long been on the wane, and pupils and their parents have become thoroughly disillusioned. Lapse of time and an opportunity for sober reflection have convinced the young men and their parents that the solid advantages to be derived from the education provided in the Government schools and colleges are not lightly to be cast aside. The *Leader* says: We are not surprised, and we frankly do not regret, that there is a "paucity of students" at the Bombay "National College" and that in consequence its "Art courses" will be closed down. Nor are we surprised, neither do we regret, that the Marathi "National School" is to be closed and, probably, the Gujarati "National School" as well. These institutions were the constructive expression of the rebel movement against the universities, colleges and schools which form the established educational system of the land, which with its many and grave defects has produced the present national awakening in India. Thousands of young men were led astray by the patriots and most of them have lived to be sadder man—may we hope, wiser too? The truth is that the problem of national emancipation is too difficult and complex to be solved in a frenzied moment by passion and prejudice. It requires an infinite amount of wise thought and patient toil, of which the whirlwind campaign of 1921 was the very negation.

Kohat affairs.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is pathetic to read that the Kohat Muslims insulted Mahatma Gandhi by ignoring his presence to effect a settlement between Hindus and Musalmans. The alleged settlement through Government intervention is evidently very pleasing to the ruffian elements in that place that laid Hindu houses low and beggared the Hindu rich. The Hindus are, as it is, helpless. The world is told that there has been a settlement and the Government does not care—unless, when the next riot breaks out, they generously come forward to provide special trains for Hindus to get away. Gandhi has been dreaming till now when he talked of union. Union is certainly impossible with the specimens that he saw at Kohat.

Indian Communist party.

Mr. Satya Bhakta writing in the *Vartman* refers to the Council question of Mr. Paliwal whether the Indian Communist party was legal or illegal, which could not be put in the last Council session and remarks: It is apparent that the Government is trying to

put off this question but ultimately it will have to make this point clear. If for this work (for becoming the member of the Communist party) even a few persons have to go to jail it does not matter because without such a thing no organisation can become strong.

Revolutionary propaganda.

The *Oudh Akhbar* refers to the debate in the Assembly regarding the seditious leaflets recently distributed at Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, Amritsar and other places and remarks: We do not see anything objectionable in the extracts read out by the Home Member in the Assembly. The new party on whose behalf the leaflets are purported to have been distributed should not be all the more provoked by condemnation of its activities but it should be appeased by the adoption of a statesmanlike and sympathetic attitude. The *Nizam-i-Alam* infers from the distribution of seditious leaflets that the revolutionaries are carrying on their activities fearlessly. It asks the Government to take special and precautionary measures and impose effective restrictions on their activities so that the innocent people may be protected from the misdeeds of the rebels.

LUCKNOW:
The 14th February, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 8 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 21st February, 1925.

The Hedjaz deputation.

THE *Medina* deplores the failure of the Hedjaz deputation and says that Amir Ali, the son of the treacherous Sharif, relying on the support of his British patrons, has dashed to the ground all hopes regarding a united decision of the Muslim world. British supremacy is sure to prevail if this treacherous member of the Sharif's family succeeds in establishing his rule over the Hedjaz.

Turkey and Balkan States.

The *Hamdam* sounds a note of warning to the British Government that whatever may be the hue and cry of the Balkan States over the expulsion of the Greek Patriarch from Constantinople it should see that no military demonstrations are made in the Balkans against the Turks or else the Muslim powers which look upon the British Government with a suspicious eye will hold it blamable for it and it will be difficult to control the feelings of the Indian Musalmans.

Afghanistan.

Referring to the persecution of the Ahmadis in Afghanistan the *Sucess* writes: Kabul has run amok. The rude Afghan is mercilessly aggressive. He has little respect for life. He does not know what is law. The gruesome atrocities from which shudder our tender and merciful nature, are everyday routine with the cruel Kabuli. The butchering of innocent and helpless persons is a glorious sport for the Afghan. To those who have some experience of the life in Kabul it would be perfectly true that a foreigner's life is safer in the claws of a Bengal tiger than in the city of Kabul. Butchery is the hallmark of Kabul. Cruelty is its birthright. Lawlessness is its working principle. Brutal crime is the order of the day in the Amir's capital. The paper concludes the article with the remark: It is a sad contrast that while St. Paul's Cathedral tolerates the piercing voice of the Muazzin, Amanullah Khan, born a Muslim, called a Muslim, and eulogised as a Muslim should behave in the utterly shameful manner as he has done. Allah! have mercy on Thy servants the Muslims.

Russo-Japanese agreement.

The *Nejat* remarks that the recent Russo-Japanese agreement has seriously disturbed European politics. In view of the fact that nearly all the Eastern nations have come under Bolshevik influence it would not be out of place to hazard the opinion that the East has now been saved for a long time from foreign interference. It is at any rate certain that the continuance of a favourable atmosphere for Britain in the East is now impossible.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on the *Muslim Outlook's* article headed "Hindu Raj" the *Leader* remarks: In our view there is no better method of obtaining self-government and of retaining it than by the subordination of communal to national interests and the development of a political consciousness which transcends the barriers of race and religion. The right ideal to be pursued by both communities is that of cooperation and not of domination. If there are Hindus who think that the salvation of the country lies in a Hindu *raj* they are equally mistaken. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Muslims are stampeding into the bureaucratic parlour. As for the Hindus, they must tremble because of Muhammad Ali's invitation to Turkey and Afghanistan. Muhammad Ali need not go so far as that: it is enough if he invites his Kohat co-religionists to descend on the Hindus. The *Bharat Dharma* says that Khwaja Hasan Nizami has only betrayed the meanness of his heart in describing Mahatma Gandhi as false and deceitful when the Mahatma has all along been opposing Hindu *sangathan* and sacrificing Hindu interests in order to conciliate the Muhammadans.

Communal representation.

The Hindu press is unanimous in denouncing the system of separate communal representation. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* refers to the recent Hindu-Muslim tension over the question of communal representation and criticises the Lucknow pact as wholly unjust and the present Muslim demands as devoid of reasonableness. The representation

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should be on a popular basis with a mixed electorate. The *Gyan Shakti* urges that in view of the deleterious effect of separate representation on communal relations this system should be altogether abolished, and if minority communities are not prepared for it the number of seats reserved for them should be fixed but the election should take place only through mixed electorates. The *Abhyudaya* opines that communal representation is the root of all the Hindu-Muslim dissensions and says that the poison of special representation has caused irretrievable injury to the country. It suggests the adoption of the system of mixed electorate and remarks that until this is done progress is impossible. The *Pratap* remarks that separate representation is not wanted in India. It has created two divisions in the country and if it continues to exist the divisions will be multiplied with the result that Indian nationalism will receive a huge shock. In another article the same paper observes: We should bear in mind that our policy regarding representation in councils, local bodies and services means that we want to remain for ever under British protection and that we do not at all want to prepare ourselves for the battle of freedom. Today India does not want either Hindus or Musalmans. It wants Indians who may move forward to break its chains. The *Anand* says that the Lucknow pact was a grievous blunder inasmuch as without satisfying the Muhammadans it has only whetted their appetite for further concessions and encouraged other communities also to demand separate representation for themselves. This state of things has weakened and will continue to weaken the people in their national struggle. It is therefore desirable that the system of communal representation should no longer be allowed to exist in the country.

All-Parties Conference.

The *Medina* is dissatisfied with the All-Parties Conference and remarks that as long as the Hindus persist in treading upon the rights of others it is impossible to come to a mutual settlement. The position taken up at the conference by Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai was based on want of straight-forwardness and large-heartedness. Can there be any hope that these Hindu nationalists will deal fairly with any minority?

The Swarajists.

According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* the Bengal Swarajists have lost faith in themselves. Mr. C. R. Das might have surely made another dramatic presence in the Council if he had been sure of his mind. But he is wavering. His party is wavering. The ground is cut under them. They have so far forgotten their first principles as to say that they would negotiate for ministry if the Ordinance prisoners were released. In another article the same paper observes: The scene that come from Bengal, the recriminations between Nationalists in the Assembly and the hollow rumblings in the minds of the Central Provinces Swarajists all serve to point out that their days of obstruction and even gestures are over.

Bengal Ordinance.

The *Haqiqat* remarks that the Bengal Ordinance debate in the Legislative Assembly has exposed the hollowness of the Reforms but it is regrettable that responsible authorities in India and England have remained unmoved yet. The question is how long this policy of certification will prove successful. It cannot bring peace to the country nor can it beget trust and faith in Government. It will only lead to a revival of the anarchist movement in an intensified and dangerous form. The *Medina* welcomes with delight the rejection of the Bengal Ordinance by the Assembly. It says that it has now been made clear to the blind and intoxicated persons who want to deprive India of all the divine blessings, that the country can in no way tolerate any autocracy like that of Nadir Shah or Changez Khan. To send Subash Chandra to Burma and not to allow an innocent victim to see his expiring father are such cruel and tyrannical acts as can never be indulged in by any civilised Government.

Bengal Legislative Council.

The *Leader* is elated because the Bengal Legislative Council has carried the resolution asking the Government to make provision for the salaries of Ministers in Bengal. Referring to Sir Abdur Rahim's speech the paper says: His assurance to the Council put the Governor of Bengal absolutely in the right, and, after that, there would have been no excuse for any non-Swarajist to go into the lobby with Mr. Das's *locum tenens*. Quoting a passage from Sir Surendranath's speech in which he condemns the obstructionist methods, the paper says: His words of statesmanship ought to be reflected upon not only by Bengal Swarajists but by the members of the party in other provinces as well and at present nowhere more than by those of the Central Provinces and

Berar. Non-cooperation having been formally "suspended" and really abandoned, wholesale obstruction having been given up almost everywhere and nowhere more than in the most important of legislative bodies, the Assembly, there being differences in the Swaraj party itself, of what avail is a nominal adherence to shibboleths? Is it a weakness for prestige that deters them from a thorough reconsideration of their position? The *Pioneer* says that by accepting the principle of a Ministry appointed by the Governor the Council has administered a decided check to the Swarajist policy of unqualified obstruction.

The Legislative Assembly.

Referring to the debate in the Assembly on the salary of the elected President of the Legislative Assembly the *Pioneer* says: The proposal of a low salary was justified on the ground that it would not prejudice the operations of a future Swarajist Government which would desire to reduce the salaries of public servants. That the Assembly disregarded this suggestion may be duly noted, and there seems to be little doubt that Indian political opinion will not favour a greater discrimination between the salaries paid to Europeans and Indians beyond that entailed by the overseas allowance. Referring to the resolution recommending the creation of a Supreme Court for India the same paper observes: Some of the Swarajists and Independents alike have lately shown a readiness to discuss proposals in a manner which even to those who disagree with them, appears at least to be reasonable. A Swarajist member is also reported to have declared during debate that the Budget this year will be considered on its merits. This may be found to be an elastic undertaking, but that it should have been given is suggestive. The *Leader* on the other hand says: We cannot congratulate the Legislative Assembly on their performance in throwing out the resolution of Sir Hari Singh Gour asking for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India. It was a happy day for the Swarajists; they could so demonstratively pay off old scores: whether the country lost or gained is a small matter, while the party's reputation does not suffer for "consistency is the virtue of donkeys." In another article the paper congratulates both the Swarajists and the Independents on having taken timely precaution this year not to be compelled to vote indiscriminately against the Budget or the Finance Bill. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: We are afraid a strange demoralisation is coming over the Assembly. For the second time, by a narrow margin, the Government have been outvoting the advanced party on a vital question. The first was over the postponement of the Patel Bill regarding the treatment of Colonials in India; the second was when an attempt to assert the self-respect of the Assembly by rejecting the departmental committees was defeated. This is a serious charge to be brought against the Government. The remedy is in the hands of the self-respecting members of the Assembly in refusing to serve in such committees and wishing the Home Member God-speed with Prince Akram of Bengal. It is doubtful whether such a step would commend itself to the Independents. Perhaps they hope that having exposed the mistaken policy of the Government, matters would mend hereafter. What is of immediate interest to the public is this hasty glimpse into the spirit behind the Government in its relations with the representatives of the people.

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Prabha* remarks that the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Legislative Assembly was marked by self-conceit and obduracy and reflected the mentality of the ruler. It did not at all indicate what public opinion wanted, what dictates of duty demanded and what futurity had in store for the country. It is quite obvious what effect can such a speech and mentality have on the public mind. It will be no wonder if after this speech of the Viceroy any youth may be provoked to exclaim that the good of the country can be accomplished only through red revolution.

United Provinces capital.

In an article headed "No hope from Delhi" the *Leader* says: Nothing could be more unsatisfactory than the reply of the Government of India to the memorial and the resolutions of the citizens of Allahabad against the local Government's latest move of chronic if insidious hostility to the city of Allahabad. Delhi cares a brass farthing for provincial autonomy—it is guilty of no such common sense. The whole of the precious document in which the rehash of the local Government's unpublished defence yclept the Government of India, Home department's letter, has been conveyed is a sorry affair. It is a rebuke to believers in appeals to constituted authority, it is a satire on the exercise by the central Government of the appellate or revisional jurisdiction which resides in them. The *Indian Daily*

Telegraph says: Widowed Allahabad, it seems, will not be satisfied by the assurance of the doctor that the man is not dead: she would like to see him very much alive. We are promised more paroxysms of agitation. Let us wait and see.

The Oudh Chief Court Bill.

The *Taraqqi* praises the Hon'ble the Home Member for espousing the cause of Oudh in connection with the creation of a Chief Court and favours the Chief Justice being a barrister and urges the necessity of the grant of original appellate jurisdiction.

The Cawnpore municipal board.

The *Aj* disapproves of the appointment of Mr. Christie as the executive officer of the Cawnpore municipal board and remarks: We do not know what considerations weighed with the members of the board in appointing him in preference to a patriot like Shriyut Purshotam Das Tandon. If the board looked with contempt at the Congress and the non-cooperators it should have appointed a cooperator to the post. If it is true that Mr. Christie had not even applied for the post then his election is certainly mysterious. What is regrettable is that an elective body should help in Indian money being drained away by foreigners. It exhorts the tax-payers of Cawnpore to hold a public meeting and express their candid opinion in regard to this appointment.

Bribery and corruption.

The *Azad* says that the evil of bribery and corruption is rampant in all the departments of the Government and can only be eradicated by raising the standard of public honesty by means of advanced education, by subordinate officials being adequately paid and by the firm determination of the Government to root it out. It urges that the system of *da'is* should also be abolished forthwith as it sets bad precedents for the subordinate officials and the public and sometimes leads to objectionable practices. The *Nejat* remarks that the worst culprits in the matter of taking bribes are the tahsildars and honorary magistrates. For the prevention of bribery it is most necessary that those who offer bribes should not be brought to book and some C. I. D. men should be deputed to watch the conduct of the holders of honorary posts.

His Excellency's visit to Aligarh.

In the opinion of the *Pioneer* His Excellency travelled far beyond the scope of an academic address to the Muslim University. He put forward an eloquent plea for spirit of toleration as the need of the moment in India. In these days of communal tension and communal strife and vain efforts after a spurious unity based on racial antagonism Sir William Marris did well to hold aloft the ideal of mutual toleration and mutual forbearance as the hall-mark of the man of education and genuine culture. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It was left to His Excellency to give a courageous lead to the Muslims who today waver on the fringe of Indian politics, not knowing which way to turn. In a speech marked by beauty of thought and diction—the characteristics of His Excellency that have marked him as scholar-administrator—His Excellency whispered the magic words that must set minds at work. In another article the paper remarks: Non-cooperation has melted before His Excellency Sir William Marris at Aligarh when Mr. Khwaja presented him an address on behalf of the Aligarh municipality. The fact is the character of the Governor while it has rendered him hateful to the Liberals, has endeared him to the Nationalists not because he has done anything out of the way.

British Empire Exhibition.

Commenting on the final report on the United Provinces Court at the British Empire Exhibition, the *Pioneer* says: The report amply bears out the forecast of the United Provinces Government and testifies to the almost world-wide interest in Indian industries and arts that has resulted from participation in the Exhibition and to the expansion in the demand for United Provinces manufactures which may reasonably be expected. That the prospects of a permanent expansion in the trade of the province is good cannot be gainsaid; the evidence adduced seems conclusive on the point. Referring to the amount of business done the paper observes that the results obtained, looked at from a purely business standpoint, were most encouraging. In an article headed "A proud United Provinces achievement" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The report on the United Provinces section of the Exhibition as unfolded by the joint secretaries, is a record of which the Government of the United Provinces may well be proud. The Exhibition itself did not commend any sympathy among the public men; on the other hand it would be correct to say that a great deal of antipathy was roused at what was understood as a wasteful contribution to an Empire holiday. Direct financial results from a strictly business

viewpoint may not be described as satisfactory. The chapter dealing with the work of preparation is of arresting interest as showing the considerable work that entailed on our officers who had been entrusted with the task and the faith and perseverance with which they carried on, until they had the satisfaction of feeling that the United Provinces Court was the most popular of Indian courts. The enterprise of the merchants who took part has been well rewarded, while the Government have in their employ officers who have had practical experience in preparing for an exhibition on a large scale. The excitement of work and constant attendance before a never-ending stream of visitors has besides its own compensation.

Exportation of wheat.

The *Oudh Akhbar* thinks that the recent rise in the price of wheat is due to its exports and draws the attention of the Government of India and the provincial Governments to the immediate necessity of stopping its export till such time as the conditions of the new crops is ascertained, otherwise the middle class people will be put to great hardship. The *Surma-i-Rozgar* urges the Government to put suitable restrictions on the purchase of wheat for foreign countries and thus save the poor Indians from hardship. The *Haqiqat* writes in a similar strain and adds that the activities of grain dealers should also be controlled as they are storing grain at the cost of the poor.

Complete independence.

The *Medina* favours Maulana Hasrat Mohani's views regarding complete independence for India. The leaders of the country should once for all decide that the meaning of *swaraj* is complete independence and that no Englishman should be allowed to come to India as her Viceroy and Governor. The paper further remarks that India wants to be within the British Empire only on account of the mutual distrust prevailing amongst her people and that the time has now come when all this mutual distrust must be eradicated and complete independence fixed as our goal.

Bolshevism.

The *Medina* remarks that the expulsion of Mr. M. N. Roy from France is an outcome of that imperialism and despotism which these days reign supreme in Britain and other European countries. Mr. M. N. Roy's expulsion will all the more provoke the enmity of the Bolsheviks against Britain and it is quite possible that they may become more active in guiding the Indian revolutionary party. It is not advisable to irritate the Bolshevists before the internal affairs of all the European countries have been set right.

Political propaganda.

The *Abhyudaya* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap written from aboard a French ship *en route* to America in the course of which he remarks: Today a struggle is going on between India and England and it will continue until India has attained its goal. Indian leaders have advocated the boycott of British goods. Indeed financial loss is a severe blow. It is necessary, therefore, that we should boycott British ships as well. My Indian brethren! I tell you on the basis of my exprience as a traveller that if you want comfort and happiness you should travel only by French and Japanese ships. Here you get the best food and you are respected. Racial discrimination is never observed and the rates are also cheap. The *Vartman* remarks: At present the Indian States are again in trouble. Those princes who are self-respecting, who have the glory of their forefathers in view and who possess such feelings as are likely to create awakening in their States cannot retain their throne. They cannot escape from the evil eye of the bureaucracy. They are interned as being incapable, idle and quarrelsome. It was because of his self-respect that the Maharaja of Nabha was dethroned and his daughter was married to a Kalsiya prince against his will. After him the Raja of Suket has also been dethroned. His offence is also said to be similar to that of the Maharaja of Nabha. The Maharani of Bastar has been interned and her daughter is being married to a prince against her will and thus an encroachment has been made on the social usages of the Bastar family. It cannot be said how many more princes will be carried away by this storm. Verily, the Indian Chiefs do not enjoy even that freedom as is enjoyed by an ordinary labourer of British India. When even social customs are being interfered with the future of the Indian princes is still more dark and gloomy. The *Prabha* remarks: The rulers of India and official members of the ruled community are sowing seeds of revolution in the minds of India by their short-sightedness. Through their inordinate love of position and under the influence of false self-conceit they take steps to suppress the revolution, the outcome of their

own previous misdeeds, but it only serves to add fuel to the fire. If the rulers of India will consider this question they will be convinced of the futility of their administrative and repressive policy. But it is idle to expect such an attitude on their part seeing that they have little time to spare from plying the wheel of repression. The *Vartman* remarks that if ever a red revolution in any form takes place in India it will not take place on account of the outburst of the people but on account of the repressive conspiracies of the bureaucracy. And even at that time the country will be saved by the non-violent movement alone. The *Medina* publishes a contributed article in which the writer deplores that the Congress volunteers have not fulfilled the conditions for civil disobedience, that the country is not prepared for breaking the law and for non-payment of taxes and that the non-cooperation programme has been dropped. He desires that a few patriots should go and explain the advantages of Home Rule to soldiers also. After accusing Britain of ignoring the loyal services of the Indians and breaking its promises to them, he opines that Home Rule cannot be secured from Britain by the pen and hopes that the Swarajists will act according to the decisions of the Gaya Congress. The same paper protests against the Iraq Government's ban on the paper and accuses Britain of the policy of keeping her subject people ignorant by shutting out foreign papers and asks if the ban will prevent the light of truth from entering the country. The *Nejat* accuses Lord Reading's Government of paying no heed to popular opinion and creating a situation likely to lead people into desperate action. The present policy of the Government is directed more towards its own maintenance than towards the public good. The *Oudh Akhbar* refers to the distribution of revolutionary leaflets and suspects that it is the work of a man who is specially interested in ever defaming the so-called revolutionary party. If any such party does exist it would not be so blind to its own interests. It hopes that sufficient care will be exercised in dealing with the matter. The *Arya Varta* describes the humble life which Lala Har Dayal is leading in Sweden and remarks: The hardships endured by patriots give birth to such a spirit of self-sacrifice and courage amongst their people as ultimately brings about their emancipation. May the country produce thousands of such patriots as Har Dayal so that this country which has been under subjection for centuries may be able to secure a place amongst free countries of the world. The same paper publishes an article from Lala Har Dayal dilating upon the harm done to China by the doctrines of non-violence and peace. As long as the avaricious and savage nations are armed such doctrines for other nations are only suicidal. Those of the Indian patriots who harp upon non-violence and peace so untimely should take a lesson from China which has fallen into the abyss of slavery by adhering to a faith of piety and non-injury. The introduction of such doctrines into politics is fraught with danger. Today the English, the Turks, the Japanese and other strong nations need the teachings of Buddha, but the Punjabis, the Bengalis, the Egyptians, the Iranians, the Chinese and other weak and oppressed nations stand in need of the teachings of Guru Govind Singh and Cromwell who taught us to be brave and courageous. The *Nejat* reproduces from the *Hamdard* (Delhi) a Kumauni song composed before the Mutiny in which the English of those days are described as deceitful robbers of the ryot and introducers of all social and domestic unhappiness. The *Sach* publishes an article contributed by one Abdul Majid who asserts that the entire Muslim world is directly or indirectly under the slavery of the Western powers and specially the British. He contends that it is futile for Indian Muslims to set themselves against the Hindus alone who are as much under the slavery of Britain as they themselves are and concludes: Is it not our first and the last duty to fight vigorously that system of government which has imprisoned our religious liberty on all sides? Many sympathetic Musalmans were very anxious to go to Hedjaz and to take a practical part in unknotting the tangled affairs there, and has not the Government stood in the way of their serving Islam by imposing restrictions on the issue of passports? Can a Musalman by entering the police or the military refuse to fire at and kill another Musalman?

LUCKNOW:
The 21st February, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL.

MAILS BRANCH
30 MAR 1925
INDIA OFFICE

No. 9 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 28th February, 1925.

Egypt.

THE *Sada-i-Muslim* considers the defeat of Zaghlul Pasha at the recent elections in Egypt as fatal to the progress of the country and attributes his failure to the murder of Sir Lee Stack and the consequent terrorisation of the Egyptian people by British military demonstrations.

The Hedjaz affairs.

Referring to the struggle in the Hedjaz the *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that at last the worst fears of the Muslim world have come to be realised. If Ibn-i-Saud wins, he will not at all favour the establishment of a republic after the heavy bloodshed which his victory would entail, and in case of Amir Ali's success it is absurd to expect anything from him. The *Medina* condemns Amir Ali as an unworthy member of the Hashimite dynasty and describes him as a puppet in the hands of the British Government. It takes to task the British Consul at Jeddah for not protesting against the insults and humiliation showered upon the British subjects who composed the Indian deputation and remarks that this indifference exposes the dishonest policy of the Foreign Office and brings to light British participation in conspiracies which are every day being hatched against the Muslim world. The *Nejat* deplores the unsuccessful return of the Muslim deputation from Jeddah and avers that not only Amir Ali but other European diplomats as well are doing their best to bring about the ruin and destruction of Islam.

Afghanistan.

The *Medina* strongly disapproves of the policy of the Afghan Government in condemning to death the members of the Ahmadya community and remarks that it will give an opportunity to the enemies of Islam and Afghanistan to carry out their wishes. The Afghan Government should forbear from taking a step which may be prejudicial to the interests of Islam and the best course will be to banish the members of the Ahmadya community from Afghanistan.

The Russo-Japanese Treaty.

The *Vartman* remarks that a new conspiracy is being hatched to humiliate Germany. France and Britain are its chief movers. The object of this conspiracy is to render Germany quite powerless and impotent so that she may never be able to raise her head. It is the alliance among Japan, China and Bolshevik Russia which has led France and Britain to hatch an international conspiracy in Europe in the name of peace.

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on Dr. Norman Leys' book on Kenya the *Leader* says: The British Government's week-kneed surrender to the threats of armed revolt of the Kenya whites, and the absence of any strong protest in Britain against that humiliation, shows that there is little likelihood of the policy suggested by Dr. Leys being followed by the present-day statesmen in Britain.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the proceedings of the United Provinces Muslim League the *Pioneer* says: The disposition on the part of many representatives of Muhammadan opinion to draw closer to the Government is very largely the outcome of the misgivings engendered by the regrettable communal tension which has been in evidence for some time past. The frank exposition, from the Muhammadan standpoint, of the factors making for increased friction between the two communities furnished a convincing answer to the charges of exaggeration of communal differences which have been brought against English newspapers in this country and the correspondents in India of London journals. Referring to Mr. Alay Nabi's remarks regarding the *sangathan* movement in his speech at the meeting of the Muslim League the *Leader* says: We fear the scope and purpose of the movement are much misunderstood by its critics. Rightly understood, and discreetly conducted, it is a movement which should receive no hing but support from every right-minded man to whatever community he may belong. In the paper's opinion Mr. Alay Nabi has done excellent public service by speaking with so much moderation and discretion with so little bias. In another

article the paper remarks: We are glad that the chairman of the reception committee, the Hon'ble Mr. Raza Ali, kept up in his speech the spirit of moderation. It is more than we can tell whether we can similarly appreciate his views on concrete questions. The League has taken a more or less extreme position on almost every matter of contention between the two communities. It need not be said that those who have been striving to bring about a nearer approximation between the view-point of the two communities must regret the opinions embodied in the League's resolution. Referring to Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan's speech at the Allahabad Muslim educational conference, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is agreed on all hands that one of the essentials before *swaraj* is Hindu-Muslim unity. By playing into the hands of officials who are interested in prolonging the period of probation, the Muslims will not surely keep back *swaraj* from Hindus; they can at best help the bureaucrat to keep up the present conditions. They will undoubtedly alienate Hindu sympathy. In another article the paper refers to the great emphasis that is placed by the Muslim conference on the need for over representation of Muslims all round, and says that the Hindus cannot help feeling that they cannot give up their religious revival simply because the Muslim bully is abroad. In another article the paper says: Attention is being drawn all over India to certain resolutions passed by the United Provinces Muslim League which prove the grotesque character of the demands of the community that barely counts 15 per cent. of the population of these provinces. But one purpose will be undoubtedly served by such specific demands, adhered to with all the fatal obstinacy of communal idealism; it will strengthen the hands of the enemies of Indian *swaraj*. It is a question of time when Maulana Muhammad Ali, who is already readjusting his sails, will steer clear into the open seas of rank communalism, cutting off anchor from Gandhi who will be solitarily spinning his *charkha* and helplessly pointing to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as the sole support to the Hindus. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* describes separate representation as a fatal poison to Indian nationality and remarks that this sweet cake of communal representation has been ingeniously introduced in this unfortunate country by those notorious cooks of the West who want to continue their policy of repression. This cake has set some hungry and selfish people of India to fight among themselves, little knowing that by so doing they strengthen the hands of those who are striving to put a clog to the moving wheel of Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Sada-i-Muslim* reads in the move of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan of merging all Muslim associations into a central organisation an attempt to alienate the Musalmans from the Congress. It exhorts the Musalmans to remain in the Congress fold as in addition to demanding their rights from the Hindus they have to demand the same from the English. If we are tired of Hindu mentality the remedy lies in facing the situation with determination and patience rather than running away from the field. It will be great cowardice on our part to forget our national interests and co-operate in the destruction of India. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* agrees with Sir William Vincent that the Indian Musalmans are now rallying to the side of the Government and most of them have come to realise that they can receive better treatment from the Government than from the Hindus. It remarks that the Musalmans will be lacking in wisdom if they fail to do so as the Hindus are inflicting greater wounds upon them than did the Government. The *Abhaya* says that Hindus should refuse to consider the question of increased Muhammadan representation until and unless the Muhammadans stop cow-slaughter altogether. If the Muhammadans want to win over the heart of the Hindus, they should at once take into consideration the question of cow-protection. No communal pact can be said to be complete unless it includes the question of cow-protection upon which rests the foundation of a true Hindu-Muslim unity and the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Surya* points out that the more the Muhammadans are given special concessions and facilities the more their demands grow and their price for Hindu-Muslim unity rises at every suitable opportunity. The Hindus will therefore do well to leave the question of Hindu-Muslim unity to the vicissitudes of time which alone will convince the Muhammadans of the error of their ways.

Communal representation.

The Hindi Press continues to unanimously denounce the system of separate or communal representation. The *Garhwali* remarks that separate communal representation has interfered seriously with the development of nationalism in the country and has only strengthened the communal spirit among the Muhammadans who have so far enjoyed it. Excessive communal representation has only aggravated the demands of the Muhammadans instead of bringing them over to the nationalistic way of

thinking and should no longer be conceded, even if separate representation has to be granted to them. The *Vartman* says that any attempt to secure separate communal representation is to destroy the glory of the country and the nation. By fighting against one another the different communities allow the country to pass into the hands of the foreigners. Wisdom does not lie in fighting for crumbs but in destroying the communal spirit. The *Aj* is strongly opposed to the principle of communal representation in services and favours recruitment to them on the basis of merit alone. It says that communal representation is the path to national destruction and that the rapidity with whch communalism is spreading in the country cannot but cause irretrievable injury to it.

The Swarajists.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the Swarajists in the Bihar Council made a "gesture" by walking out of the Council—a futile performance, for the Chief Secretary was only spared thereby the pains to abuse them for their mischievous yarns. The Council voted and chuckled happily as if nothing had happened. The Bihar Swarajists acted without instruction from "headquarters," for which in the Central Provinces, Dr. Moonje, for instance, is waiting before calling upon Sir Montagu Butler to accept the ministership. In the meanwhile in the headquarters there is still deep panting after the hot contact with the bureaucrat in the same lobby as against Sir Hari Singh and his Supreme Court Bill. The *Leader* in an article headed "The C. P. Swarajists" writes: While the C. P. Swarajists are unable to move without orders from above, one of the generals has been in practice so much diluting the original policy of the party that a microscopic examination can alone disclose whether any vestiges of it are left. The *Pratap* remarks that having realised the imprudent and impractical nature of their policy of "obstruction" and "non-cooperation from within," the Swarajist leaders are now going to adopt Mr. Tilak's policy of responsive cooperation. It is really sad that men like Das, Nehru and Kelkar should waste their energies in the Councils and the Assembly. Liberal leaders like Messrs. Shastri, Chintamani and Kunzru are more fitted for carrying on the policy of responsive cooperation than the Swarajist leaders. The true work of personages like Das and Nehru lies in the direction of nation-building and preparing the country for direct action.

Mr. Gandhi.

Referring to the refusal by His Excellency the Viceroy of permission to Mr. Gandhi to proceed to Kohat, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is a pity that Mr. Gandhi is not able to help in the solution of a question that has eaten into the vitals of the Hindu community. This is yet another argument why Hindus should lose no time to organise their community and stem the disruptive influence at work against *swaraj*. The extreme step of passive resistance against the order of the Viceroy by Gandhi, at this time, would be unwise, for the simple reason that Gandhi is not wanted by the Muslims at Kohat.

The Bengal Legislative Council.

The *Hamdam* expresses its surprise at the success of the Government regarding the salaries of the Ministers and attributes the defeat of the Swarajists to the absence of Mr. C. R. Das. The Nationalists and the Swarajists are both responsible for this disregard of public opinion. If they show a spirit of toleration towards each other the Bengal Government would have no chance to announce its success. The party spirit in Bengal where the new Ordinance has been enforced in the teeth of public opposition and protest is deplorable.

The Council of State.

The *Leader* says that the Council of State has done its duty by the Government by throwing out the Bill for the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Part II, 1908, passed by the Assembly by a majority. This Council has so acted systematically during the whole of its four years of existence as to have made it nothing short of a peril to popular liberties. And one of the reforms most essential is that its constitution should be mended. If the proposal made by many in 1920 that its members should be returned by a method of indirect election, the principal constituencies being provincial legislative councils, had been accepted, the Council of State would not have become such a hopeless preserve of the aristocracy of wealth and age and conservatism as it unfortunately is today.

The Legislative Assembly.

In the opinion of the *Pioneer* the action of the Legislative Assembly in rejecting the Government's offer to accept a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to report on the possibility of training Indians for King's commissions in an

institution in India is as amazing as its adoption of a motion virtually directing a committee to report on the steps to be taken to set up such a college and at the same time to make recommendations for accelerating the pace of Indianisation of the Army with the view of attracting educated Indians. It is unfortunate that the Assembly rejected Lord Rawlinson's offer to appoint a committee, for by that means India could obtain an authoritative exposition of a problem which, as the constitutional development proceeds, emerges more clearly into the foreground. In supporting the visionary inaccuracies of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, as embodied in his proposal to appoint a committee which would omit the vital stage in enquiry into that problem, the Assembly was grasping shadows and rejecting the substance. The *Leader* congratulates the Independents of the Legislative Assembly on having recovered their soul and the Assembly itself on having definitely rejected Mr. Moti Lal Nehru's lead into the no-man's land of purposeless and bootless obstruction. It was enough that last year there was farce of a wholesale rejection of certain demands for grants and of the Finance Bill. A repetition of the blunder would have been very regrettable. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that the debate on the military college for India clearly showed the martial spirit of the awakening Hindus and it will not take long before the Hindu millions are a disciplined nation, able to enforce their word against the world. The *Leader* congratulates Sir Charles Innes on the first Railway Budget and commends an attentive perusal of it to its readers. The problems of finding capital for improvements on open lines as well as for additions to the existing mileage of railways, working expenses, goods rates and passenger fares, and Indianisation of the railway services are all of supreme importance, and it is the function of the legislature to act as the vigilant guardian of the tax-payer's interests and to see that the right policy is adopted in respect of all of them. The apprehension that the separation of railway from the general finances might involve a lessening of the legislature's control over railway policy and finance has been proved by Sir Charles Innes to be entirely unfounded. Sir Charles Innes has attempted to make a brave show of such improvement as there has been in the larger employment of Indians in the superior railway services. We say without hesitation that the improvement that still has to be effected is infinitely more than what has been. The *Pioneer* says that the presentation of the Railway Budget may be regarded as a landmark in the history of Indian railway administration. It was a singularly lucid statement of the financial position which Sir Charles Innes placed before the Assembly, and if any members still entertain the suspicion that the object of the separation of railway finance was to weaken the control of the Assembly over the railway estimates, that suspicion must surely have been dispelled. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* considers the Railway Budget, from the profit and loss account, to be satisfactory and remarks: The second class and first class passenger will get some substantial reduction. That is also the way of the gods that rule over the railways: they give to them who hath and from him who hath not, they take away the little he hath. The *Vartman* writes: Never before were the martial spirit of the Indians and their manliness treated with such indifference or murdered in such a manner as during the British rule. Only 150 years of British administration has made Indians ease-loving, weak, spiritless, unfamiliar with the methods of warfare and unfit for self-defence. The British authorities desirous of perpetually keeping India under their feet have relieved the Indian youths and soldiers of the care to protect their country. Educated Indians have now come to realise that this military policy of the Government has maimed them and rendered them more helpless than domestic animals. It was in view of this that the resolution for the establishment of a military college in India for imparting military training to Indian youths was moved in the Legislative Assembly the other day. But the opposition of the Government to this resolution shows that the bureaucracy thinks that to facilitate the military training of Indian youths is equivalent to digging its own grave.

The Agra Tenancy Bill.

The *Al Bureed* opposes the grant of life tenancy to the tenants as it will entail great hardships on the petty zamindars most of whom in course of time will be deprived of their land. It makes a strong request to His Excellency the Governor to get the returns of the transfer of the holdings of petty zamindars prepared from the *khewats* of the last 25 years which will show that many cultivators have virtually become the masters of the lands of their zamindars.

British Empire Exhibition.

The *Pioneer* hopes that it should be possible for the exhibitors who appreciate the solid advantages which they obtained from appearance at Wembley last year to make their plans

for participation in the enterprise likely to bring even more substantial benefits to them than before. In another article the paper says that although the Government of India have decided not to participate officially in the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley this year, Indian products and manufactures, it seems, are likely to be adequately represented. In view of the popularity of the Exhibition last year among Indian merchants and exporters it seems probable that its expectations will be realised.

Complete independence.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* endorses the views of Maulana Hasrat regarding complete independence and draws the attention of the political committee of the all-parties conference to the necessity of carefully considering the question of the future government of the country. The Muslims are apprehensive of their position in a Dominion status for India as they think that under it they will have to serve two masters--the English and the Hindus.

Indian States.

The *Medina* strongly criticises the attitude of the Viceroy regarding the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha, the conduct of Raja Sir Hari Singh, the misdeeds of the Maharaja of Indore, litigation between the Nawab of Rampur and his wife, the affairs of the Suket State and the marriage of the daughter of Maharaja of Nabha and remarks that his régime is full of the events of abdication and dethronement and that he is following the despotic policy of Lord Dalhousie. In another article the same paper accuses the Viceroy of "criminal indifference" in paying no heed to the grievances of the Kashmir Musalmans and sending back their memorial to the Kashmir authorities. What mercy can the Musalmans expect when the culprit himself is the judge? It is a pity that those who signed the memorial are being banished from the State and their very lives and property are at the mercy of a few pandits who are their masters. Will Lord Reading appoint a commission to make an independent enquiry? The *Abhyudaya* says: What greater injustice can there be than this that the daughter of the ex-Maharaja of Nabha should be given in marriage to a Khalsia prince by the Political Agent against the wishes of the Maharaja. This is the height of the autocracy of Political Agents. If today the ex-Maharaja of Nabha and the Maharani Sahiba of Basual have fallen victims to autocracy who knows which other prince may fall victim to it next. The Indian Chiefs should at once attend to this matter.

Proposed usury legislation.

The *Anand* notes with regret that the Government of India did not accept Mr. Yamin Khan's resolution regarding usury says that the arguments adduced against usury legislation are neither convincing nor effective and show that the officials only care for their own opinions and have little sympathy with the poor.

Exportation of monkeys.

A correspondent writing in the *Sudharak* exhorts the Jains who are such great protagonists of the principle of non-injury to raise their united voice of protest against the exportation of monkeys involving their destruction for thyroid gland treatment in Europe.

Revolution in India.

The *Naiyar-i-Azam* deprecates the activities of the revolutionary party in India and exhorts the people not to tolerate the movement as it is fraught with great danger to the country. Any one who shows sympathy to the dreamers of "Red India" is a traitor to his motherland. Referring to the seditious leaflets recently distributed the *Aligarh Gazette* is sure that the Bolsheviks are spreading their fatal doctrines in this country and condemns the agitation started against the Bengal Ordinance. It enjoins upon the people the duty of fully helping the Government in the suppression of seditious conspiracies.

Political propaganda.

Vehemently protesting against the export of food-stuffs from India the *Hindustani* asserts that it has resulted in draining the wealth of the country and reducing it to extreme poverty. It is a pity that the Government is indulging in selfishness with eyes shut and cares not the least if the Indians die of starvation and hunger. Divine vengeance will fall upon it. Instead of attending to the needs of its subjects or feeding them from its own coffers it takes away from them the products of their country which are the mainstay of their life. Viceroys and Governors can spend our country's money like water in any way they like and frame any legislation in spite

of the opposition of the Council. The *Abhaya* publishes a contributed article in which the writer, Lala Har Dayal, M.A., urges the Indian cultivators to have a separate organisation of their own to protect their economic rights and property against Indian capitalists and British officials. As regards the political emancipation of the country they should work along with other communities. He exhorts Indian students and educated classes to devote themselves to the service of cultivators and spread enlightenment among them, as the latter form the very basis of the nation.

LUCKNOW:
The 28th February, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 10 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 7th March, 1925.

Hedjaz affairs.

THE *Medina* continues to suspect British intentions regarding the Hedjaz. Referring to the terms offered to the British Consul by Ibn Saud the paper remarks: Does the British Government think that the world is blind, the Muslims are fools and the Indians are ignorant of the British nature? British statesmen should no more indulge in their habit of seeking pretexts for creating trouble for the Musalmans. If Great Britain kindles the fire of war on the shores of Arabia its sparks will burn to ashes the peace of England. The *Nejat* reproduces an article from the *Al Shurà* in which Sultan Ibn Saud is advised not to let himself enmeshed in the net which Britain has spread in Arabia to dominate it by setting Ibn Saud and Amir Ali against each other. Referring to the failure of the Indian deputation to the Hedjaz, the *Haqiqat* remarks that the destinies of kingdoms and countries are decided by the sword and not by deputations. Amir Ali's actions are quite in accordance with the dictates of human nature and no purpose can be served by condemning them.

The Khilafat.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* does not favour the Egyptian suggestion of electing Amir Abdul Karim as the Khalifa of the Musalmans and remarks that what is required is a Khalifa who may be able to draw sword against the greedy nations of Europe and be astute enough to be a match against the cunning policy of Britain, France and Russia. It is only the Turks who can successfully perform the functions of the Khalifat.

Rebellion in Kurdistan.

The *Hamdam* takes exception to the views expressed by the *Pioneer* that the outbreak of rebellion falsifies the Turkish claim to Mosul and remarks that the rebellion does not equally signify that the Kurds like the British mandate or the semi-British Government of Iraq. The attempt to start propaganda in favour of Great Britain is more likely to weaken its claim in the eyes of the Indians. The *Medina* lays the responsibility of this rebellion at the door of the British Government which is pulling the wires from behind.

Struggle for liberty in Morroco.

The *Nejat* says that Great Britain owing to its anti-Muslim policy is perturbed at the defeat of Spain and it is useless to expect that it will raise its voice against the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by the latter. The activities of Spain resemble those of Great Britain in Waziristan and Iraq.

Afghanistan.

The *Medina* resents the appeal of the Ahmadiya community to the Viceroy and the League of Nations and says: We are strongly opposed to the treatment meted out to the Qadyanis by the Kabul Government, still we cannot help expressing our regret at the shameful conduct of the head of the Ahmadiyas who should not have invoked the help of infidels against a Muslim ruler.

Indians in the Colonies.

Referring to the pending legislation seeking to impose by law new disabilities upon Asiatics and Africans the *Leader* regrets that the impending danger has so far not received from the public bodies and public men the prompt and serious attention which it deserves and requires. In a leading article the same paper says that the Bill legalising the colour bar which has been introduced in the South African Parliament raises a question of fundamental imperial importance inasmuch as it seeks to create two classes of citizenship, one superior and another inferior. It raises racial issues in an acute form which are likely to lead to racial bitterness between the whites and the non-whites. The Bill legalising the colour bar, if passed, is bound to accentuate the existing situation and give an enormous impetus to the development of race-consciousness.

MAIL BRANCH
7 APR 1925
INDIA OFFICE

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the resolution passed by the Legislative Council regarding the grant to the Aligarh University the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is a sign of the times that even such an innocuous resolution should have necessitated an apologetic tone from speakers and elaborate flourishes on religious differences. This over-protestation only emphasised the inner current of hostility between the two communities which, unfortunately, is the predominant feature of public life in India at the present time. Referring to the statement issued by Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru regarding the sub-committee appointed by the committee of the All-Parties Conference the *Pioneer* says: The problem of Hindu-Muhammadan antagonism is too grave, and the friction between the two communities is too deep-seated for any settlement to be reached by mere discussion. A great deal of spade work will have to be done by the leaders of both communities before it will be possible to remove the mutual disrtust and other factors making for disunion.

Communal representation.

The *Azad* opines that separate representaion has only resulted in creating a gulf between the two communities, and that the fixing of communal share in the Government services will be fatal to good administration and the mental development of future generations. If the Musalmans insist on securing adequate representation in those provinces where they are in a majority they should expect no concession in those where they are in minority. The *Sada-i-Muslim*, while favouring the separate representation of the Sikhs, is opposed to their excessive demand. It deplores the aggressive attitude of the Sikhs and advises them to base their case on sound arguments rather than on threats. The *Chun Chun ka Morabba* remarks that the competition between Hindus and Musalmans for Government posts and separate representation in Council and local bodies is responsible for communal tension. The *Bharat Jiwan* is strongly opposed to separate communal representation as it stands in the way of the creation of one nation in the country and thereby strengthens the alien rule.

Muslim conferences at Allahabad.

The *Hamdam* pays a tribute to Syed Aley Nabi for his learned presidential address and endorses his views that to carry on the work of political organisation paid workers who can give their full time should be employed. In another article the same paper draws the attention of the Hindu members of local boards and of the Hindu national workers to the grievances and the demands of the Musalmans set forth in the address of Syed Zahur Ahmed and points out how the extensive rights given by the new Act have been abused by the Hindus. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue the little unity left after the onslaughts of *shuddhi* and *sangathan* will also be done away with. The *Medina* urges upon the need of an Islamic conference in India and remarks that if the Musalmans of all sects come to have the same angle of vision they will not only become free themselves but will also bring about the emancipation of India. The *Sada-i-Muslim* describes the presidential address of Syed Aley Nabi as disappointing and deplores that the League is now carrying on a propaganda against pan-Islamism and holds the Musalmans responsible for the present communal bitterness prevailing in the country. The *Anand* says that the demand of 40 per cent. representation for Muhammadans in the councils, local bodies and services voiced at the Provincial Muslim League at Allahabad shows how the Muhammadans have been obsessed with selfishness and how they want to deprive others of their rights for their self-aggrandisement. Such a demand on their part betrays their utter indifference to material interests and renders the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity and peace impossible.

The Swarajists.

The *Pioneer* thinks that there appears to be a strong feeling among the rank and file of the Swarajists in the Central Provinces that the policy of indiscriminate obstruction should be modified to the extent that Ministers should once more be allowed to assume charge of the transferred departments. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the public eye is keenly on the Swarajists, the proud heroes of a faded yesterday, who courageously parted company from Gandhi with the loud boast of obstruction and of carrying fire and sword into the heart of the bureaucratic citadel. Today they seem helplessly grovelling in the dust, unable to do any effective harm. The *Haqiqat* remarks that in view of their defeat in the Assembly and the Bengal Council the Swarajists should change their policy and benefit the country by accepting Government offices. A Swarajist minister can be more useful than a non-Swarajist provided he gives up his policy of obstruction.

Bengal Legislative Council.

In a leading article, headed "Well done Bengal!" the *Success* writes: There are clear indications that common sense, and not emotionalism, is slowly regaining control of the reins of political agitation all over the country. The news therefore that Sir Abdur Rahim's resolution in the Bengal Legislative Council recommending the provision of ministerial salaries in the budget has been carried by a majority of 24 votes is a welcome sign of this return to sobriety of which we are speaking. We hope that the olive branch thus proffered by the Bengal Legislative Council will be accepted by the Government in the same spirit of goodwill and statesmanship.

Legislative Assembly.

The *Leader* congratulates Sir Basil Blackett on his admirable speech in introducing the budget, but complains that greater relief has not been afforded to the provinces. We are not at all satisfied that our own provinces have got anything like their just dues. The United Provinces have been assessed to a far heavier contribution than could be justified from any point of relief than Bengal or the Punjab. We record a strong protest against the injustice. Our point is that in addition to the relief to the provinces an attempt should have been made to deal with the cotton excise duty as it could have been if a more serious attempt had been made to deal with military expenditure, if somewhat smaller provision had been made for the reduction or avoidance of debt, if unnecessary new expenditure had not been incurred, such as the increased emoluments to superior civil services, and if the cost of civil administration had been further reduced, as it would have been without detriment to efficiency by the speeding up of Indianisation and by the more rigorous enforcement of economy. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that the budget statements provide ample justification for satisfaction. It is a long time since we had what may be termed a prosperity budget. The substantial reduction in military expenditure is largely responsible for this result, and if the executive will further consider the criticisms of the popular representatives in this direction, we have no doubt that the nightmare of deficits and additional taxation on salt would be definitely laid up. The greatest disappointment will be felt that the postal rates are still kept high. In the opinion of the paper the trend of the budget debate shows unmistakably the strong differences of opinion between the two wings of the Nationalist party. In another article the paper says that perhaps the Commander-in-Chief's participation in the budget debate was intended to stifle the frequent references to the need for further retrenchment in the Army by his expert and emphatic pronouncement that the Indian Army was the best of its kind and that it was worth the money spent on it. In yet another article the paper remarks: The impression is rapidly gaining ground that under the resolute policy of the Government the Indian politicians, who came into contact with it in the Councils, are rapidly being demoralised. When they find that they will not get everything they are inclined to reconcile their lot to something. Referring to the debate in the Assembly on the cotton excise duty the paper says: The speeches go to demonstrate the sickening attitude of the Government towards the growing industry of India. It is too late in the day to justify the cotton excise duty after it had been condemned by responsible statesmen. It is a scandal that the Government should persist in repeating pious generalisation in the face of the outstanding fact that the duty was a deliberate attempt to stifle an indigenous industry in the interests of Lancashire. The *Advocate* congratulates Sir Basil Blackett for presenting a surplus budget in the Legislative Assembly, but says: The way in which the surplus has been distributed between various provinces clearly indicate some hidden motive of the bureaucracy which wants to create provincial jealousies and which might lead to the split between the Nationalists and the Swarajists and thereby the Government may gain its object. The *Medina* takes to task those members of the Council who have callously and blindly voted against Mr. Patel's resolution for the repeal of repressive laws and remarks: How long will the honour and liberty of India be assailed and when will that blessed day come that a poor Indian will enjoy the same privileges in the law courts which even the beasts enjoy. Today the pen, the tongue and even the heart of an Indian are fettered by the chain of the country's laws. But you feel no mercy for them and never realise why thirty crores of Indians have been deprived of those divine blessings which you are appropriating to yourself alone. The *Hind-i-Jadid* resents the Home Member's reply to Mr. Patel's resolution and deplores that the Government is opposed to such a beneficial resolution. It describes those Indian members who opposed the resolution as sycophants and traitors. In another article the same paper praises the members of the Assembly for opposing the Bengal Ordinance and remarks that India has now become alive to

its interests and no amount of deceit can weaken the strength of public opinion. The *Vartman* says that considering the budget from an economic point of view it will have to be admitted that the bureaucracy has tried to make this year's budget more satisfactory than that of the last year, but whether the budget of an alien bureaucracy may be good or bad the people can have nothing to do with it unless they or their representatives have the power to control it. Until it is so it is the duty of every non-official member to reject it off hand. The *Aj* remarks that by his new arrangements for the administration of the Railways and the Telegraph and Postal departments and by his scheme to regulate the provincial loans from the Government of India, Sir Basil Blackett has immortalised his name in the history of the financial administration of India. Had not the financial department come under his supervision after Sir Malcolm Hailey's mal-administration we would have been confronted with a situation that would have called for the imposition of fresh taxation. In another article the same paper opines that the debate on the various items of the railway budget proves that the bureaucracy has taken a vow not to allow the Indians to control State concerns. The *Anand* congratulates the Independents on their wisdom in not siding with the Swarajists but supporting the Government in passing the railway budget. Their prudent action is sure to benefit the country whereas the attempt of the Swarajists to reject the railway budget would have only resulted in setting back the hands of the clock of progress. The *Vartman* remarks that the bureaucracy must have greatly relished the fight between the Swarajists and the so-called Nationalists in the Assembly over the railway budget. This fight has made it abundantly clear that the members of the Nationalist party, the majority of whom are very selfish, will no longer support the Swaraj party in its policy of obstruction. Thus the present programme of the Swarajists which depends for its success on the support of the Nationalist party is doomed to failure. It is high time that the Swarajists realised their position and came out of the Council.

The Viceroy's leave.

In a leading article headed "The latest announcement" the *Leader* asks: Would it not have been more advantageous if Lord Birkenhead had decided to follow Mr. Montagu's example and come out to India instead of sending for this galaxy of gubernatorial and official talent to confabulate with him in King Charles' Street? He could then have got not only at still more Governors and councillors, but also at Indian opinion, which we submit should count for something even with a Tory government. We regret to say it, but it is our duty not to omit to say it, that Lord Reading does not today inspire the same confidence in the Indian mind as his talk of justice created hope in his first year of office. If Lord Birkenhead has an idea that he will get at the whole of fact and truth from interviews with Governors on leave, the noble Earl is much mistaken.

Indianisation of the Army.

The *Leader* in a leading article headed "Downright Reactionaryism" says: The general budget debate in the Legislative Assembly would have remained a more or less humdrum and uneventful affair if the Commander-in-Chief had not thought fit to intervene with an hour's oration. The present speech of Lord Rawlinson's goes a long way to disillusion such of our countrymen as still needed to have the scales taken from their eyes as to what is to be expected of the British Government for as long as it is not representative of and not responsible to the Indian Legislature. India is not to have *swaraj* because Indians cannot defend the country. Indians cannot defend the country because the British Government have not prepared and will not allow them to do so. There can be no national self-government without a national army. The drain of wealth is to continue. India is to be "bled" for excessive military expenditure. Indians are to be kept down in a state of pupilage and subjection. Of the whole of that policy, decidedly the most unfavourable to India has been the military policy. It is rooted in self-interest and distrust. It has done incalculable injury to the most cherished interests and aspirations. It is for the people of India to awake to the situation, to close up their ranks, and to set afoot a mighty organised agitation which will not miscalculate the relative strength of the opposing forces, will not be guilty of the costly indiscretion of overstepping the bounds of law and practicality, and will promise success by its righteousness and its constitutional, orderly, sustained, and determined character.

United Provinces Legislative Council.

The *Leader* congratulates the United Provinces Legislative Council on having rejected the proposal of Babu Sangam Lal Agarwala that the Government should advise the Board of High School and Intermediate Education and the external side of the Allahabad University to institute higher Hindi and Urdu examinations, and says:

On the merits the proposal had little to commend it and much against it, while, even if it had been sound and feasible it would have been perilously inexpedient for the legislature or the Government to have countenanced the course of action that was suggested. Referring to the provincial budget the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The dark shadow of the recent floods hover over the finances of the United Provinces darkening every sphere of activity and compelling the generosity of the Ministers to continue their self-denying gesture of reduced salary amidst the voluptuous Lee-fed bureaucrats among whom they move. The *Wealth and Welfare* says: It is wrong of the Ministers to have not provided for girls' education properly. The provincial budget ought to have provided four times the amount now provided for education and shown the budget to work at a deficit. This low provision in the budget is widely to be misunderstood as another move to keep the masses in ignorance, and divide and rule. Unless the budget is made to work at a deficit this province with its tendency to feed the highly paid and enrich the rich further has no future before it. Commenting upon the budget the *Hamdam* remarks that the Hon'ble the Finance Member has attempted to show that the Government does not ignore the claims of the transferred subjects but as a matter of fact the major portion of the provincial revenue is appropriated by the reserve subjects. The improvement and progress of the people is linked with the transferred subjects hence it is but just and equitable that the greater portion of the increase in revenue should be made over to the transferred subjects. The *Gharib* says that the Government replies to questions regarding the Ganges fair at Ganj (Bijnor) were quite untrue. It is a matter for deep shame that the Government which makes so high professions of justice has recourse to such shifty practices. If no ladies were arrested at the fair why are the newspapers which published the false allegation not prosecuted. When the Collector was not empowered to levy tax, why were the people who refused to pay this illegal tax prosecuted?

The Kohat affair.

In an article headed "Kohat and Hindu *sangathan*" the *Patriot* says: Mahatma Gandhi must now realise the importance of Hindu *sangathan*. As a Hindu leader he must encourage and support Hindu *sangathan* and make a beginning in that direction by doing something for the help of the Kohat refugees. Commenting on the refusal of permission by the Viceroy to Mr. Gandhi to visit Kohat the *Vartman* exclaims: It is such despotic actions of the Government which create excitement among the people. It is the duty of the people to carry on an agitation against the insult done to them by the Viceroy refusing permission to Mahatma Gandhi. It is also the duty of the Kohat Hindus not to go back to Kohat from Rawalpindi unless the Mahatma has said they are asked to return on honourable terms.

Racial distinctions in volunteer corps.

The *Aj* protests against the racial distinctions observed by the Government men in the volunteer corps, and as an example of it refers to the exclusive enlistment of Europeans in the Auxiliary force where they enjoy special privileges as against the Indians in the Territorial force. It, however, urges that despite this humiliating distinction Indians should not fail to profit by military training.

Indian States.

The *Mahila Sudhar* is not satisfied with the Viceroy's decision to postpone the proposed marriage of the Princess of Bastar with a prince of the Mayurbhanj State for the next two years and says that it is not free from some political move. It insists that if the Viceroy really wants to do justice in this matter he should allow the Patrani to live with the Princess, remove the two European tutoresses of the latter and permit the princess to marry a husband of her own choice without any interference on the part of the Central Provinces Government.

Katarpur prisoners.

The *Awaz* interprets the Hon'ble Home Member's reply to the interpellation of Rai Sita Ram Bahadur regarding the release of Katarpur prisoners as the outcome of communal bigotry and remarks that the Musalmans are a source of danger to the Government. It is a pity that while the *badmash* Moplah prisoners who fought against the Government have been released, the poor Hindu prisoners of Katarpur are rotting in jail. The Musalmans are having a happy time everywhere as a Musalman Raja is the right hand man of the Governor.

British Empire exhibition.

The *Hamdam* says that the remarkable success achieved by the United Provinces Court in the exhibition was the result of the efforts of industrious Muslim artizans for which they well deserve to be patronised and praised. But it is a pity that not a single medal

was awarded to them. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that India can gain nothing by participating in the exhibition, on the other hand there is every chance of its losing in the bargain.

Political propaganda.

Protesting against racial distinctions the *Hindustani* remarks that for the work of the same nature an ordinary Englishman is paid much more than the ablest Indian. Britain's policy is directed towards the enslavement of subject nations and the development of her trade only. It is only *swaraj* which can save India from utter ruin and destruction. The *Abhyudaya* publishes a letter from Lala Hardayal from Sweden in which he criticises the *charkha* programme and says that if it is not removed from the national movement it will prove fatal to that movement. The freedom of India may be attained by violent methods, by war, by national organisation, by economic struggle, by self-help and by the help of Japan or Nepal, but it can never be attained by the *charkha*. It is not the era of the yarn but that of steel. He also disapproves of the Congress work being carried on in English and suggests that an association of the entire Hindi speaking Indians should be organised, for such an association alone can be called the true Congress. The *Abhaya* says that India now requires such leaders as may advance with their lives in their palms for the country. It is certain that there will be an internecine war and we shall approach nearer *swaraj* when we have finished it. The existing leaders only work for self-aggrandisement. It is true that leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai are true patriots but their task is finished now. The country now needs a leader who may be free from the shackles of peace and civilisation. It is a mere dream to expect emancipation of the country from persons who work most cautiously. We pray to God to produce a leader who may infuse a new spirit in the country and save the Hindus and Hindustan from the atrocities of *melchchas*.

LUCKNOW:
The 7th March, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 11 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 14th March, 1925.

The Hedjaz affairs.

THE *Nejat* condemns the activities of Amir Ali and describes his supporters as intellectual imbeciles and selfish knaves. It exhorts the Indian Musalmans not to tolerate the perpetration of tyrannies in the Hedjaz by the *kafirs*, but to boldly come forward and help the Khilafat Committee in the achievement of its object.

Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee.

In the opinion of the *Pioneer* the report of the Muddiman Committee clears up a number of misapprehensions and obscurities in the minds of those who have been exercised over the working of the constitution. It mainly deals with the mechanical processes of democratic government imperfectly functioning in India with little relation to the actual working of the administration except in so far they have brought to the surface deep-rooted prejudices and feelings of which perhaps the authors of Reforms were inclined to make too light. India as a nation exists mainly because of the infusion of that British element into her population which, coming from over the seas with traditions behind them of ordered and organised government, have shut the door from which emerged successive waves of invaders. By working for the ultimate elimination of the British, for that is how the Reforms are too often interpreted, exponents of the need for a further advance are really attempting to remove the one sure foundation of India's nationality. The *Leader* in an article headed "The mountain in Labour," says: The spirit of disregard of opinion communicated to the forces of reaction by the sad division of our political organisation into fragments, many of them suspicious of and some of them hostile to one another, the grave menace to future progress that the recent deterioration of Hindu-Muslim relations constitutes, these are factors in the situation which may justifiably give rise to the fear that not only will there be no advance but there may be progress backward. We witnessed the other day the unhesitating outspokenness of the Commander-in-Chief on military policy. Today we have the quintessence of bureaucratic friendliness embodied in the majority report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee. The signatories of the report of the majority of the Committee have shown themselves to be adepts in the art of believing what they desire. The paper concludes the article with the following remarks: The Indian report makes out a conclusive case against the continuance of the present system either in the provinces or in the central Government, and in effect pleads for the establishment of complete, responsible government. In another article the paper remarks: The minute of dissent of the Hon'ble the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad is more satisfactory than the joint note of the Hon'ble Ministers. It is of special gratification to us to notice that he prefers joint electorates with reservation of seats for Muslims to the present separate electorates. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: We must frankly warn that the Government will be responsible for the starting of an agitation that will unite all political parties if all that they would do is to further winnow the majority recommendations in the light of the retrograde views of certain local Governments. They are making a mistake who believe that the few concessions recommended by the majority would disarm opposition. The opposition will not be disarmed until the present anomalies, brought pointedly into public notice since the advent of the Swarajists in the Council, are removed. In another article the paper says: If any one believes that the majority recommendations would appease popular feeling for ending dyarchy, he would live to realise his mistake by the agitation that will soon start all over India. The *Weekly Observer* fears that the Reforms Enquiry Report will prove a veritable apple of discord among all communities in India, particularly among the so-called politically-minded, and says: The Secretary of State is bound to stand by the majority report, that is to say, by its principal recommendations, in preference to the apparently drastic ones of the minority report. This will certainly not please the Indian politicians who will see in the report another instance of the Government's determination not to relax its grip on the country. Thus the Muddiman Report will keep the ball of agitation rolling. We do not envy the present position of the Government of India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Hamdam* regrets the breakdown of the sub-committee appointed to reconcile the Hindus and the Musalmans and remarks that it is deplorable that the members of the committee ignored a question which was of vital importance to the national existence of the Indians. The unjust attitude of the Hindu leaders was solely responsible for this failure. We hope the leaders of both the communities will not slacken their efforts in this direction and will work in right earnest with redoubled energy otherwise all the attempts hitherto made for the achievement of freedom will prove fruitless. Writing in a similar strain the *Sada-e-Muslim* justifies the Muslim demands and throws the entire responsibility for the breakdown of the proceeding on Lala Lajpat Rai and other Hindu leaders. This failure will strengthen the hands of the Government all the more and deal a severe blow to the national cause. The *Arya Varta* expresses its disappointment at the breakdown of the sub-committee and remarks that no reconciliation can be effected between the two parties as long as the Musalmans hold out threats and try to usurp the rights of others. The *Pratap* says that the threat held out by Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Zafar Ali that if the Hindus do not concede the demands made by the Muhammadans, the latter will unite with Afghanistan against them is calculated to excite the Hindus and betrays cowardice and hooliganism on the part of those who make it. And those who may be led to make concessions by these threats are also cowards. When we will be in a position to ask the British to leave this country we shall surely be strong enough to ignore Afghanistan and Turkey as well. If at that time persons like Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Zafar Ali raise their heads they will be crushed not only by Hindus but by the Musalmans also.

Communal representation.

The *Nejat* says that the resolutions adopted in the Muslim League meeting at Allahabad represent the true wishes and aspirations of the Musalmans. Unless the Muslim demand for 40 per cent. of posts in Government services is accepted the administrative machinery cannot be successfully worked nor can the relations between the two communities be friendly. It is unjust that the Musalmans have been given only 25 per cent. seats in local bodies. The compulsory introduction of Hindi script in place of Urdu is very harmful to the cause of unity. The *Tohfa-e-Hind* takes exception to the resolution of the Muslim League regarding the discontinuance of the Hindi script and does not believe that the Government by favouring the resolution will give proof of its shortsightedness and hurt the feelings of 22 crores of Hindus. Commenting upon the resolution of Syed Raza Ali in the Council of State regarding the proportion of Musalmans in Government services the *Hamdam* is gratified that the Home Member has promised to give one-third posts in I. C. S., Engineering, Forest and Police to the Musalmans by nomination if they fail to achieve them by competition. We hope our Hindu brethren will not be annoyed by this decision as examinations are not the real test of ability and the superiority of the Musalmans as regards administrative ability has been admitted by Mr. Gandhi himself and is also borne out by practical experience. The *Al Bashir* hopes that Mr. Raza Ali's resolution will remove the apprehensions entertained by the Musalmans in regard to their position in the furture self-government. It is the duty of the non-Muslims to satisfy the Musalmans by supporting the resolution. The *Bir Hindu* is strongly opposed to the separate representation of the Musalmans and their demand for more seats in the local bodies and more posts in Government services. The *Anand* says that the Muhammadans under the influence of selfishness may well praise the assurance of the Government in the Council of State that it would see that Muhammadans are adequately represented in the Services, but it will seriously injure national interests by affecting efficiency in the Services.

The Swaraj party.

Referring to the action of the Central Provinces Government in issuing leaflets explaining to the electorate the effect of the obstructionist tactics pursued by the Swarajists in the Legislative Council, the *Pioneer* says: That the Government were within their rights in doing so cannot be gainsaid by anyone who is at the pains to study the implications of the Montagu-Chelmsford report and the Government of India Act. The action of the Swarajists, as is well known, has brought all progress in the Transferred departments in the Central Provinces to a standstill. In an article headed "The C. P. Swarajists" the *Leader* says: They should face realities and if they honestly feel that the policy of indiscriminate obstruction can only injure themselves, the province and the country, they should have no difficulty in coming to a decision. We are all for their formal and real abandonment of the barren

policy to which they unwisely committed themselves. But we are not less strong or clear that they must at the same time resign and seek re-election on the strength of their reformed and wiser policy. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Signs are that the Swarajists in the Central Provinces would accept the ministry and run the council with perhaps an occasional gesture against the Government but, otherwise, playing the Liberals in right orthodox fashion. In another article headed "Death of Diarchy in C. P." the paper says: The vote on the ministerial salaries in the Central Provinces Council must give the quietus to the determined rumours that had been set afloat that the Swarajists would accept ministerships in Nagpur and that their camp was divided. The *Hamdam* deplores the split in the Swaraj party in Central Provinces and remarks that as it was only in that province that the Swaraj party was in a majority it would have given a lead to the members of the party in other provinces by adhering to its programme with perserverance and steadfastness. The *Bharat Jiwan* urges that now that with the defection of the Independents the Swaraj party cannot succeed in its obstructionist policy, it should change its policy at least temporarily and utilise the Councils in securing improvements in administration as far as possible till such time as the country is prepared for a more ambitious programme.

The Governor of Bengal.

Referring to the appointment of the officiating Governor of Bengal the *Leader* says: The meanness of the treatment which has been meted out to Sir Abdur Rahim is more than would have been expected even by detractors of British methods in relation to India. As the senior Member in Bengal happens to be a non-white a different treatment is applied to him. The lesson of this he who runs may read. The arrangement is not merely illiberal, it is an insult to Indians. And we shall be very sorry if Sir Abdur Rahim should submit to the insult by continuing in office. Considerations of self-respect, not merely personal but national, demand his resignation. In another article the paper says that the argument that has been employed to justify the appointment of Sir John Kerr to officiate as the Governor of Bengal is the addition of insult to injury and it will be deeply humiliating to all India if Sir Abdur Rahim were to pocket the wanton insult for the sake of the few months of office which remain to him instead of resigning straight away. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* in an article headed "The political crisis in Bengal" refers to the claims of Sir Abdur Rahim for the acting Governorship of Bengal and says: Sir Abdur Rahim, at this crisis, ought not to forget that he is where he is not merely because he is able but because he is an Indian—and as such he ought to assert himself and uphold the self-respect and dignity of the nation. Else it would be the most usual thing for the Government to conveniently ignore Indian claims on such occasions. Without Sir Abdur Rahim's protest—not private but as public as has been his supersession—the agitation will not obtain the strength that it deserves.

Legislative Assembly.

In an article headed "The perils of Indianisation" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The explicit statements of the Commander-in-Chief have cleared the air in matters military. India, we now know, is not a nation, and that the process of Indianisation cannot go further than what, in his generosity, the Commander-in-Chief has laid down. It were better if a similar statement were forthcoming from an equally authoritative source in the non-military zone instead of these ominous whispers and subterranean burrowings. Referring to the Government policy regarding cotton excise duty the paper says: The silence of Sir Basil Blackett over the cotton excise duty to which Pandit Moti Lal Nehru referred only showed that he does not care what others think of him—there is the Viceroy to certify, and surely no thought need be given to the critics who must need clear their lungs. In another article the paper refers to the opium policy of Government and remarks: The speeches of the Indian members of the Assembly must come as a revelation to the world of how the Government of India have not done, in this direction, what both civilisation and morality require them to do. Evidently, the shopkeeper instincts of our rulers cannot be easily suppressed. These arguments only help to drag down the prestige of the Government of India. It shows that they do not care for the moral elevation of the people whom they govern. The *Medina* strongly protests against the decision of the Legislative Assembly requiring the *hajis* to purchase return tickets and describes it as a great calamity and misfortune to the Musalmans. It is deplorable that Muslim members have also joined the members of the Council to cut the throats of their brethren. The Government is abusing the blessings of God and has absolutely no regard for the rights of His creatures. The Musalmans

should unanimously raise their voice against it and pray to His Excellency Lord Reading to exercise his special powers in rejecting the decision of the Assembly which is a clear interference in religious affairs. The *Haqiqat* advises the Independents to forget for a time their grievances against the Swarajists and support them during the budget debates so that Lord Reading who is proceeding to England to confer with the British statesmen regarding the Indian constitutional reforms may carry with him the impression of the sentiments of the Indians. The *Hamdam* congratulates the Viceroy on having secured the services of such a clever and experienced Finance Member who is very shrewd and expert in financial matters and for whom it is a mere plaything to paint black as white and *vice versa*. He has veiled the most deplorable situation in brilliant phraseology and illusive logic. The *Azad* pays a tribute to Sir Basil Blackett on his statesmanlike budget speech. It, however, deplores that the rights of the Indian tax-payers are always ignored as against the interest of the British tradesmen and this preference will continue as long as the Government of India is subservient to the British Parliament instead of the Legislative Assembly. The one satisfactory feature of the budget is that no fresh loan or tax is proposed. The *Anand* points out that the Commander-in-Chief's statement in the Legislative Assembly regarding the Indianisation of the Army shows that even after centuries the English will remain supreme in the Indian Army. This means that Indians should depend upon themselves alone and not on others for the attainment of freedom. The Commander-in-Chief and the bureaucracy will do their utmost to oppose the transfer of the control of the Army into Indian hands and the Indians will have to resist this policy at every step and it is desirable that a vigorous agitation should be started. The *Aj* says that the most important part of Lord Rawlinson's speech on the Indian Army in the Legislative Assembly was where he discussed the recent alliance between China and Russia, and his statement that he could not remain indifferent to the consequences of the new turn which Russian policy has taken in India is full of venom. It is a threat to China and Russia, and conveys a warning to India that it should not expect any curtailment in military expenditure. It also means that preparations for a great war have begun to be made in Central Asia. For this purpose India has been made a plaything of the Empire. At the cost of the Indian exchequer military preparations have begun to be made in India, the ultimate object of which is to bring the whole of Asia under the domination of the whites by destroying the freedom of China. The *Anand* pays a tribute to Sir Basil Blackett for his framing a budget with a satisfactory balance. It however expresses dissatisfaction that the military expenditure is still very heavy and that the cotton excise duty has not been abolished. It urges the non-official members of the Assembly to do their level best to get this duty removed and says that if the Government will do its duty in this connection it will surely remove the impression that it subordinates Indian interests to those of the Lancashire manufacturers. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks that the railway budget is altogether based on selfishness. If the Government were to devote a portion of the earnings of the railways to the development of the railway industry in this country, to the encouragement of indigenous trade, to the provision of comforts for the third class passengers, and to the entertainment of the services of Indians in all the high posts of the railway department, it would be said to have discharged its duties at least partially towards the people. But why will the alien government do so?

The Viceroy's leave.

The *Hamdam* resents the secrecy observed in regard to the object of the Viceroy's visit to England and says that he is going to confer with the Secretary of State regarding the present situation in India. He will perhaps exercise his special powers of certification in enforcing the decision arrived at in England without consulting Indians as was done in the case of the Bengal Ordinance and Jaito affairs, etc. This is the first step towards the *swaraj* which is being given so much publicity throughout the world and on the basis of which Indians are being declared as incapable and unfit. The *Hindustani* welcomes the departure of the Viceroy and is gratified that the Indians will get rid of him at least for some months. The *Aj* commenting on the rumoured appointment of Lord Lytton as officiating Viceroy remarks: Lord Lytton ranks next after Lord Reading among the advocates of repression and the enemies of Indian progress. Although at present he is only officiating as Viceroy, but it is most likely that this office will go to him permanently. Indeed, there is no need for Lord Reading to return from leave, because Lord Lytton is in no way inferior to him in the art of digging the roots of the remnants of Indian freedom under the cover of sweet words.

The Kohat affair.

The *Bharat Bandhu* remarks that the refusal of permission to Mahatma Gandhi by the Viceroy to visit Kohat is sheer injustice and wonders why the Government unnecessarily engenders bitterness of feeling among the people by such actions. Is it because the Government does not want permanent peace in Kohat?

United Provinces Legislative Council.

The *Haqiqat* praises the Finance Member for effecting retrenchment and economy and presenting a budget which though not very satisfactory is better than that of most other provinces. It hopes that a substantial portion of the reduction made by the Government of India in the provincial contribution will be spent on works of public utility. Referring to the resolution in the United Provinces Council for the amendment of the Court of Wards Act, the *Oudh Akhtar* is gratified that Raja Jagannath Bakhsh Singh has moved a resolution for the amendment of the Court of Wards Act and remarks that the possession of the Court of Wards over the properties of others without their consent and the facts of the advisory committees being given no special powers, the owners of the property having no right to raise objections against the actions of the Court of Wards servants and the interference in the domestic and religious affairs of the owners on the part of Government and its servants are things which demand a speedy amendment of the Act.

Political propaganda.

The *Mahila Sudhar* writes: Our *Holi* festival will succeed in its object only when such a strong spirit is created among the people that they may be ready to sacrifice themselves in the fire of *satyagraha* to secure the emancipation of the country. The *Abhaya* says that the *Holi* festival teaches us that when the necessity may arise we may shed our blood for our religion and country, in order to vindicate our honour. The *Vartman* remarks that during the last six years the imperialists have proclaimed that the dependent countries are their hereditary property and that they will retain them for ever with the help of the military because in view of the next great war they will have to establish fortresses in various places for their defence. The next war is going to be waged against the imperialists and the future of this "hereditary property" depends on the attitude which the people of the world adopt towards this war. Will the ambitious and advanced people of the present age side with the imperialists? The *Aj* writes: How sad that preparations are being made in this very country to destroy the freedom of China, Japan and other Asiatic countries. We Indians are so unfortunate that we have not only lost our own freedom but we are also proving helpful against our wishes in bringing our neighbouring countries into subjection. We should descend into the field of action and endeavour to save Asia from the poison which is being prepared in India today. This can only be done by the establishment of a League of the Asiatic nations. The *Bhavishya* publishes a contributed article in which the writer under the pseudonym "Bhartiya Yogi" expresses the apprehension that within the next five or six years a terrible war will break out between Germany, Russia and Japan on one side and England, France and America on the other. He asserts that the Indians will be bound to take part in this war and that since it is their conviction that whatever country becomes the master of India its rule will prove better than that of the British, they will surely display slackness at the time of war and it will be altogether impossible for them to help the British At that time the British will either have to lose India or confer *swaraj* on the Indians. A correspondent writing in the *Shakti* dwells on the sanctity of Kumaun and says that as the English have not fulfilled the condition on which they were to rule it they should evacuate it. Contrary to the agreement which transferred Kumaun to the English they are practising cow-slaughter in it. Kumaun is the Khilafat of India and no foreigner should interfere with it. Foreigners should not live in the holy land and its administration should be entrusted to a Hindu religious head. The editor dissociates himself from the above views and says that Kumaun cannot be separated from the rest of India.

LUCKNOW:
The 14th March, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 12 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 21st March, 1925.

The Mosul question.

THE *Sada-i-Muslim* finds fault with the British Government for stationing its armies in Mosul and holding out threats to Turkey to forbear from sending troops while the League of Nations' delegation is holding its session there and remarks that the excesses of the Christian world over the Musalmans have not yet ended. If the Musalmans desire to live in peace and comfort they should wake up and strengthen themselves. The *Nejat* describes the rebellion as another addition to the misfortunes of Islam and remarks that it was planned beforehand by the Allies who are still indulging in their old policy against the Turks. The Kurds' struggle for liberty only betrays British intention to swallow up Mosul.

Civil Justice Committee.

The *Pioneer* says that the information set forth in the report of the Civil Justice Committee will prove a revelation to the average layman, who has perhaps only a vague idea of the gross abuses and malpractices associated with the process of law in this country. It is to be hoped that a strenuous and sustained effort will now be made to put an end to the monstrous abuses exposed by the Civil Justice Committee.

Reforms Enquiry Committee.

In a leading article headed "The Muddiman Committee and Forests" the *Pioneer* says: The recommendation by the majority of the Muddiman Committee that the Forest department should be transferred in all provinces to the control of Ministers demands very careful consideration. In the opinion of the paper it is not conceivable that for many years to come a Provincial Legislature would be in a position to appreciate the broad questions of practical policy involved in the development and maintenance of the forests, scientific research work to their interests and commercial marketing of their products. In an article headed "Sir Muhammad Shafi's partial recantation" the *Leader* refers to the statement made by Sir Muhammad Shafi and remarks: It will be wise on the part of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to note the significance of Sir Muhammad Shafi's independent opinion uttered as a free man, that it will be no statesmanship for them to wait until the mystic year 1929 before setting in train the machinery which is to produce a satisfactory constitution for India. In another article the same paper congratulates the Bombay Legislative Council on having passed Mr. Jayakar's motion, in condemnation of the majority report and support of Sapru Four's report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and commends to the non-official members of the United Provinces Council and other Councils the attitude and prompt decision of their compatriots of the Bombay Council. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* characterises Sir Muhammad Shafi's explanation as that of a shy girl, and says: This somersault of the late Law Member inclines one to the view that, after all, Lord Reading might be in favour of a Royal Commission. The *Advocate* says: The report has cost us about half a lakh of rupees without producing any good result to the country. The official report is not only disappointing and unsatisfactory but it is reactionary and a direct insult to the country. It is the duty of the legislatures all over India to pass resolutions in support of the non-official report and point out to the Government that all political parties have agreed upon this point and the Government should give effect to the non-official report. In a lengthy article headed "Tinkering Reforms" the paper says: The Reforms Enquiry Committee verily reminds one of the proverbial mountain in labour producing a mouse. If His Excellency wants to redeem his promise made on the eve of assuming the Viceroyalty of India, he must do something to place the Reforms on a footing satisfactory to the people and not fall in with the reactionary view of delaying the desired advance as long as possible. The *Hamdam* regrets that those members of the Committee whose recommendations were likely to be given effect to have suggested no reform in the present constitution. The recommendations of the Committee should not be allowed to affect our national programme and all the political parties should take united action. We should thank the writers of the majority report that they have given us

another chance for national unity. If it is correctly reported that the Viceroy is inclined towards the minority report, we certainly expect him to strongly support the grant of provincial autonomy and the appointment of a Royal Commission. Commenting upon the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad's memorandum the paper praises his independence of opinion and disinterested criticism. Its perusal leaves no room for doubt as to his sincerity, honesty of purpose and soundness of judgment and it is hoped it will go a long way in restoring the popularity he once enjoyed in the country. The *Medina* says that the majority report will fall like an iron hammer on the Liberals and the Moderates who in their hearts still repose confidence in Government. Will not the Moderates apply themselves to the real work and unite to achieve complete freedom for India? The *Haqiqat* in a series of articles criticises the majority report and describes it as absurd and useless and takes Sir Muhammad Shafi to task for siding with the majority. The report fails to remove the defects of the Government of India Act and the grievance of the people. In another article the same paper highly appreciates the memorandum of the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad and pays a tribute to his patriotism and independence. The *Vartman* says that the report may cause disappointment to the Moderates but we do not care whether we get further reforms or not. It is our conviction that we can get only so many reforms as will but strengthen the foundation of British rule. We do not want reforms through committees. We shall take *swaraj* from the British people directly. The *Aj* remarks that the majority report wants to complete the mischief initiated by the Lee Commission. The signatories of the minority report also do not want change in the present system of administration which is the cause of India's ruin and would be satisfied with further reforms. We are unable to support even the minority report but we cannot help complimenting its writers for their exposure of the Reforms.

The Viceroy's leave.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* disapproves the appointment of Lord Lytton, the author of the Bengal Ordinance, as a Viceroy and describes it as a great blunder on the part of the Government which by doing so has hurt the feelings of the people and sprinkled salt over their wounds. It refuses to believe that the Reforms will be withdrawn as a result of consultation between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and Governors. The *Hindustani* remarks that India is likely to lose by this conference of the Secretary of State and the Governors and that the Indians should now prepare themselves for greater repression and tyranny.

Constitutional advance.

Speculating on the impending visit of the Viceroy to the Secretary of State the *Leader* says: Will they decide that the weight of evidence before the Committee as well as every noticeable feature of the situation must compel them to agree with the minority and set up a Royal Commission to make recommendations as to remedial measures that should be introduced? If they should decide in favour of the latter course, no Indian need immediately jump to the conclusion that the party of reform has succeeded. For knowing as we do the political complexion of his Majesty's present Government, it is as probable that they may set up a Commission to help them go back upon the Act of 1919 as to help them go forward. Referring to the question of services the paper says that there is a long struggle ahead for Indian reformers. As regards military policy, it should be made clear to our countrymen whether Lord Rawlinson in his last speech in the Assembly has said the last word on the subject or his Majesty's Government have a policy less obnoxious to Indian nationalism, and if they have, what it is, when it is going to be introduced and whether it is to be resolutely proceeded with so as to bring about the Indianisation of the army within a reasonable time. We are at a critical and delicate juncture in national affairs and this is the time for every patriotic Indian to be alert, to think wisely, to plan thoughtfully, to act promptly, and to act with persistence and resoluteness.

The Legislative Assembly.

According to the *Pioneer* the debate in the Legislative Assembly cannot be held to have produced any effective condemnation of the Government's opium policy. There is no doubt that a certain section of political opinion is merely using the temporary prominence of the opium problem as a convenient stick with which to beat the Government. In a leading article headed "The Cotton Excise debate" the paper says that the debate cannot be said to have enhanced the reputation of the Legislative Assembly as a practical body. If the excise duty is eventually abolished, the amount realised by the duty will have to come out of the pockets of the tax-payer somehow, whether it be by new taxation or by the retention of existing taxation or by the retention of existing taxation that might otherwise have been remitted.

In this field unfortunately political prejudice still reigns supreme, and it is this prejudice which is this year responsible for the indefinite postponement of the hopes of the cotton industry. Referring to the debate on the Finance Bill and the resolution relating to the salt tax, the same paper remarks: It seems unfortunate that certain Independent members of the House did not realise the implications of their action, and, however much they may protest against the suggestion that they have jeopardised the grant of urgent relief to provincial finances, the fact is there. Referring to His Excellency the Viceroy's proceeding on leave the *Leader* writes: It is a twentieth century miracle if the Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee be not at least one of the problems which will be considered. Cynical contempt for the legislature by the executive can scarcely go farther and the Assembly as a self-respecting body charged with the duty of safeguarding India's honour and interests will be amply justified in showing its resentment of the cavalier way in which the Government of India have deliberately chosen to treat it. In another article the paper remarks: In the old Assembly, which included the much maligned Moderates, such petty and revengeful sectional spirit was never manifested and many a time Government had to descend from their high pedestal to negotiate *via media* on fundamental issues. But now they can rely for victory on Swarajist action against the Independents. Is it a wonder that in the face of their inconsistencies, internecine jealousies and quarrels, Government look on with amused self-complaisance upon Swarajist fireworks in the Assembly and outside? At another place the same paper says: Whatever the Council of State may do with the salt duty it will be a grievous injustice to Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab and Burma if the reduction of contributions already announced were at this stage to be interfered with. Nothing can reconcile us in these provinces or them in Madras to the removal at the last moment of the cup held to the lip. In a leading article, headed "The Assembly and the Reforms" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: The Muddiman Report has become notorious in its honest efforts to breathe the narrow spirit of the Government of India. Of course the certification will restore the grant, but that will not detract from the importance of the vote of the elected representatives of the people who are all not mandated to obstruct and destroy. What the country would acclaim as a frank and fearless statement was made by the leader of the Swarajists in his best style and with a sweep and wealth of details that must make it unanswerable. Rendered callous by frequent resort to certification, the Government have carried on as if enlightened public opinion never existed in India. Referring to the discussion of the salt tax the paper says that we can only hope that every Independent who voted for this cruel tax on the poorest people on earth would be marked down at the next elections, so that this pernicious obstruction to the progress of the country might be exterminated. It is crime to perpetuate this tax on a commodity which is a necessity of life. At another place the paper says: The Finance Bill has been passed with the solitary innovation—the reduced duty on salt. Even this is sure to be restored in the Council of State, so that the will of Sir Basil Blackett will be law. Although the august councillors have not—except the reduction of the salt duty—they have the satisfaction that they are contributing to the gaieties of the political world by internecine quarrels and mutual recriminations. In another article the paper says: Instead of the Commander-in-Chief fighting Pandit Moti Lal Nehru on the banks of the Ganges at Prayag the real battle seems to be between the Independents and the Swarajists on the floor of the Assembly. The *Hamdam* describes the vote of no confidence in Government passed by the Assembly as very opportune and remarks the vote is a distinct proof of the fact that no self-respecting Indian whether Swarajist or Independent likes the present system of government. The *Surya* says that Sir Basil Blackett has displayed extraordinary financial skill in framing the budget. Its only unsatisfactory features are inadequate reduction in the military expenditure and the non-abolition of the cotton excise. The surplus in the budget should be devoted first of all to the reduction of postal rates and the abolition of the cotton excise. The *Aj* urges the desirability of recourse to *satyagraha* in the matter of the payment of cotton excise, inasmuch as it has not been abolished despite repeated opposition of the central legislature. It remarks: Will not our legislators even now explain the position to the people and call upon them to practise civil disobedience in respect of this excise? Cannot the mill-owners themselves refuse to pay this duty?

The Swarajists.

Referring to the passing of the motion in the Assembly for the consideration of the Finance Bill the *Indian Daily Telegraph* praises the Swarajists for voting against the Finance

Bill. The Independents have religiously taken up the banner of the Liberals, making angry denunciations against the Government and yet contenting themselves with mere words. This will not carry them far. They will not, thereby, enhance their political reputation in the eyes of the Government who are ready, like Mr. Pal, to work with them as long as it pays them but to repudiate them the moment such repudiation suits their purpose. Referring to the debate on the Finance Bill the paper says: The chances of effective obstruction in the Assembly by the Swarajists are not many; if ever they transpire, it must be only in the mild mannered way of the Independents. Referring to the passage of arms between Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and the Swarajists the same paper says: What Lord Reading will remember out of the debate is only this that the Independents and Swarajists saved the Government inside the Council as unerringly as the Hindu-Muslim differences always save Government outside the Council. At another place the paper says: Except their helpless reiteration of the need and efficiency of obstructionist policy in the face of the new discovery of responsive cooperation by the Independents, the Swarajists have nothing to show this session as their achievement. The *Leader* in an article headed "Mending or Ending" asks: Have the Swarajists ever seriously thought that their reckless tactics are calculated more to end than to mend it, and says: Though they publicly glory in their policy, it is hard to believe that their more intelligent and experienced leaders do not realise that their antics have strengthened the hands of the opponents and weakened those of the friends of Indian progress, while they have not even the negative advantage of arousing public enthusiasm and stimulating political conciousness in the country. The *Pioneer* says that the Swarajists in the Central Provinces Legislative Council seem incapable of learning even the rudiments of constitutional procedure under the Government of India Act. By refusing to vote Ministers' salaries the Council are again deliberately standing in the way of any progress in the Transferred departments, yet they appear to be trying to shirk responsibility for the inevitable consequences of their own actions. The *Aj* congratulates the Central Provinces Swarajists on having reduced the demand for the Ministerial salaries, and says that the question is not whether this policy of the Swarajists will bear any fruit but that whether any such change has come over the political situation as may necessitate corresponding change in the Swarajist policy. It is abundantly clear that no such change has taken place and it was consistent on the part of the Swarajists to have reduced the demand for the Ministerial salaries. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: No one could have taken up the cause of the bureaucracy with more single-minded devotion than Sir Abdur Rahim and yet he was sacrificed at the altar of colour. It is a mistake to suppose that the Government of India is actuated by any other motive than utter selfishness.

The Governor of Bengal.

The Indian Press is unanimous in condemning the new appointment in Bengal. In a leading article headed "The lesson of the Bengal appointment" the *Leader* hopes that those whose brains are befogged and political vision is narrowed by the spirit of communalism will mark and digest the lesson conveyed by the brushing aside of the claims of Sir Abdur Rahim to officiate in place of Lord Lytton. The ardent communalists ought to know that both Hindus and Muhammadans suffer from common disabilities and that the favouritism of either at any particular time does not mean that in things that really matter to the bureaucracy the brand of infericrity will be removed. Those who ignoring this basic fact seek to promote the interests of one community at the expense of another are not really promoting the cause of national emancipation but playing the game of those who desire to perpetuate the chains of bondage. The *Hamdam* regrets that Sir Abdur Rahim's claims have been ignored and remarks that in the present system of government favouritism and partiality to the I. C. S. is the order of the day and to be an Indian is a crime which nullifies qualification and ability. The incident should teach the Musalmans of Bengal to cooperate with their countrymen and apply themselves whole-heartedly to the realisation of their common object. The *Haqiqat* resents the action of the Government in overlooking the claims of Sir Abdur Rahim and describes it as an insult and humiliation to the Indians. It is this sort of preference which is responsible for creating general hatred throughout the country and shaking the foundation of British rule. In another article the same paper advises Sir Abdur Rahim to resign at once and exhorts the Musalmans of Bengal to join with the Swarajists in adopting a policy of obstruction and non-cooperation. If Sir Abdur Rahim does not resign the Musalmans will be humiliated and he will himself lose his

prestige in the eyes of his countrymen. The *Hindustani* remarks that the only drawback in Sir Abdur Rahim's not being appointed a Governor was that of his being an Indian. His appointment would have gone a long way in satisfying the Indians and making them realise that they are trusted in an increasing measure by the English. It is only such acts which antagonise the Indian feelings against the Englishmen. The *Aj* remarks that although Sir Abdur Rahim is also an opponent of Indian progress, although he supported dyarchy before the Muddiman Committee, and although he is a supporter of the autocratic powers of the bureaucracy, yet he was not appointed the Governor of Bengal. The reason for this supersession of his claims is that he is not white-skinned. By this action the bureaucracy has perpetrated great injustice on Sir Abdur Rahim and has also betrayed racial discrimination.

United Provinces Legislative Council.

Referring to the Hon'ble the Finance Member's reply to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's objection in respect of appointment of Indians as secretaries and deputy secretaries, the *Leader* says: Unfortunately, the statement that the Government make no distinctions of race and always select the best available man has been repeated so often that it has lost all force. The fact is that the British Government have always conscientiously found the best available men only among their own countrymen. Possibly, here is one of the rare cases of the coincidence of duty and interest. Referring to the discussion on the provincial budget the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Hon'ble Mr. O'Donnell in his reply touched on the various points raised with the deftness of a master hand thus enabling the general debate to end under the best of spirits on all sides.

Provincial Muslim League at Allahabad.

The *Prabha* refutes the contention of Syed Aley Nabi, President of the Provincial Muslim League at Allahabad, that the present communal tension was the outcome of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements and asserts that these movements came into existence by way of reaction against Muslim aggressiveness. It says that the resolutions passed at the League will only further foment Hindu-Muslim animosity and shake the faith of other communities in Muslim honesty.

Political propaganda.

The *Gharib* says that the worst enemies of Government are not the constitutional agitators, but the sycophants who deceive the officials by their misrepresentations. The Indians are steadily losing their faith in the British Government owing to the diplomacy of the bureaucracy. If the British Government wants to remain in this country it should adopt wiser ways. The same paper writes: Cultivators and labourers produce necessaries of life but are unable to enjoy the fruits of their labour to their heart's content. The bureaucracy does not care for them as it regards them to be their food. Zamindars and money-lenders also do not care for them and on the contrary they go one better than the bureaucracy in oppressing them and in sucking their blood. The cultivators can get their grievances redressed only when they organise themselves and subscribe the *Gharib*, which is the only champion of their rights.

LUCKNOW:
The 21st March, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

NOTICE.

On account of the transfer of the Newspaper Branch to Allahabad there will be no issue of the Press Note for the week ending April 4, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

28*th March*, 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 28th March, 1925.

Situation in Egypt.

THE *Pioneer* says that in the best interests of Egypt it may be hoped that at the forthcoming elections, the Ziwar Government will secure an adequate working majority. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Zaghlul Pasha's statement on the Egyptian election results was what was expected from him. To charge him with any responsibility for the Lee Stack murder is to betray the Prussian spirit. But, all the same, there is the fact that Zaghlul represents to Britain all that is patriotic and resolute in Egypt and hence all this trouble.

Return tickets for Haj pilgrims.

The *Hamdam* disapproves of the decision of the Assembly and remarks that the difficulties of the pilgrims cannot be removed by making them purchase return tickets. An insistence on the purchase of return tickets can only be interpretted as an open interference in religious matters. The *Medina* regrets that the Government of India never feels any sympathy for the *hajis* and is ever ready to add to their difficulties. This law can still be repealed if the Musalmans make a united effort. The *Al Bureed* remarks that the new law is not without defects. Great Britain by imposing restrictions on the pilgrims has adopted an avaricious policy. The *Nejat* describes it as an open interference in religious affairs and regrets that the law will keep back the poor people from discharging a religious duty.

Lord Curzon.

All sections of the press deplore the death of Lord Curzon and pay a warm tribute to his achievements. The *Pioneer* says: By the death of Marquess Curzon the Empire has lost a great Englishman and a gifted administrator. His period of office was marked by a bitter controversy arising from the partition of Bengal, and by the wild outcry raised against his projects of University reform. Lord Curzon throughout his career was animated by a high-minded devotion to what he felt to be right. He came to India with high ideals and a love for the people and the country. The *Leader* says: Every one who admires intellect and force of character will deplore the death of Lord Curzon. Truly was it said that in trying to unmake a community he made a nation. Our public life entered upon a new phase and the exasperation produced by Lord Curzon was the origin of unsuspected developments not all of them of a salutary character. Lord Curzon was a man of uncommon qualities. There are few who equalled him and far fewer who surpassed him in the power and the range of his intellect, in his capacity of industry, in his learning and command of splendid English, in his eloquence and oratory, in his purposefulness and determination. But, take him as he was, England is unquestionably the poorer for his early demise. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The death of Lord Curzon removes an outstanding figure from the British political firmament. Until the moment of the sudden arresting hand of death on this mighty personality he was in harness, compressing into his life systematic work and study that entitled him to the respect of the world. India will recall in him the most brilliant Viceroy it has ever had. The *Hamdam* is grieved at the death of Lord Curzon whose marvellous achievements in the cause of British Imperialism deserve to be written in letters of gold in the history of England. While paying a tribute to his extraordinary abilities the *Haqiqat* disapproves of Lord Curzon's Eastern policy. The discomfitures suffered by Great Britain in the Near East, the increasing British unpopularity in Muslim countries and the injustice done to Turkey were all due to that policy.

Hindu organisation.

Referring to the forthcoming Hindu conference at Lucknow the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The issues which are facing the Hindu world today are momentous. The Hindu has to adopt measures in order to protect his hearth and home against the depredations of future Kohats. Hindus have realised, at the point of *lathis* and knives, that if they wish to live as peaceful citizens, if they wish to carry out peacefully their day to day duties, whether they be religious or social, they must strengthen their organisation and so "sangathanise" themselves as to be able to hold their own in every walk of life. The *Advocate* says: It devolves upon every Hindu of this province to take part in its deliberation and make it a unique one. The Hindus have to devise some means for the protection of their lives and property

against the aggressions of other communities so that no repetition of the next Kohat may take place in future. The recent communal riots have taught a good lesson to the Hindus and have awakened them from the dormant state in which they were living till now. The *Patriot* observes that the fate of the Hindu community is trembling in the balance, and it is a matter of deep regret that the Hindus as a whole are not as yet fully alive to the seriousness of the situation. But it is a matter of some satisfaction that farsighted leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai have fully realised the gravity of the situation and have sounded the clarion call to the Hindus: "Awake! Arise! and stop not till the goal is reached." We Hindus, have slept long enough. The time is come for us to be up and doing and make for the goal.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Anand* says that the new demand of Muhammadans for excessive representation in services and public bodies will stand in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity and prevent the development of nationalism in the country. The supersession of Sir Abdur Rahim should serve as an eye opener to the Muhammadans. The *Vartman* remarks that the repetition of communal disturbances at Delhi frustrates all hopes of the restoration of Hindu-Muslim unity. The fact that instead of coming to an end these disturbances go on increasing casts a serious reflection upon the administration of the Government which calls itself the custodian of peace and order. Let the Hindus and Musalmans bear in mind that it is impossible to remove subjection unless they unite. The *Anand* opines that the recurrence of such disturbances not only postpones the day of Hindu-Muslim rapprochement but also that of the attainment of *swaraj*.

Reforms Enquiry Committee.

The *Leader* says: In the speeches delivered in the Legislative Councils the majority report was characterised as 'unsatisfactory,' 'retrograde,' 'utterly inadequate,' etc., while the minority report has been welcomed and generally approved. The Government in India and England cannot perhaps do better than accept the suggestions contained in that masterly document and act upon them without any avoidable loss of time. We can only say that the Government will be committing a grave blunder if they disregard this enormous volume of public opinion repeatedly voiced in our legislative bodies, in the press and on the platform, and by political and communal associations, and if they refuse to move forward courageously, and obstinately try to maintain the *status quo*, giving undue weight to the counsels of reactionaries. In another article the paper says that Legislative Council after Legislative Council has been condemning the majority and commending the minority report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee and asks: Will the significance of this national demand be wholly lost upon the Secretary of State for India? The *Sada-i-Muslim* remarks that the object of the majority report is to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy all the more. The *Hindustani* says that the minority report is quite justified in its recommendation for a change in the constitution. The present system of government is a deadly poison to the Indians. Lord Reading and Sir Harcourt Butler should urge upon the Cabinet to establish full responsible government in India, as this alone will appease the people and remove the prevailing unrest. The *Azad* says that it is now as clear as day light that the people desire important and constitutional changes in the system of government, and if this long-standing demand is not attended to immediately it will tend to widen the gulf between the rulers and the ruled all the more and result in increasing the communal tension. The *Arya Mitra* wonders why Government wastes money and time on committees which produce no substantial results. If it does not want that Indians should be given rights in the administration of the country it should plainly say so. The maintenance of dyarchy which has fully been proved to be futile and worthless reflects nothing but autocracy on the part of the Government. The *Anand* opines that the recommendations of the Reforms Enquiry Committee show that the labours of the committee have been in vain and to no purpose. The *Swadhin* remarks that there is nothing in the majority report to prevent the central Government from ignoring the decisions of the majority of the Legislative Assembly and thus leaves it as irresponsible and autocratic as ever before. The attitude of the Conservative Government shows that the Councils will be strangled and India will again be ruled by an iron hand. The *Abhyudaya* writes: The report has caused us neither surprise nor grief, as we had based no hopes on it. But it will do one good to the country inasmuch as it will open the eyes of those who have faith in the sincerity of the Government and present to their view the real form of its officials with the result that they will give up faith in the so-called noble intentions of the Government officials.

Lee Commission.

Referring to the introduction of the recommendations of the Lee Commission in the House of Lords the *Leader* says: The people of India may be lacking in the strength to assert themselves. But they have the intelligence to understand the meaning of things. The cumulative effect of successive acts of defiance of opinion may take time to declare itself but it will one day. And when that day comes the authors of those acts will not be considered by history to have been either wise statesmen or true imperialists.

The Civil Justice Committee's Report.

The *Leader* says: The committee have, in a thorough and elaborate manner, brought under critical review the whole system of administration of civil justice and made many excellent suggestions. We hope that the report will receive from the legal profession and public men as well as from the Government the consideration which its importance deserves.

Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Supplementary Bill.

The *Pioneer* says that appropriate action has been taken by the Government of India to secure the passage through the Indian Legislature of the Bill supplementing the Bengal Ordinance Act. The seriousness of the situation in Bengal is not disputed, but while the Government contend it can only be satisfactorily met by recourse to extraordinary legal machinery, those who do not take the view that the ordinary law is adequate maintain that some other plan should have been adopted. They do not appear, so far as we can gather, to give precise details of that plan, so once more we are brought back to the Government's position as stated by the Home Member. The methods adopted by the Government, accompanied by all possible safeguards against error, afford the only practical solution. It is obviously impossible to apply the ordinary legal machinery involving publicity, which must inevitably lead to loss of life and miscarriage of justice. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the voting on the Bengal Bill unmistakably showed that the Nationalists do not dare go against popular will when there is no such blind as provincial contributions to protect them from popular fury. The paper has no doubt that the Government will ignore the Assembly and certify the Bill. The unrelenting opposition of the Independents must all the more be a warning to the Government that they ought not to play with popular feeling in Bengal. Dyarchy cannot be silently replaced by pre-Reform conditions. There can be no going backward. Educated opinion will not tolerate that a Government that seeks to go back will live to repent. Signs are that there is a gathering storm, and that the authorities are unconcerned.

Legislative Assembly.

The *Pioneer* considers the passage of the Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly as a notable victory of the Government. In another article the same paper regrets the rejection by the Assembly of the Age of Consent Bill of Sir Hari Singh Gour for the improvement of the lot of India's women, and for the development of stronger and healthier population. The *Leader* regrets that the Government adopted an openly hostile attitude against the Age of Consent Bill and says: The Government *qua* Government should have remained neutral, at the same time giving freedom to nominated official members to vote as they chose. Such an attitude would have been far more correct than the one they preferred. We hope that social reformers in the Assembly will not be dispirited by the defeat but will return to the struggle by introducing another Bill after a suitable interval.

The Indian budget.

The *Mashriq* pays a tribute to the Finance Member for presenting a surplus budget and justifies the Government's decision regarding provincial contributions. It, however, hopes that the Government will abolish the cotton excise duty which is causing so much public resentment. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the passage of the Finance Bill by an overwhelming majority was the inevitable consequence of the split between the Independents and the Swarajists in the Assembly. The *Anand* says that whatever the Government may do with regard to the salt duty it should by no means fail to relieve the provinces in respect of their contributions as they stand in urgent need of help. The *Prem* while eulogising the Finance Member for a satisfactory surplus in the Indian budget complains that he has done nothing to lighten the burden of the poorer classes. He has neither reduced the salt duty nor abolished the cotton excise. It remarks that no budget can produce beneficial results to India unless its control is transferred to the Indians and the interests of India are not subordinated to those of England. Referring to the combined opposition of the officials and the Independents to the Swarajist motion rejecting the budget

the *Aj* remarks: The Independent party has gradually begun to side with the bureaucracy. Although in the speeches which are made in the Assembly it condemns the policy of the bureaucracy yet at the time of voting it supports the officials. It is good that the unnatural liaison between the Swaraj party and the Independent party has now been broken. At the present time there can be only two parties in the country, one representing the bureaucracy and the other representing the patriots of India. The same paper says that it is a settled point that the Swaraj party and the Independent party cannot now work jointly. They may work separately but let them not fight between themselves. The Swarajists will do well to cease to take part in the activities of the Legislative Assembly and only watch how the Independents can conciliate the bureaucracy.

Situation in Bengal.

The *Pioneer* in a leading article headed "A new light on Bengal" says: If India could conceivably win self-government on the principles of the Bengal Revolutionary Party she would, indeed, look back to the days of British rule as paradise compared with the anarchy caused by the monster of the revolutionaries' creation. There is no doubt that those who consistently attempt to hamper the authorities in India in their efforts to extirpate revolutionary conspiracies are encouraging the policy of terrorism and are raising a deadly obstacle to the attainment of self-government in India. The *Leader* refers to the refusal by the Bengal Legislative Council to vote the salaries of Ministers and says: The majority of the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council have, to say the least of it, behaved childishly. There is no question whatsoever that the only meaning that can be attached to Monday's vote is that a majority of the Bengal Legislative Council do not want government by Ministers. The vote really means that until the Swaraj party and its changing and inconstant allies have a system of government of which they can approve, they prefer the unmitigated autocracy of the pre-Montagu Act to the present half-way house between that and responsible government. We understand and do not approve Mr. C. R. Das's policy. We understand and naturally approve the Liberal policy. We neither understand nor appreciate the policy of those members of the Bengal Legislative Council who were the day before yesterday with Mr. Das, yesterday with the Government and have today gone back to Mr. Das. Their lack of policy is a gross reflection upon their fitness to be members of the legislature. It is nearly certain to lead to a heavy setback under the present government. We deeply deplore their policy. Such is the type of men upon whom the bureaucracy rely to prolong the life of the present system of government, in other words to remain in continued enjoyment of political power over the people of this country. Such allies can do them no good. The bureaucracy will, no doubt, realise the truth, but they will realise it too late. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* refers to the discussion on the police grant in the Bengal Legislative Council and says: The scene that comes from the Bengal Council is the last nail on the coffin of dyarchy. It is not possible to write with any restraint or dignity of the action of the President of the Council, who entrusted with powers and engaged as an expert in Parliamentary procedure, has deserved the protest administered to him by the respected leaders of the Swarajists and the Independents.

Kohat affairs.

Referring to the debate in the Assembly on Kohat affairs the *Patriot* says: The Government are not willing either to give guarantees for the protection of Hindus in Kohat, nor to appoint an independent enquiry committee, on the ground that any enquiry could do no more than what had been done by Government. We maintain that an independent enquiry would do a deal of good. It would place the real facts of the case in lurid light and find out whether, and if so, to what extent the local authorities were responsible for delinquency of their duty. If the local authorities are brought to book for delinquency of duty, it will lessen the chances of a repetition of the tragedy.

Oudh Chief Court Bill.

The *Leader* says that it must be admitted that His Excellency the Governor was justified in returning to the Legislative Council the Oudh Courts Bill for a reconsideration of the clause inserted by the Council prescribing that three-fifths of the judges must be Indians. The theory of the constitution is that there shall be no racial discrimination. But the practice of the Government has been racial preference in favour of Europeans. It is the long continuance of this practice which led our countrymen to discount the value of their theoretical equality with the members of the ruling race and to insist upon a statutory recognition of the claims of Indians to at least

a specified proportion of posts in the superior services. It will be a further improvement if it is provided that one-half or three-fifths of lawyer judges should include the chief judge. We reiterate the opinion that the Council will not be acting prudently if it merely cut out the clause responsible for the communication from the Governor.

High prices of food-grains.

The *Anand* says that as a result of the failure of the Government to take any steps to check the rapid rise in the price of food-grains a feeling of despair is seizing the people which is beneficial neither to the Government nor to the country. It insists that it is absolutely necessary to place some restrictions on the export of food-grains.

Political propaganda.

In a lengthy article the *Nejat* predicts a war between England and America on one side and Japan, Afghanistan, Russia and Turkey on the other. The Amir is training the Afghan army and purchasing air ships which may possibly drop bombs one day on Lahore. England is afraid of Japan and is constructing a naval base at Singapore. She will join America in order to ruin Japan, which in turn will launch an attack on India. Writing in a similar strain the *Medina* remarks that such a war can only be avoided if England gives up her imperialism, appeases the hearts of the Indians and forbears for ever from annoying the Musalmans, otherwise Japan will not wait for the naval base to be constructed and a war will break out in the near future in which America and England will be the greatest losers. The *Prem* apprehends that the next great war will be fought between whites and non-whites and that it will take place either in Asia or in the Pacific Ocean. The territorial greed of the western nations, the paper says, cannot but lead to a war, as the Asiatics must assert their right of independent existence. The establishment of the naval base at Singapore and the American preparations for a sham naval fight in the Pacific Ocean are sure indications of a forthcoming war in the East.

LUCKNOW:
The 28th March, 1925.

ZAFAR OMAR,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, LUCKNOW.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 14 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the fortnight ending the 11*th April*, 1925.

The Near East.

The Kurdish revolt and the Egyptian elections continue to receive attention in the Muslim press. The *Medina* is convinced that the "hidden hand" was as much responsible for the Kurdish revolt as for the Khost rebellion. The oil-fields of Mosul are such a prize that there can be no method which Britain can leave untried to obtain them. However, Turkish arms are fast extinguishing the fire of treason which Britain is fanning. For fear of the awakening in Turkey, the federation of the Arab states and of the unrest in India, it has become practically impossible for Britain to evacuate Mesopotamia. Commenting on the Egyptian situation the paper says that Ziwar is a cat's paw in Lord Allenby's hands and every method will be employed to prevent a Zaghlulist majority at the next elections.

Haj Pilgrimage.

The *Haqiqat* urges England, France and Muslim states to press Ibn Saud and Emir Ali to conclude a three months' armistice for the sake of *Haj* pilgrimage. The *Medina* says that Emir Ali is sticking to Jeddah probably because of British instigation. The *Haqiqat* publishes an article by Haji Wahid-ud-din, M.L.A., saying that the *Haj* Bill has been adequately amended to meet the wishes of all but penniless beggars on whom the pilgrimage is not a religious obligation.

The Civil Services Bill.

The speech of the Secretary of State in moving the second reading of the Civil Services Bill has revived interest in the question of the pay and personnel of the civil services. The *Leader* strongly opposes the Bill on the ground that it increases the number of non-votable items. "It increases the powers of control and interference of the Secretary of State. The whole of the Bill is tantamount to an assurance to the people of India that their views and wishes are very far from being a determining factor in England's policy in the governance of this country". In another article, complaining of the paucity of Indians in higher posts, the paper asks:—"Is it a very right policy to let only one out of five posts of Secretaries in the (United Provinces) Civil Secretariat and only one out of five posts of Deputy Secretaries be filled by Indians? How many heads of departments are Indians?" The paper is of opinion that no position for which a competent Indian is available should be occupied by a non-Indian. The *Bharat Jivan* observes that the Civil Service has been established in India not to better the government of the country, but to maintain the British hold on it and to construct a broad channel for draining away its wealth. If the situation in India continues to remain as unsatisfactory as it is at the present juncture and if movements like those of non-co-operation, *Satyagraha* and *Charkha* persist in their full vigour, no English youth would care to come to this country on any salary whatsoever. The *Hamdam* regrets that Lord Birkenhead regards the interests of the services as supreme and India, torn by communal factions, cannot effectively protest against the additional expenditure with which she will be saddled owing to the Civil Services Bill. The *Oudh Punch* says that Lord Birkenhead is assuming a claim over Indian public money to which he is not entitled.

"Hindu Swaraj."

During the fortnight under review the attention of the vernacular press has been concentrated on the question of Hindu organization. Considerable prominence has been given to an article on the question by Lala Har Dayal from Sweden in which he says that the Muslims cannot live on terms of friendship with any other community, that the ideal of Hindu *Sangathan* should, therefore, be the establishment of a Hindu Swaraj, and the Hindu *Maha Sabha* should supersede the Congress. Proceeding, the writer says:—"It is also the duty of the Hindus to convert the Muhammadans as well as the Christians . . . . The Christians and Muhammadans must observe Hindu festivals and give up foreign customs and

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manners. Hindu Swaraj and *Shuddhi* must be the ideal of the Hindu *Sangathan* . . . . . Every true Hindu is anxious to make the country free from Muhammadans and Christians. We shall have to make sacrifices for realizing the ideal like the *Guru* who sacrificed his four sons.". While admitting that there is much force in the line of thought taken up by Lala Har Dayal the *Patriot* does not think it desirable to give up the present ideal of democratic Swaraj in which all communities will enjoy equal rights. The paper, however, holds:—"The Hindus have a double claim upon India—it is their motherland and it is the special sacred domain of their religion. Therefore, it would in no wise be unjust for Hindus if they want to be supreme masters in their own sacred motherland, in the same way as Muslims desire their sacred *Jazirat-ul-Arab* to be in the possession of a Moslem power." The *Pratap* thinks that the views of Lala Har Dayal are unpractical and the course suggested by him is unnecessary as there are several examples of people professing different religions and speaking different languages living together. The *Aj* takes a similar view and says: A number of religions will continue to exist in India as in other countries, but their basic principles will be toleration and the good of the nation and humanity and to create this feeling it is necessary to organize the nation and not the Hindus or Muhammadans. Lala Har Dayal's views have evoked a chorus of protest in the Muslim press. The *Hamdam* observes that any effort by one community to prevail over the other at any place can only lead to bloodshed. It ridicules the Lala's idea that the Punjab can be brought under Hindu or even Sikh rule and says that Indian progress can be achieved only through inter-communal unity.

Hindu organization.

In the course of an article headed "*Hindu Maha Sabha* and *Shuddhi*," the *Leader* wonders why such a large number of Muhammadans look askance at the *Hindu Sabha* when they have their Muslim League. One has as little right to object to the *Shuddhi* activities as to the proselytization work of Christians and *Tabligh* Associations. Referring to the recent speeches of Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Zafar Ali at Peshawar, the *States* says: "There is one solution to Hindu-Muslim problem. The Hindus must bundle in a corner their glorious religion of *'Ahinsa'* (non-violence) and organize their society from to-day until they are able to present before the oppressors and hooligans their Indian (*sic*) prototype who will give blow for blow with equal mercilessness." In an article headed "Government and Hindus", the *Patriot* alleges that the Government is openly preparing the Musalman in his attacks on the Hindu. "The Moplahs are no longer in jail, the rioters in Gulbarga have been released. Can we say the same with regard to Katarpur Hindus? In the competitive examinations the Hindu who stands second in order of merit is sacrificed at the altar of a Musalman who stands fourth. The result? Not only an injustice is done to the Hindus, but administrative efficiency suffers. At such a time as this when Hindu interests are being attacked from every side it will be nothing short of criminal if Hindus do not organize themselves and take action which will counteract all these opposing forces." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—"The cry of Hindu organization and *Sangathan* will do more harm than good unless the Hindus are prepared to strengthen their society by striking at the root of evils and unless they are prepared to adopt drastic measures for the reorganization of society. We must be prepared to jettison the sectional exclusiveness that lies at the root of the disunity amongst the Hindus . . . There must be that spirit that knits together the Sikhs and the Muhammadans". The *Aj* deplores the communal quarrels and seeks to impress upon the Hindus and Muhammadans alike that it is on account of these dissensions that the sword of black laws is hanging over their heads, that public life in the country is being destroyed by lawless laws and that the Viceroy "is emptying their houses" by his powers of certification. Will they not wake up even now and will the Jallianwala massacre go in vain? Hindi papers publish leading articles emphasizing the importance of the forthcoming session of the *Hindu Maha Sabha*. Discussing the proceedings of the *Oudh Hindu Sabha* at Lucknow, the *Haqiqat* says that the object of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements are far from innocent and are embittering inter-communal relations. The *Hamdam* complains that the occasion was utilized to attack not only the present generation of Muslims, but also their ancestors. Imaginary tales of Muslim oppression were recited to incite the Hindus to measure strength with the Muslims. Who can deny that it is unfair to force Muslims to forsake their religion by overawing them with huge processions and by exerting economic pressure on them?

Kohat affairs.

Comments on the statements of Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali on the Kohat affairs are communal in character. Muhammadan papers think that by his partiality for Hindus Mr. Gandhi has forfeited the confidence of the Muslim community. In the opinion of the *Abhyudaya* the Mahatma has proceeded on facts, while the Maulana has greatly drawn upon imagination. The *Hamdam* questions the impartiality of Mr. Gandhi's verdict and says that his insistence on the grant of compensation to the Hindu sufferers and on the withdrawal of legal proceedings against Jiwan Das, the author of the incendiary poem, clearly betray him to be a partizan of the Hindus. Mr. Shaukat Ali's report, however, shows that he has been able to preserve a judicial frame of mind.

The Secretary of State and Mr. Das.

The recent statements of the Secretary of State and Mr. C. R. Das have received considerable attention and evoked a good deal of speculation. The *Leader* says:—There is something delightfully intriguing about the love messages which are being exchanged between the exalted Tory Secretary of State and the redoubtable and uncompromising Deshbandhu. . . . Has the former taken fright of the latter's destructive capacity? Or, has the Deshbandhu been revising his notions of the untouchability of the foreign Government? In another article the paper writes:—"The friendly gestures from both sides are certainly very interesting, but we are naturally not sanguine about definite results. It is difficult to reconcile the policy which is being pursued in connection with the superior services with any genuine desire to advance the cause of India's freedom." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We wish that at this moment Lord Birkenhead could take courage in both hands and strike the imagination of the people by inviting to England the chosen leaders of the people so that they, with the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, would hold a small conference in London and devise means for securing the British connection and cementing the two peoples for the good of both and the world". The *Aj* says: So far as Lord Birkenhead's promise goes India is not prepared, in view of her bitter experience of the past, to believe in the words of British administrators and politicians. The *Anand* advises Mr. C. R. Das not to miss the opportunity offered by Lord Birkenhead's favourable attitude at present of securing a satisfactory settlement of the Indian problem as it is unlikely that Mahatma Gandhi can achieve anything now especially after the Maulana's defection. All hopes of the success of the present political agitation in the country are henceforward centred in the Swaraj party.

Bengal Ordinance.

Commenting on the debate in the House of Lords on the promulgation of the Bengal Ordinance the *Leader* says:—We have read every word that has been said by and in behalf of the Government and we are not ashamed to affirm that we remain as unconvinced of the necessity and the wisdom of the action they took as before we read a single word of what they said. To the principal contentions of the critics there has not only been no adequate reply, but not even a serious attempt at reply. Lord Birkenhead's speech in the House of Lords leaves the position where it was. He has not produced a single new fact or a single new argument. The *Bharat Jivan* is of opinion that the certification of the Bengal Ordinance by the Viceroy in face of the united opposition of the entire country must suffice to confirm the hollowness of the Reforms, and adds:—Will not blood boil in the veins of subject India to see the way in which the wishes of the public have been openly ignored? Will she submit to this kick quietly even now? Will the whole of the civilized world have to take it that Indians are not men, but brutes, to be kept under restraint only by force? The *Pratap* describes Lord Birkenhead's speech in the House of Lords as a diplomatic oration intended to make a display of authority and says that Lord Olivier's easy acquiescense in his views despite his criticism of the Secretary of State's policy shows that his interpellations on the subject and Lord Birkenhead's reply thereto, were of no serious import, but were the outcome of a preconcerted understanding.

The Viceroy.

The *Aj* writes: It is now difficult for Lord Reading to return to India. He came here flying the banner of "justice" and is going back after framing the black laws. No Indian will regret his departure. India does not want him. May no subject country like India fall a prey to his "justice"! In another article, commenting on the appointment of Lord Lytton as Viceroy the same paper remarks: The

progenitor of the black laws will now become the Viceroy of India and the militarists will control the Indian policy from London which will mean that India will now be crushed between the mill-stones of the lawless laws for the next five years at least, that police repression and salaries of high officials will increase and that from time to time Indians will be made to feel the existence of the " steel frame ". This will be a crucial time for Indians and if they are able to abide by the vow of non-violence and base their efforts for the attainment of *swaraj* on soul-force, they are sure to succeed.

The United Provinces Council.

In the course of an article on the work of the United Provinces Legislative Council, the *Leader* writes: " The Budget of the year is a budget of the floods. No improvement, no expansion, of beneficial services has been provided for to the minimum extent compatible with even moderate progress. The Hon'ble Ministers have glibly spoken of progress in their various departments. There may have been progress according to the notions of conservative landlords. But there is none or next to nothing perceptible to the ordinary eye." With regard to the work of non-official members, the paper thinks that, on the whole, they have achieved little and that few of them have shown the requisite standard of knowledge, ability, and earnestness. The *Haqiqat* deplores non-official apathy and says that the elected members mostly helped to swell the official division list. The Council could make itself felt only twice or thrice and the Governor had his way even over the Oudh Courts Bill. The Swarajists should not hesitate to contest the Presidentship of the Council. Protesting against the strictures passed on the Home Member during the debate on the jail grant, the *Oudh Punch* says that during the days of non-co-operation the Lucknow jail for political prisoners, compared with the conditions in other provinces, was a veritable abode of luxury.

Oudh Courts Bill.

The *Leader* is not convinced of the necessity of a Chief Court in preference to a Judicial Commissioner's court and is doubtful of the wisdom of the clause of the Bill which endows the coming Chief Court with original jurisdiction in a certain class of cases. " In any event we are certain that it is a luxury which should have been left for a more propitious financial period. Under the present dispensation necessities are made to wait and luxuries given preference. The interests, the wishes, and even the whims of the privileged few get precedence over the interests of the poor and helpless many."

The Civil Justice Committee's report.

The *Leader* commends the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committe regarding the remuneration of legal practitioners and says that if the scale of fee is revised, as suggested, it will not only have a salutary effect on the *mofussil* bar, but will check to an appreciable extent abuse of legal processes which causes delay and waste of time. The *Aj* remarks that the net of British legislature has closed the way to honesty and broadened the road to dishonesty. Proceeding, it says that if the power of appointing arbitrators (*punches*) is vested in the hands of District Magistrates it will be difficult to find sincere workers, the chances of official toadies and seekers after power will increase and the parties will go dissatisfied.

Indian States.

Some of the Indian States have received a good deal of attention in the vernacular press. The *Haqiqat* says that the recent disclosures about the Maharajas of Nabha and Indore and Raja Hari Singh of Kashmir afford but a glimpse of even worse things which are passing in most Indian States. It is a pity that most Indian Ruling Chiefs squander public money and time in debauchery, but secure immunity from public criticism by humouring high-placed English officials with dinners and hunting parties. The *Ferishta* is similarly dissatisfied with the moral life of the Maharaja of Bharatpur. The *Haqiqat* points out that Government was only waiting to take action against the Maharaja of Indore and wonders whether his internment in England will be life-long. While the *Oudh Punch* does not regard internment as much of a punishment, it complains that it is likely to involve the State in heavy expenditure. The *Hamdam* denies that the Muslim press has ever demanded the deposition of the Maharaja of Indore. Muslim papers complain of the attitude of the Kashmir State towards its Muslim subjects and of the supermacy of the pandits there. The *Medina* points out that Muslims in Kashmir are being treated worse than Indians in the colonies simply for submitting a memorial to the Viceroy for the protection of their rights and the *Mukhbir-i-Alam* quotes the specific instance of Khwaja Nur-ud-din who has been expelled for this offence.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The throwing out of the Age of Consent Bill by the Legislative Assembly was a dramatic gesture which neither the triumphant actors nor the country they represent ought to be proud of. Proceeding, the paper complains of the attitude of Government with regard to this Bill and says:—"The voiceless woman of India expected Government to give a clear lead and it is rather unfortunate for the country that both Government and the accredited representatives of the country have shirked their responsibility in the matter". The *Aj* regrets the rejection of the Bill and blames the progressive members of the Assembly for having carried their reforming zeal a bit too far, and having thereby alienated the sympathy of the orthodox section.

The Age of Consent Bill.

The *Oudh Akhbar* urges that the money saved by economies in the Posts and Telegraphs department should be utilized to restore postal charges to the old level.

Posts and Telegraphs Economy Committee.

Referring to the trade boycott preached against Indians at Johannesburg the *Hind-i-Jadid* says that Indians should insist on their rights in all the colonies and if they do not meet with success they should resort to retaliation. The colonial capitalists should bear in mind that too much oppression will only hasten the day of the emancipation of the "coolies".

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on the Muddiman Committee's Report the *Oudh Punch* compares the Reforms to a heap of bones and says that in the presence of the provision which empowers the Viceroy to veto any resolution passed by the Legislature, it is futile to talk of Reforms.

The Muddiman Committee's Report.

The *Aj* sees in the new protectionist policy of the British Government in India a desire to further the interests of foreigners in the country, apprehends that it may lead to the establishment of a second "steel frame" and says that Indians should not be instrumental in establishing such factories as may help the bureaucracy in depriving their neighbours of their liberty.

The Policy of "Protection".

The *Bharat Dharma* interprets the conferment of the title of Field-Marshal upon Sir William Birdwood before his appointment as the Commander-in-Chief of India as placing that authority over the head of the Viceroy and the Governors who will have to submit quietly to what he says, and as barring all reduction in military expenditure. The Field-Marshal will thus succeed in achieving for the Empire what none of his predecessors has yet been able to do. Who can imagine how much blood of India will be sucked in this enterprise?

The Commander-in-Chief.

The *Medina* vehemently protests against the transportation of Moplah prisoners to the Andamans in view of its "deadly and enervating" climate, and says:—It appears that the Government of India, instigated by the Hindu community, is bent upon clearing the holy soil of India of the Moplahs. This is why the poor wives and children of these men are now being sent to the Andamans along with their husbands, although these islands were previously abandoned for climatic reasons as a convict settlement. This obvious tyranny is bound to produce its consequences.

The Moplahs.

The *Aj* publishes an appeal from Babu Sampurnanand on the subject of the Asiatic Federation in which he says that the selfish policy of England and America is cementing the Sino-Japanese friendship on the one hand, and Pan-Islamic solidarity on the other. Indications are not wanting that there will soon be a conflict between the white races of the West and the coloured races of the East, and this war will be more a clash of ideals than a trial of military strength. India forms the connecting link between the Buddhist states of the Far East and Muslim states of the Near East, and would be the best place for preliminary work in connection with the Asiatic Federation and the next Congress session should be utilised to hold a conference of Asiatic politicians and publicists. The *Pratap* publishes an appeal from Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) in which he urges the necessity for the establishment of a society for rendering service to the Nepalese. This society should have nothing to do with politics; its object should be to sympathize with Nepal, to advance money for promoting the education of her people and to help the indigent Nepalese living outside

Political Propaganda.

their country. A new festival called "Nepalotsava" should be instituted to commemorate the preservation of the independence of Nepal. The *Brahman Hitaishi* invokes goddess Durga on the occasion of the Nava Durga fast to re-incarnate herself in the country to destory the wicked *rakshasas* who abduct 'our' women, slaughter cows and otherwise oppress 'us.' The *Pratap* publishes the first instalment of an article by Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) in which he advocates radical changes in the creed, policy and constitution of the Congress. The Congress should, in future, be called *Rashtriya Maha Sabha* (National Assembly) and should conduct its proceedings in provincial languages. The provincial branches should hold their sessions in an historic centre in their respective provinces. The Hindus alone should be eligible for its membership and it should help in the Hindu *Sangathan* and *Shuddhi* movements. In short, the Congress should now become the *Hindu Swarajya Sabha.* It must accept two practical principles, i.e., the attainment of self-government within the British Empire and the propagation of peaceful non-violence without which they cannot carry on a great movement openly. This is a game of politics and Indians too should practise diplomacy in order to score success therein. If the idealist patriots clamour for complete independence, are they prepared for an armed revolution and the sacrifices involved therein?

ALLAHABAD:
The 11th April, 1925.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 15 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 18TH APRIL, 1925.

Afghanistan.

The *Ittihad-i-Islam* condemns the excessive nervousness displayed by the Government of India regarding *Afghanistan* and the wasteful military expenditure on the frontier to meet the imaginary Afghan bogey. It is well-known that excessive nervousness sometimes brings into existence those very dangers which are apprehended. The *Medina* ridicules Hindu perturbation at the possession of some aeroplanes by Afghanistan and points out that it is Britain with per unbounded Imperialistic greed that controls the destinies of the weaker and subject nationalities. She has rendered lifeless within a few years a country of such vast resources as India. If India were freed from her despotic grip all other Asiatic and African countries could also be liberated. The greatest obstacle in the way of Russia is British capitalism and the liberation of India is the first means of crushing it. Every patriotic Indian who loves freedom should, therefore, pray that the Russo-Afghan peril may become so imminent that the Government of India who have so far ignored all defeats in the Legislative Assembly may yield and conclude an honourable peace with the Indian nation.

Haj.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* urges Muslims to postpone *Haj* this year not only because of the war going on in the Hedjaz but also in view of the scarcity of water and food-grains there.

The Civil Services.

The question of the Indianization of the Services continues to receive a good deal of attention. The *Pioneer* says: The maintenance of a regular supply of British recruits to the Indian Services is essential. The balance prescribed by the Lee Commission can be ensured only by removing the present disinclination of British youths of the right type to enter the Indian Services. For if India is to progress to the goal marked out for her the provision of a competent and reliable civil administration is all important and it depends on the blending of British and Indian genius in the Services. The *Arya Mitra* wonders why English youths reading in colleges are being exhorted to join the Indian bureaucracy when there are plenty of capable Indians to fill the vacancies in the Indian Civil Service. Is their black skin a sufficient disqualification for their sitting on the chairs of their white lords? The *Oudh Punch* ridicules Lord Birkenhead's solicitude for the recruitment of English youths for the Indian Civil Service and says that while the Lee Commission's recommendations may prove advantageous to Englishmen they mean a loss of a crore and a half to Indian revenues. India cannot have political progress, but only enhanced taxes and unsympathetic treatment of its industries!

The Hindu *Maha Sabha*.

The proceedings of the *Maha Sabha* have evoked a good deal of enthusiasm in Hindu papers. Commending the main items in the programme of the *Sabha* the *Leader* writes: It is the bounden duty of the Hindus to see that the helpless members of their community are properly taken care of and have not to seek shelter in non Hindu folds. The Hindu *Sangathan* movement opens out a large field of constructive work which, if carried out systematically and with complete freedom

from anti-Muslim bias should absorb the energies of many young men willing to serve their country and community along fruitful lines. The *Advocate* says: The fact that Hindu leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya are supporting whole-heartedly the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements shows that there is going to be a new orientation in the Hindu community and the Hindu *Maha Sabha* will grow in the near future into a mighty organization for the protection of the Hindus. The force of circumstances is compelling even orthodox Hindus to accept *Shuddhi* and the removal of the curse of untouchability as necessary for the protection of the Hindu community as a whole. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is of opinion that Lala Lajpat Rai has told some home truths which must be an eye-opener to all Hindu and Muhammadan leaders who really want to establish peace and good-will in the country. The paper hopes that the Hindus will make an earnest and united effort to sink their narrow differences and to regain that lost heritage which was once their glory. The *Swadhin* wonders as to the meaning of the demand for further rights on the part of the Musalmans when the leading principle of the democratic form of Government is that every nation and every individual has an equal right in the administration of the state. It remarks that it is a misfortune that Indians have fallen into the hands of a people whose interests can be served only by keeping the two important communities of the country apart, which is clear from the difference in the policies regarding the Hindus and Musalmans. The *Arya Mitra* urges that it is necessary for the well-being of the Hindus that Arya Samajists and Sanatandharmists should sink their differences, unite together and adopt the policy of least resistance towards each other. The *Hamdam* is pained to find that even a political leader of the calibre of Lala Lajpat Rai could not shake off the narrow communal outlook in his presidential speech at the Hindu *Maha Sabha*. Muslim separatist demands, the Lala must note, are contingent solely on Hindu injustice and will disappear with a change of heart on the part of the Hindus.

The Secretary of State and Mr. Das.

The manifesto of Mr. Das and the Secretary of State's pronouncement continue to be widely discussed, the general opinion being that the present policy of the Government is not favourable for a successful conference between representatives of His Majesty's Government and Indian political parties. The *Leader* writes: Has Mr. Das really brought about a magic transformation in the Indian situation? And can there be any settlement of the Indian problem unless the British Government is prepared and anxious to meet Indians half way? Is there any evidence of this? Are there not, on the contrary, clear indications that the forces of reaction are in the ascendant and that the Conservative Government have no intention of moving forward? The *Patriot* remarks: Unless the Government give up their reactionary policy and meet the aspirations of the people it is not possible to create the favourable atmosphere desired by Mr. Das. Instead of meeting the aspirations of the people, Government has resorted to extraordinary arbitrary powers under the Bengal Ordinance. It has made the atmosphere more tense and confirmed the belief of many ardent youths that the Government will never give real self-government unless it is forced to. The *Kisan* wonders why people are being asked to co-operate with the Government when the bureaucracy is still ruling the country with the help of the sword and the policy of divide and rule, when even now the birthrights of the people are being trampled upon with the help of special powers. The paper is not prepared to agree with the views expressed in Mr. C. R. Das's manifesto and says:—"We belong to that party which does not want to co-operate and bear the yoke of British Imperialism under any condition, because co-operation is impossible between the devourer and the victim. The words of Lord Birkenhead inviting the Deshbandhu to suppress the revolutionaries smack of hypocrisy because the aim of the party to which he belongs is to spread the net-work of British Imperialism all over the world and keep other nations in perpetual bondage for the well-being of the white man." The *Vartman* surmises from Lord Birkenhead's "invitation" to Mr. Das that at the present time the British, moved by self-interest in view of the impending war between Asia and Europe, are feeling the necessity of once more coaxing Indians into being taken in by greater allurements than the "reforms" and warns the Indian leaders to bide their time till the demands of self-interest become imperatively urgent when the British will disgorge a good

deal. In another article the paper remarks that Lord Reading's visit to England, Lord Birkenhead's conciliatory statement, and whispers in Parliament to hold a round table conference in England including Indian leaders fully testify to the soundness of the *Swaraj* party's programme which alone can secure real liberty for India. The *Surya* says that the clear terms in which Mr. Das has opposed political violence leave no room for the charge that the *Swaraj* party is responsible for the outbreak of political crime in India. If the bureaucracy really wants co-operation it should establish colonial *Swaraj* in India as soon as possible. The paper is not at all sanguine that the conference of the Secretary of State with Lord Reading and provincial heads and Mr. O'Donnell will result in any good to India. The *Pratap* is of opinion that Lord Birkenhead only wants to throw dust into the eyes of Indians and that his invitation for co-operation is like that of the spider to the fly.

The Liberal Conference.

In the course of a highly appreciative article on the work of the United Provinces Liberal Conference held at Cawnpore the *Leader* says: In voicing in the form of well-considered resolutions the unanimous opinions of intelligent Indians on some of the most vital questions of the day, the Cawnpore conference has achieved a notable success and rendered a valuable public service. In the opinion of the paper Mr. Kunzru's presidential address will rank high in the literature that has gathered round the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Strongly urging the acceptance of Indian demands for further reforms as voiced in Mr. Kunzru's address, the paper severely criticizes the present policy of the Government and says: "The one fact that consistently emerges from the whole of the Government of India's attitude ever since Mr. Montagu ceased to be Secretary of State is their sovereign unwillingness to part with a particle of their irresponsible power in favour of the legislature in India. They are content to live in an atmosphere of almost perpetual conflict with the legislature. They do not mind the increasing distrust which nearly every thinking Indian feels of their motives and purposes. Uttering the accents of altruism they pretend that their seemingly unfriendly attitude is really most friendly and is dictated wholly and solely by a genuine, deep-seated and abiding regard for the welfare of the masses whom they distinguish from the classes of the people of India. Their acts and the tendencies of their policy are, however, driving even moderate Indians to the reluctant conclusion that at bottom the whole policy is a policy of racial and political selfishness." The *Pioneer* criticizes the policy of the Liberal party as disclosed by the proceedings of the conference and says: The presidential speech of Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru serves to emphasize how lamentably he and his party are failing to take advantage of the opportunity which is offered them to play a dominant part in assisting India along the path towards self-government. It is no use inveighing, as Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru did, against "the forces of reaction" or declaiming the need for a "united India." If the Liberals wish to assist in their country's political advance, it can only be by exerting their influence on the side of stability. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* perceives signs of Liberals becoming more alive to the danger that threatens the cause of Indian constitutional progress. The *Vartman* remarks that a perusal of Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru's presidential address discloses the fact that as a result of the official patting of the Zamindar party and the change in the *Swaraj* party's programme the Liberals too have begun to show signs of activity. But they must bear in mind that mere speeches, deputations or crushing council debates will not secure reforms or *Swaraj*. They should work among the masses also. The *Hamdam* regards the holding of the session of the conference at the present juncture as quite inopportune in view of the disintegrating forces already adrift in the country and says that Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru's lengthy diatribe against the Muddiman Committee's report was a sheer waste of time as his views are not likely to carry much weight with the authorities in England. It would have been better if he had devoted a greater portion of his address to problems which affect India more closely.

Bengal Ordinance.

The *Najat* characterizes as a farce the proceedings in the House of Lords during the debate on the Bengal Ordinance. Lords Olivier and Birkenhead only agreed to differ and the

former was as indifferent to the difficulties of India as the latter was subservient to Indian bureaucratic policy. Their sole object appears to have been to lower the prestige of Indian leaders and patriots and it is up to every self-respecting Indian to refuse the Secretary of State's invitation for an exchange of views.

The Oudh Courts Bill.

The *Surya* observes that through his crooked diplomacy Sir William Marris has at last succeeded in securing the deletion of the clause providing for the reservation of three out of the five judgeships for Indians on the ground that the observance of such a colour and race distinction is opposed to the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation and asks whether any regard was paid to this before. The fact that no Indian has been given the post of the Director of Public Instruction for the last fifty years and that only 19 Indians have been appointed to the 59 vacancies that occured in the Allahabad High Court during the last 25 years is sufficient to establish the charge of racial favouritism. No better instance of favouritism in the name of justice, repression in the name of order, and murder in the name of humanity can be found anywhere than under the administration of our bureaucracy.

Report on primary education.

The *Leader* heartily supports the recommendations of Mr. Kichlu's report on primary education and hopes that they will not be shelved on the ground of want of funds. "This excellent and 'practical' document affords a very good basis for the formulation of a definite and workable scheme for the expansion of primary education for a decade and deserves to be carefully studied by officials and non-officials."

Indians in colonies.

The *Leader* strongly criticizes General Hertzog's attitude with regard to the Colour Bar Bill and says: To the party which the General leads the Imperial considerations involved in the issues raised by the Bill are of the least importance and as for claims of justice and righteousness, of equality and brotherhood, etc., he does not appear to be very much afflicted by the finer instincts which recoil from proposals rooted in race arrogance and class selfishness. The policy he is pursuing will, if persisted in, bring its own nemesis on those who are allied with it.

Colour distinction in jails.

The *Surya* wonders at the Hon'ble Home Member's reply in the Council to the effect that the flogging of the Eurasian convicts in the Tundla rape case by another Eurasian was in accordance with the jail regulations of the United Provinces and points out that the punishment which is meted out to prisoners under these regulations is meant for offences which are committed inside the jail and are tried by the Superintendent himself. Such cases are not brought before the ordinary courts of law. The Raja Sahib alone understands the secret of punishing offences under the Indian Penal Code in accordance with the jail regulations. Referring to another question in this connection the paper observes that if it is necessary to provide *punkhas* for white convicts they should be pulled by prisoners of the same race. Does it not show that Indians have got to serve Europeans whether they live inside or outside the jail?

The Indian Viceroyalty.

Some vernacular papers are strongly criticising the policy of Lord Reading and expressing the hope that he may not return to India. The *Hindustani* is relieved even at the temporary departure of Lord Reading as the four years' administration of "this clever and diplomatic Viceroy" was a continuous source of disgrace to India and did much harm to it. His Lordship was responsible not only for the Bengal Ordinance but also for inviting the Prince of Wales in spite of the protests of the Indian public. When Indians refused to welcome the Prince, thousands were thrown into prison by him. He was also responsible for the Nabha affair and the firing on harmless *Jathas* and could not mete out justice to the Hindu sufferers at Kohat.

Indian States.

The *Nyaya* deplores that under the system of administration at present obtaining in Indian States the rights of the people have been completely trampled down. Every Ruling Chief can do what he likes. So long as Europeans are pleased with him no one can prevent him from doing what he likes. This condition has prevailed in Indian States since the establishment of British rule in the country. The British Government too does not prevent the Ruling Chiefs from practising oppression. The *Haqiqat* is perturbed at the contradiction of the rumour regarding the deportation of the Maharaja of Indore and says that as the Maharaja continues unrepentant even after the damaging disclosures in the Bombay trial as is shown by his continuance of his revelries, and as the need for the protection of Mumtaz Begum and her witnesses continues to be as pressing as before, Government should take some action against him. The *Sada-i-Muslim* complains that Lord Reading instead of redressing the grievances detailed by Kashmir Muslims in their memorial to him has returned that document to the Maharaja and has brought about the institution of a reign of terror for the unfortunate signatories.

The *Vartman* sedition case.

The *Haqiqat* regards as ill-advised the stern refusal of the Government to grant a pardon to the editor of the *Vartman* after his repeated apologies for the offending articles in his paper and says that the offender should be allowed an opportunity to reform himself.

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The *Shakti* urges the necessity of organizing the whole nation and not only different communities. All communities should sink their petty differences and refrain from doing anything which might harm any community and should combine to emancipate India. The *Swadhin* writes :—Irresponsible and autocratic foreigners who are covetous of our wealth are sacrificing the interests of the people of this country. Indians receive blows after blows from the British, yet they remain asleep. The reason for this is to be found in the crooked policy of the Government. In addition to the recruitment of white men in higher posts these foreigners are exhausting our resources by their insidious despotic policy of exploitation. It is the duty of the educated classes to awaken their uneducated countrymen. The *Aj* says :—The last *sambat* (Hindu year) was very auspicious for the servant-masters of India. It may be that our babies were dying for want of milk, that the mothers administered opium to their children to prevent their crying, that there was a dearth of money in the bureaucratic treasury for spending on education, health and public works yet a burden of crores of rupees a year has been placed on the shoulders of this poor and miserable country for offering conveniences to those already drawing princely salaries. May Lord Reading never return to India to give her again the taste of his "justice" as embodied in the Bengal Ordinance Act. The *Arya Mitra* urges the establishment of an association of *Arya Samaj* volunteers in every province. While agreeing with Professor Radha Kamal Mukerji's statement before the Economic Enquiry Committee that the growth of population and the defective system of land tenure are responsible for the poverty of the peasants, the *Hamdam* considers the main cause to be the present system of administration which is adding to their poverty and leaving them a prey to usurious money-lenders. The fruits of the peasant's toil now pass out of the country and until the present system of administration is changed there can be no hope of improvement.

Registration of money-lenders.

The *Swadhin* remarks that the bill for the registration of money-lenders introduced by the Muslim party in the Panjab, if passed into law, will hit the Hindus very hard.

ALLAHABAD :
The 18*th April*, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 16 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 25TH APRIL, 1925.

The Near East.

The Muslim press is jubilant over the public protests that have attended Mr. Balfour's visit to Palestine. The *Sada-i-Muslim* assures the Muhammadans of Palestine of Indian aid and trusts to their determination not to allow its sacred soil to become a prey to political subjection or profaneness. The *Medina* attributes the Jewish and Armenian colonizations in Palestine to the desire to disunite the Arab states. It is evident from the attitude of the British kings towards the Jews in the past that this new-born solicitude of Britain for them is inspired solely by imperialistic greed for oil and minerals. The *Ittihad-i-Islam* quotes the opinion of an expert politician that Britain's prolonged inactivity in the Hedjaz shows that she is waiting for her opportunity when all Arab combatants are exhausted. The *Hamdam* finds in the news from Kurdistan evidence of British manipulation behind the revolt and wonders whether the throne of that country is being proposed for Sheriff Husain who has been staying in Mesopotamia ever since his expulsion from the Hedjaz.

Haj pilgrimage.

The *Haj* question continues to absorb the interest of the Muslim press which has taken umbrage at the resolution passed by the *Haj* Committee regarding the advisability of postponing the *Haj* pilgrimage this year. The *Rahnuma* warns the Government against the consequences of interfering with this religious obligation of the Muslims especially after the generous and widely published invitation of Ibn Saud to the *Hajis*. The *Hamdam* appeals to Government not to let political considerations outweigh its regard for Muslim religious sentiment in India. The feeling caused by the discomfiture of the Hedjaz deputation would be nothing as compared with that roused by the stoppage of the *Haj* pilgrimage. The *Mansur* regrets that Emir Ali is prolonging his occupation of Jeddah and has received munitions from Britain. It thanks Ibn Saud for throwing open three other ports for *Hajis* and advises Indian Muslims to respond without any fear to his invitation for the pilgrimage. The *Medina* denounces the members of the *Haj* Committee as Muslims in name only and says that the pilgrimage is sought to be postponed out of regard for British interests. The *Sada-i-Muslim*, however, has faith in Government's good intentions, and in order to calm Muslim agitation urges the publication of the reasons for the *Haj* Committee's resolutions. The *Mashriq* publishes a contributed article urging that the *Hajis* should be allowed to proceed on pilgrimage if they can show a postal savings bank balance sufficient to cover the return fare. The *Pioneer* calls attention to the dangers of sending pilgrim ships to one or other of the lesser known ports of the Hedjaz and hopes that no such step will be taken without the fullest inquiries being made regarding the facilities at the port itself and along the road to Mecca. A more satisfactory solution of the present difficulties would be found if the Islamic world were to insist that the two combatants should declare a truce during the holy season, in order that the sacred duty of the pilgrimage might be performed.

Hindu Maha Sabha.

The resolutions passed by the recent session of the *Hindu Maha Sabha* have evoked animated discussion. Some Hindu papers hold that they did not go far enough in the direction

of social reform while others, though much fewer in number, emphasize the need of caution out of regard for the sentiments of the orthodox section. Muslim papers bitterly criticize the attitude of Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and hold that all activities of the *Maha Sabha* are instinct with sinister designs against the Muhammadan community. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deprecates the half-hearted measures adopted by the *Maha Sabha* with regard to social reform and invokes the spirit of Swami Dayanand to give courage to the leaders of the *sabha*. It goes on to say: "Our aim is no less than the re-installation of Hinduism on the throne where it sat in the days of our glorious past. We must elevate and organize the rank and file comprising the lower classes, the depressed classes, the non-Brahmans, the untouchables and the Panchamas. There is no hope for Hinduism unless they are raised, embraced like brothers and treated like real Hindus with equal rights and opportunities. For the very existence of Hinduism such extreme steps as widow marriage, removal of untouchability and the fusion of the various castes and sub-castes by inter-marriage have become necessary." Commenting on Lala Lajpat Rai's presidential address the *Vartman* says that *Sangathan* is the only power which can give *swaraj* to India. The *Abhyudaya* in its special *Hindu Maha Sabha* number publishes an article by Babu Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya, M.A, who remarks that it is a peculiar mystery that every attempt at Hindu-Muslim combination has been followed by communal dissensions and that it is altogether wrong to attribute these dissensions to the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements, seeing that they had existed long before these movements came into existence. Muhammadans, adds the writer, should not look askance at Hindu organization, as it will greatly help in the attainment of *swaraj* which should be the avowed goal of both Hindus and Muhammadans. The paper publishes a poem by Janardan Prasad Jha, *Dwij* which concludes with the prayer:—"O God, awaken us. May we get up, push forward and come to grips. Destroying the opponents may we make (our) community raise its head high by putting the laurel of victory on the head of the mother." The *Abhaya* exhorts Hindus to renounce selfishness and make necessary sacrifices for the *Sangathan* movement for their very existence. In another article the paper exhorts the Hindus to "awake, arise or be for ever fallen" and says that "the sinful" are alarmed at the prospect of the awakening among them as they know that henceforward they will not be able to commit sins with impunity. It asks Hindus to protect their community by making sacrifices for it and organizing it. The *Brahmachari* says that if the Muslim leaders wish to organize their community they are welcome to do so, but they should not indulge in loose talk and try to intimidate the Hindus by idle threats. The *Pratap* and the *Vartman* condemn the hostile attitude of the orthodox *sanatanists* towards the *sabha*. The *Aj* says that the unprecedented success of the *sabha* this year was due to their opposition and urges that it should confine its attention to the solution of social questions and leave political problems to the Congress. The *Surya*, on the other hand, opines that it should devote itself to the question of *Sanyathan* only and leave *Shuddhi* and untouchability alone as these are likely to create a split in the camp. The *Brajmandal* expresses a similar opinion. Referring to the trend of the proceedings of the session the *Medina* says that the *Maha Sabha* is so obssessed by fear of Muslim aggression that its main object appears to be to rid India of Muslims. The inspiring motive behind the uplift of the depressed classes, and the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements is simply hatred and enmity towards Muslims and a desire to acquire supremacy over them. India must be purged of its Muslim population. This holy land must be rid of these *mlechhas* who are polluting the valley of the Ganges with beef. The only object of Mr. Malaviya and his friends is to gain political, cultural, religious and national superiority over Muslims. From the very outset every speech and resolution seems to proclaim that the Muslims are tyrannical, blood-thirsty, ignorant and barbarous, have oppressed Hindus, have violated the chastity of their women and have robbed the weak and helpless Hindus and therefore the untouchables should be won over, the weak should be strengthened, the women should be protected and warlike centres should be organized throughout the country. It is a pity that even a redoubtable nationalist, like Lala Lajpat Rai, has fallen a victim to the

charmer of Malwa. Alas, the *Hindu Maha Sabha* is thus poisoning the founts of Hindu-Muslim reunion. The *Success* also regards the entire programme of the *Maha Sabha* as an insidious move against the Muhammadans. Discussing Lala Lajpat Rai's address the *Hamdam* deplores the Lala's opposition to the restoration of the frontier area to Afghanistan. There are any number of Hindus in Afghanistan proper and the frontier Hindus need have no apprehensions from Afghan rule. The Lala's suggestion that Afghanistan should be made a part of India is extremely pernicious, as the Afghans are strongly imbued with love of freedom and the expression of such views by Hindu politicians can only alienate Afghan sympathy from the Indian *swaraj* movement.

Reunion of political parties.

Mr. Srinivas a Sastri's plea for unity among the various political parties in the country has evoked only a scathing criticism of the Liberal policy and programme in Swarajist papers. The *Leader* has been making repeated appeals to all parties to sink their differences in order to "create consciousness of strength." In an article headed "The Danger Ahead" the paper complains bitterly of the policy of Government since the resignation of Mr. Montagu and says: "The people have found that in matters of vital importance to the constitutional development of the country, such as the control and the Indianization of the superior civil services and the training of Indians for the defence of the country, the views of the elected representatives, backed as they have been by public opinion outside the legislature, have been flouted. The Lee Commission was appointed and its recommendations have been given effect to in spite of the strongest opposition. Military policy continues to be dominated by a spirit of distrust. Subtle and powerful forces of unrighteousness are at work to further neutralise the reforms and to undo the work of Mr. Montagu. The reactionaries are encouraged by the prevailing confusion in the ranks of Indian politicians and are feverishly busy in making hay while the sun shines . . . In view of the visible illiberal tendencies in many directions, would it be absurd to presume that Lord Reading has been invited to England for consultation not because an advance is contemplated but because of the pressure of conservative supporters of Government who are keen on changing the constitution so that, among other things, the superior services may once more be placed in a position of unchallenged supremacy . . . In such a situation is it not the duty of Indians to strengthen their own ranks, to strive further for the adjustment of internal differences and by rallying the forces of unity to create consciousness of strength?" The *Aj* says that a reunion between the Swarajists and the Liberals is impossible. Only those who do not hold dyarchy to be undesirable can co-operate with the Government, accept its offices and titles and carry out its instructions, but others cannot do so. Referring to the sad record of failure, as a parliamentary force, of the *swaraj* party during the last two years the *Bir Hindu* advises it to change its methods and to come to some understanding with Liberals and Independents so that a united demand may be presented. The *Aryavart* agrees to a coalition and abandonment of obstruction by the Swarajists, provided the Liberals promise to fight the bureaucracy tooth and nail when the united demand is rejected.

Commonwealth of India Bill.

Although pessimistic as to whether Mrs. Besant will be able to interest and agitate the vast majority of the Indian people over her Commonwealth of India Bill, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* advises her to concentrate her efforts on national unity and persuade all political parties to join and strengthen the Indian National Congress. "Mrs. Besant's Bill and efforts in that connection undoubtedly deserve the whole-hearted support of the country. We would appeal to all party leaders to sink their differences and strengthen the hands of Mrs. Besant."

The Secretary of State and Mr. Das.

The *Shakti* says that India cannot now be satisfied without a round table conference. We may not have weapons and the bureaucracy may be powerful, yet it is impossible for it to withstand the general condemnation of its administration. The drama of hypocrisy must cease with the raising of the political standard of the country by Messrs. Das and Nehru if the *Sanjathan* movement also gains in strength it would be a power before which both the Government and the Musalmans

will have to yield. The *Anand* urges the British Government not to be taken in by the propagandist activities of conservative die-hards, but to convene the proposed round table conference with a view to smooth the difficulties it has to face in fulfilling its pledge of granting responsible government to India. The *Surya* supports the manifesto of Mr. Das and urges that Indians of all shades of opinion should jointly prepare a Bill for the establishment of self-government in India and organise public opinion by non-violent methods, so as to constrain the British Parliament to accept it and grant equal rights to Indians within the Empire.

The United Provinces Liberal Conference.

The *Anand* remarks that in view of the lull in the Congress activities the Cawnpore session of the Liberal Conference is certainly reassuring to politically-minded people. The one defect in the activities of the Liberals, however, is that they do not propagate their views among the masses. The *Aj* considers Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru's presidential address at the conference as more important than the Muddiman report, and says that the Pandit has ruthlessly refuted the objections of various Local Governments against the grant of provincial autonomy. It however regrets that the Pandit has given very little importance to the question of political unity.

Indianization of Services.

Newspapers of all shades of opinion are taking strong exception to the efforts that are being made in Britain to stimulate the recruitment of British youths for the Indian Civil Service. The *Leader* writes: "We regard Indianization as an indispensable condition of the success of any scheme of self-government for India and we want British recruitment to be stopped altogether. We, therefore, object to the artificial stimulus that is being given to non-Indian recruitment." Commenting on Lord Ampthill's proposals in the House of Lords for an increase in the emoluments of non-Indians in the provincial services the *Bharat Dharma* says that the bureaucracy does not care for the well-being of low paid Indian employees, simply because white men do not regard Indians to be human beings. The only way in which Indians can improve their financial condition and force the bureaucracy to act according to their advice is to use swadeshi goods and boycott foreign ones.

The Viceroy.

Extremist newspapers continue to indulge in bitter attacks on the policy of Lord Reading. The *Shakti* writes:—Lord Reading came here with great pomp and éclat but left for England stealthily like Dyer and O'Dwyer. This self-styled apostle of justice perpetrated so much injustice and oppression in India that "Readingdom" will become a byword of contempt in the country. The *Arya Varta* publishes a poem saying that Lord Reading gave the black law to Bengal and wounded the Nabha State with his sword of justice. The *Oudh Akhbar* sees in Lord Lytton's appointment as Viceroy the enforcement of a sterner policy by the Conservative Government in England. It apprehends that the high officials are going to confabulate in England not to chalk out any progressive line of action but to compound another temporary narcotic for India. Indian leaders had better be forewarned and prepared for concerted action.

Judicial Officers' Conference.

Referring to the address of the Chief Justice at the Judicial Officers' Conference the *Leader* suggests "a sensible reduction in the excessive number and length of holidays" in the High Court and a greater regard for "the calibre of the persons intended to be raised to judicial eminence" as two of the remedies for the accumulation of arrears in the High Court. The paper is of opinion that in the whole of the country the average has been deplorably lowered by the Government during the last fifteen or twenty years owing to considerations other than the fitness of the individual. The *Oudh Akhbar* agrees with Sir Grimwood Mears' view that the system of law and procedure obtaining in the country needs radical reform to obviate the law's delays.

Report on Primary Education.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is of opinion that the adoption of Mr. Kichlu's recommendations will considerably advance the cause of primary education. The paper earnestly pleads

for the introduction of free and compulsory education as indispensible to the removal of the appalling illiteracy and the fulfilment of the national aspirations of Indians.

Bengal Ordinance.

The *Pioneer* is gratified to learn that the situation in Bengal continues to improve and that the salutary effects of the ordinance are now almost universally admitted. "There is abundant evidence that solid public opinion in Bengal has experienced a feeling of relief since it realized that Government was determined to take the necessary measures to suppress revolutionary conspiracies and the resultant crime."

Indians in Colonies.

Commenting on the passing of the Township Ordinance by the Natal Provincial Council the *Leader* writes: The South African whites are unyielding in their determination to make the existence of Indians impossible. While organized efforts, by legislation, as well as direct action, are being made to prevent them from obtaining trade licences, the Government of India are supremely disinclined to adopt retaliatory measures demanded by Indian public opinion. Not only this. A contract for the purchase of a large quantity of South African coal has actually been entered into by the Bombay Government. An Indian national Government would have better vindicated the self-respect of the country in the face of the outrageous anti-Indian propaganda which is being carried on in South Africa. The *Hamdam* protests against the new passport regulations laying down that persons proceeding from India to Japan or any intervening port will have to sign a declaration that they do not intend to go to any of the British colonies. What a sad commentary on the rights enjoyed by subject Indians !

"Complete independence."

The *Prabha* is wholly opposed to the *swaraj* scheme of the All-Parties Conference and remarks :—We are inveterate enemies of long-standing imperialism as being detrimental to humanity. The well-being of India lies in determining her destiny outside the British Empire, specially in view of its policy of subjugating and trying to destroy the old and civilised nations of the world. We are votaries of complete independence which is also in keeping with the spirit of the times, when liberty is the order of the day. We shall court death if we fail to strive for the attainment of complete independence, which is so necessary for the perfect evolution of our national genius. To play with the toy of colonial self-government or semi-independence of any sort is beneath our manhood.

The Buddha Gaya Temple.

The *Kailash* urges the necessity of admitting fifty-two crores of Buddhists into the fold of Hinduism by deciding the question of the Buddha Gaya Temple in their favour. The *Bharat Dharma*, on the other hand, opposes the suggestion on the ground that the Buddhists are "cow-eaters" and have no right to visit or control the temple which contains many images of Hindu gods. The *Lokmat*, however, suggests a middle course, saying that the temple should remain in the joint possession of the Hindus and the Buddhists.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* is wroth with those Englishmen who have protested against the stoning to death of certain Qadians in Afghanistan and insists that it is a matter for Muslims alone to decide among themselves. Why were these gentlemen who now seek to make political capital out of the Afghanistan affair silent when the Greeks were perpetrating atrocities on the Turks in Anatolia ? What is to be said of those Muslims who look to non-Muslims for sympathy ? The *Mansur* appeals for funds for the Central *Jammiat Tablighul Islam* deputation to save Siam Muslims from gradual absorption in the Buddhist majority. The proposal for the observance of a *Tabligh* day on the last Friday before *Id* has met with a chorus of approval in the Muslim press and the *Sada-i-Muslim* is of opinion that the activities of the day should be prolonged throughout the following period till *Idul Fitar*. Every occasion for gathering, whether for prayers or sermons, should be utilized to further the cause of *Tabligh* and special efforts should be made to collect funds. Feeling is gathering in the Muslim press at the alleged inhuman act of certain Hindus of Konch (Jalaun) in sacrificing

a Muslim girl at the altar of a goddess. The *Medina* hopes that the perpetrators of this barbarous crime will be speedily run to justice. Such are the acts of the stalwarts of *Sangathan* and supporters of *Shuddhi* due to the secret conspiracies of Lala Lajpat Rai and Malaviyaji. The *Al Barid* reports that a paper fastened to the arm of the murdered girl bore the threat that the heart of Muslim babies would be offered to the goddess Durga every year.

Restrictions on religious mendicants.

The *Haqiqat* urges the general adoption of the Madras Corporation's suggestions that beggars should not be allowed to ply their trade at any public place except places of worship and bathing-ghats and that begging by persons suffering from infectious or contagious diseases and by children should be penalised. The *Anand Pracharak* is alarmed at repeated reports at Muttra of abduction of boys by *sadhus* and asks Government to legislate with a view to prevent the possession of minor boys by *sadhus*.

Indian States.

The Shia section of the Muslim press has been particularly agitated over the affront offered to the *Zul-Jinah* procession by the Kashmir police authorities and endorses the action taken by the All-India Shia Conference in the matter. Its joint secretary writing in the *Ittihad* urges Muslims to continue to agitate until a satisfactory reply is received from the Kashmir State.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* publishes the second instalment of Lala Har Dayal's article from Sweden in which he ridicules the demand for complete independence and says that the demand of *swaraj* within the Empire does not amount to sedition under the British law. If the leaders do anything seditious they will be sent to jail, with the result that the Congress will fall into the hands of the Moderates and the national work will suffer. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that the Indians realized the need for *swaraj* when they found that their rulers who pose everywhere as apostles of justice have crippled India by sucking her blood. India can be freed, says the paper, only if all the political leaders sink their differences, adopt a common programme, and carry it out to the best of their power.

The Kohat affair.

The *Surya* regards the conviction of Lala Jivan Das as unjust when it had already been established that the riots were caused by the rowdyism of the Musalmans and the weakness of the Government officials and says that the sentence of 18 months' rigorous imprisonment is too severe.

ALLAHABAD:

The 25th April, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter, Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 17 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 2ND MAY, 1925.

The Near East.

British policy in Palestine continues to be severely criticized in Muslim papers, but without breaking any fresh ground. Referring to the statement made by the Arab delegation to Colonel Amery that the Arabs were much better off under the Turkish *régime*, and that Britain had not fulfilled her promises to them, the *Leader* writes:—"They have to thank themselves for the position in which they find themselves. They betrayed Turkey and they find that they are in a worse position than they were in before. Imperialists, when their object is achieved, are apt to forget their promises and the experience of the unsophisticated Arabs is by no means novel. India has had sufficient experience of promises uttered to the ear and broken to the heart." The paper refers to the complaint "in certain well-informed quarters" that many of the Jewish immigrants belong to the dregs of society, and says in conclusion:—"Colonel Amery's reply which was nothing but a rebuff administered to the delegation, is only calculated to increase Arab bitterness and distrust."

Haj pilgrimage.

The Muslim Press remains perturbed over the prospects of the pilgrimage this year, and suspicious of Government attitude towards the question. Referring to the Government's statement regarding *Haj* the *Pioneer* says:—"The idea that the Government are placing obstacles in the way of pilgrims is absolutely devoid of foundation. But they are doing no more than their duty in directing attention to the situation which exists. The Government's statement discounts the easy optimism displayed by Sultan Ibn Saud in his letter to Mr. Shaukat Ali." The *Hamdam* scents some mystery in the broadcasting of discouraging news about the Hedjaz by the Government and says that the same secret diplomacy which made the Arabs and Turks go to war is now busy setting Emir Ali and Ibn Saud by the ears, so that it may be able to reap the harvest when both the combatants are exhausted. In view of the conflicting reports about the situation it advises Muslim Associations to give a lead in the matter of *Haj*, only after mature deliberation. The *Oudh Akhbar* suggests that Muslims should either force Ali to evacuate Jeddah or press the Government of India not to interfere with the pilgrimage. The *Haqiqat* contradicts the news that the Egyptian Government has issued any *fatwa* for postponing *Hoj* this year.

Reforms.

Referring to Lord Meston's recent suggestions regarding the Reforms, the *Advocate* writes:—"The advice contains nothing but germs of poison and if Lord Reading yields to his wishes the result will be that these germs will spread all over the country and they will add to the discontent which is already prevailing. The failure of the Reforms was due to a certain extent to the mischievous financial settlement made by Lord Meston, whose sole motive and aim was to feed Delhi at the expense of other provinces." The *Surya* says that the obstructionist policy coupled with enjoyment of Council allowances has neither abated the autocracy of the bureaucracy nor created an awakening in the country. This clearly establishes that the Swarajists have failed in their mission. The *Vartman* exhorts people to lend strong support to the Swarajists and says that

the day this party gains strength enough to cripple the bureaucracy, Reforms will be granted to India in big instalments. It adds that the liberals and independents are mere self-seekers who *kotow* to the bureaucrats and delude the public by their speeches. The *Swadhin* regrets that the United Provinces Liberal Conference did not attach due importance to the question of uniting all political parties to combat the dirty designs of the bureaucracy to ignore our just aspirations and to exploit the resources of our country. The *Bharat Jiwan* doubts whether Mr. Das will prove more than a match for the British diplomats, who have extended an "invitation" to him to co-operate with the Government in securing further substantial reforms, specially when the British press is openly opposed to them. The *Hamdam* deplores the recent controversy between the Swarajists and Independents and points out that they would be better occupied in devising a concerted line of action in view of the ensuing Birkenhead-Reading conversations. The *Haqiqat* warns Lord Reading that all Indian political parties have condemned the Reforms and says that their demand for provincial autonomy and a further advance towards colonial self-government is quite justified. Diarchy is doomed and Lord Reading is, it is to be hoped, shrewd enough not to thrust something worse on India.

Indianization of services.

Referring to Lord Meston's view that the falling off of British recruits for the Indian Civil Service is due to the extremist attacks on the members of the service, the *Leader* asks :—"But what about the writings of British die-hards in England and India who depicted the Indian situation in the darkest colours, described India as a "lost dominion" and exaggerated the difficulties of British officers in the services?" Continuing, the paper says that it is not sorry for the alleged disinclination of British youths to seek an Indian career. "We do not want any new British recruits for the Indian Civil Service. If the British Government were less selfish and more faithful to the policy of leading India on to responsible government, they would take the same view." The *Mashriq* eulogizes the work of the Indian Civil Service and points out that as the continuance of British rule in India is necessary at least as long as the Hindus and Musalmans do not arrive at a mutual understanding the Lee Commission's recommendations should be accepted. The *Oudh Punch* has a cartoon suggesting that poverty-stricken and toiling India is overburdened with expenditure on the civil service and the army.

The Gurdwara Bill.

Comments on the Gurdwara Bill have so far been favourable. The *Leader* hopes that the Bill will prove an acceptable measure, become law and be the means of putting an end to the Akali agitation. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is of opinion that the framers of the Bill have spared no pains in arriving at a solution of the vexed question, but that, being essentially a compromise measure, the Bill will require considerable improvement. The *Pioneer* commends the Bill and thinks that the amendments which the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee has proposed bear few signs of a spirit of compromise. "The whole tendency is unreservedly to place the administrative and financial power given under the Bill in the hands of the Central Board of Management, which in its turn would be dominated by the *Akal Takht*. And experience of the last three or four years indicates too well how those powers might be exercised, to the detriment of the Sikh community as a whole, to the prejudice of the rights of other communities and to the embarrassment of the Government." The *Vartman* thinks that if the Gurdwara Bill is passed a number of Sikh grievances will be removed.

The *Hindu Maha Sabha*.

The *Abhyudaya* writes :—The *Hindu Maha Sabha* was an unprecedented success. The Hindus should carry out the *Sabha's* resolutions and proclaim those who oppose them to be the enemies of the community and the country. How long would the Hindus remain oppressed and down-trodden? The *Sabha* should define *Adharma* (impiety, unrighteousness) as those acts which strengthen the bonds of our subjection, stand in the way of our social progress, deter the Hindus from claiming equal rights with other communities and injure their interests and those of the country. The *Hindi Kesari* says that the presidential

address is praiseworthy and every word of it reflects the public feeling in the country. It is absolutely necessary for the Hindus to organize themselves in self-defence. The *Surya* says that Lala Lajpat Rai's address saved the dignity and honour of the *Maha Sabha*, which had seriously been menaced. The *sabha* should not dabble in social and religious matters, but concern itself with politics alone.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Pratap* says that the contradiction of their threat to the Hindus by Maulana Zafar Ali and Dr. Kitchlew need not cause surprise. These two gentlemen have always been in the habit of changing sides. However, the threats of a foreign invasion must now be stopped. The Turks and the Afghans are not so foolish as to invade India at the instance of a few braggarts, and even if they do so, Indians have nothing to fear, because so long as Englishmen are ruling the country they will not allow any foreigners to enter India, and even when they are gone, Musalmans should remember that no one can govern a nation which is determined to remain free.

The Kohat affair.

Hindu papers are strongly protesting against the conviction of Lala Jivan Das. The *Abhyudaya* says that by convicting Lala Jivan Das the Government has put a screen on its own weakness in the name of justice. The *Hindu Sarvaswa* writes :—Responsibility for the bloody Kohat affair does not solely rest with the Muhammadan residents of the town. It also lies on the shoulders of the police and the military of our just Government who have even tried to magnify it. They have acted as devourers and not as protectors because it was due to their indirect support that the hooligans dared to commit violence. The justice administered in the Kohat and Katarpur affairs throws light on the ideal of justice of the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England.

Indians in Colonies.

Referring to the introduction of a Bill regarding the grant or renewal of trading or business licenses to Asiatics in the Transvaal, the *Leader* writes :—"The Union Government and Parliament are perhaps certain in their minds that the people of India can do nothing effective to prevent their nefarious designs, that the Government of India is neither a national nor a responsible Government and either will not or cannot make an effective protest and that His Majesty's Government will not exercise their powers under the law to prevent acts, legislative or administrative, which are at once both anti-imperial and inhuman. They may be right for the time being in their reading of the situation, but the faith is strong and deep in us that every perpetrator of injustice, be he an individual or a Government, will in the end have to pay dearly for every wrong that is committed. Pride goeth before destruction, and injustice, as the late Lord Salisbury said, will bring the mightiest to ruin."

Muslim affairs.

The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* sees in the publication of the *Rangila Rasul* in the Punjab, the *Musalmani-ki-Zindgani* in the United Provinces and the *Muhammad* in Gujrat at one and the same time, some secret scheme against the Muslims and appeals to Government for action against these offensive publications. One Shafaqat Ali suggests in the *Hamdam* that an All-India Muslim Conference should be held at Aligarh on the occasion of the Muslim University Jubilee to combat *Hindu Sabha* propaganda and to harness the forces of all scattered Muslim organizations. The *Medina* says that as the religious tenets of Ibn Saud cannot appeal to most Muslims Sheikh Senoussi is the best person to be the Emir of Mecca.

Indian Stores Department.

Commenting on the report of the Indian Stores Department, the *Leader* suggests that Local Governments should organize their own stores departments and says :—"We write of what we know when we say that it is all in the interests of provinces that they should aim at and realize the largest possible measure of independence of the Central Government and of its departments. We are aware that the Burn Committee recommended the very step which we strongly deprecate." The paper earnestly hopes that the Minister of Industries will not commit himself to the recommendation of the Committee with precipitate haste. In the opinion

of the *Pioneer* the report of the Indian Stores Department shows a very creditable record for an organization which has been built up in a comparatively short time, in the face of opposition even from those who have been urgently pressing on the Government the desirability of encouraging Indian industries.

Rumours of Royal Durbar at Delhi.

The *Leader* wonders if there is any foundation for the rumour that next year His Majesty the Emperor is to visit India in order formally to declare new Delhi open. The paper sees absolutely no necessity for the occupation of the new capital being heralded by a Royal visit and is of opinion that neither the economic condition of the people of India nor the financial position of the Government of India is such as to warrant the expenditure involved in a Royal visit. Some vernacular papers have also commented to the same effect but in much stronger language.

Posts and Telegraphs Committee.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The report of the Posts and Telegraphs Department Committee will be a disappointment to many. Nor is it likely to arouse any public interest since the committee was precluded from taking into consideration the vested interests of any branch of the service.

The situation in Bengal.

The *Bharat Jiwan* says that if Mr. C. R. Das succeeds in his tactics to get Mr. Anil Baran Roy and Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra re-elected to the Council it will go to show that just as the Government disregards public feeling, the country too has not the least faith in its views and decisions. The *Aj* says that there is no proof to show that Messrs. Roy and Mitra are revolutionaries or have anything to do with any revolutionary organization. The *Deshbandhu* knows that the black law under which these men have been convicted is simply meant to stifle the political life of the country. He wants to prevent a bloody revolution in India, but he cannot succeed in doing so, as long as political and economic discontent is not removed from the country.

Religious controversies.

The *Success* publishes a lengthy article under the heading "Muhammad and Jesus" in which the writer comes to the conclusion that "the divinity of Jesus falls to the ground under all the important tests." With regard to his morals the writer says :—"Here again we are sadly disappointed by the absence of any sound argument in his favour. Speaking candidly and uprightly, not a single excellent moral in Jesus' character can be proved to any satisfaction." (*Sic.*) The paper concludes by saying that "excellent moral qualities which are a manifestation of the attributes of God are not to be sought for in Jesus, but they were manifested in the holy Prophet of Islam." Commenting on the speech of the Bishop of Chota Nagpur made in Albert Hall in London, the *Vartman* says :—India does not want Christ. She has produced more wise, pious and kind-hearted *rishis* than Christ and cannot expect any good from Christianity, when even Europe could not derive any benefit from it.

Presidential Election in Germany.

The election of Marshal Hindenburg as President of the German Republic is generally regarded as prejudicial to the interests of international peace. In the opinion of the *Pioneer* "the election to the Presidency of a reactionary soldier, who stands for a return to the social conditions of pre-war days can hardly fail to awake feelings of mistrust, even if it does not produce widespread unrest." The *Leader* thinks that Marshal Hindenburg's disavowal of all warlike intentions cannot get over the fact that he is a strong nationalist and monarchist and that he is a man not of peace but of war. The paper regards his election as an indication of a distinct reaction in Germany brought about by France's own policy. The *Aj* remarks that the election of General Hindenburg as President of the German Republic would strengthen the Royalists, and render the Kaiser's restoration easy. It would also show that as the result of the unjust policy of the allies Germany has begun to seek the shelter of her generals. It is for the Allies to answer the question whether the recovery of her lost prestige by Germany will lead to war or peace in Europe.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* says :—In India individual liberty rests solely on the sweet will of the rulers and so far as anarchy is concerned there is nothing of the sort here. Even the political murderer of India cannot be called an anarchist, because he is the enemy of the present Government only and not of the established order of society. The same paper deplores the action of France in expelling Mr. M. N. Roy and other Indian students at the instance of the British Government and says that if political offenders of one country are not given shelter in another oppression will increase. The *Shakti* writes :—India wants dominion status because Indians are tired of this Government which is being carried on against their will. Taxation without representation is robbery in the words of Mrs. Besant. The bureaucracy is therefore robbing the people and justifying its action with the help of arbitrary laws. Englishmen are great diplomats and by their crooked policy have even outwitted the educated, industrious and well-organized Germans.

Civil disobedience.

The *Aj* agrees with Mr. Gandhi's view that the campaign of civil disobedience cannot be launched so long as the educated Indians do not identify themselves with the masses and share their joys and sorrows.

The *Vartman* sedition case.

Some papers deplore the conviction of Pandit Rama Shanker Avasthi, the editor of the *Vartman*, even after his frank apology and recommend a reconsideration of his case by Government. The *Aj* says that mercy would have raised Government and lowered the editor at the same time in public estimation.

Corruption in offices.

Some papers call attention to corruption in courts and offices and urge the Government to adopt stringent measures to remove the evil. The *Zul Qarnain* recalls the days of Sir Antony MacDonnell when a few facilities to complainants had almost stamped out bribery and is sure that if Government again adopts a similar attitude there would be more prosecutions and with better results.

Local Boards.

The *Mashriq* complains that inexperienced, incompetent and begotted members and chairmen of local boards are widening the gulf between the two communities and the Government is aggravating its blunder in granting self-government to local bodies, by adopting a policy of *laissez faire* towards them. A confidential enquiry by a trusted and impartial official will reveal how the majority is treating the minority in the local boards in these provinces.

Administration of justice.

The *Oudh Akhbar* cites a case from Rae Bareli in which owing to the failure of the Deputy Commissioner to conform to the technicalities of the law an accused was acquitted by two successive courts of appeal and urges that as such mistakes frequently involve huge waste of public money Government should devise measures to prevent them. Referring to the infliction of a capital sentence by the Allahabad High Court in a case of appeal by Government against acquittal and that also simply on the basis of circumstantial evidence the paper says that such severity is not justifiable when direct evidence is wanting.

Government pensioners.

The *Dilchasp* urges Government to give their best attention to the demands of pensioners who are going to hold a conference with the object of securing an enhancement in their pensions and the provision of a waiting room especially reserved for them in the treasury office.

Abolition of beggary.

The Muslim press has noticed with satisfaction the recent abolition of beggary in Afghanistan and the *Rahnuma* advises the British Government to follow suit.

ALLAHABAD :
The 2nd May, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 18 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 9TH MAY, 1925.

The Near East.

The *Leader* strongly condemns the bombing of recalcitrant tribes in Iraq and says:—"However bad the administration of the Turks in Mesopotamia might have been, its people were not subjected to the horrors of bombing from the air. No Government which claims to be mighty and civilized should resort to such methods, if it at all cares for its reputation." Referring to the interview granted by Colonel Amery to a Press representative at Baghdad, the *Hamdam* says that all the avenues of progress in Mesopotamia, outlined by the Colonial Secretary, will make for the profit of British capitalists alone and will not benefit the Arabs at all. The wealth of the Arabs will be drained, and they will lose their love of liberty and begin like Indians to look to service as their sole ideal in life.

Haj.

The *Haj* question continues to be discussed with anxious concern by the Muslim press which is puzzled over the discrepancies between Ibn Saud's announcements and the Government of India's communiqués. The *Sada-i-Muslim* asks *hajis* to wait till a detailed enquiry has been made by the Central Khilafat Committee. The *Hamdam* urges Government to try and bring about a truce between Emir Ali and Ibn Saud for the *haj* season and failing that to arrange with the shipping companies for the safe conveyance of the pilgrims to the newly suggested ports. While expressing satisfaction at Government's communiqué the *Sach* urges the Central Khilafat Committee to persuade the Ghazi or Shuster shipping company to take the *hajis* to the new ports. The *Medina* is of opinion that Ibn Saud's assurances should be trusted and that the appeals of the Meccans for help should be responded to, but it warns Muslim leaders against proferring any advice on the question of pilgrimage, as they would be laying themselves open to blame, if any *haji* suffered any inconvenience. The *Hamdam* advises Indian Muslims to proceed on *haj* this year only if they have sufficient money and provisions. The *Haqiqat* condemns Mr. Muhammad Ali's vigorous propaganda in favour of *haj* this year and of the reports of excellent arrangements said to have been made by Ibn Saud and wonders whether he wants to lead Indian Muslims into another *hijrat* folly.

Election of Marshal Hindenburg.

The election of Marshal Hindenburg is generally attributed to the harsh treatment of the Allies towards Germany and is regarded as a prelude to another great war. The *Advocate* writes: "Germany was badly in need of a ruler who would make the nation united, respected and prosperous, and she has at last been able to find out a man who will carry out their wishes." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: "We have no doubt that the new German President who has the rare capacity of facing facts, will rouse the German people to accomplish the great task of purchasing their freedom from the burdens of the war. If nothing else, Marshal von Hindenburg's election is the outcome of the blood-sucking policy of Poincaire and the Allies after the war." The *Anand* says that the election of Marshal Hindenburg has discomfited the Allies, but the existence of a powerful state in Europe, far from being detrimental, will prove beneficial to the interests of Indians, because for fear of such a state people will look up to us for help and

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INDIA OFFICE

will not deem it advisable to accord us *Nadirshahi* treatment. The *Bharat Jiwan* sees in Marshal Hindenburg's election the vision of a very terrible war in Europe, which would scare out of their wits all those powers which are puffed up with pride. Up to this time these powers used to exhibit their exploits at the expense of subject nations, but the day is not far off when they will come to a curious pass by fighting among themselves. The *Bhut* remarks that Germany has been compelled by the injustices and iniquities of the Allies to elect the Marshal as President. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the election of Marshal Hindenburg will make another world war a certainty if the Allies continue to turn a deaf ear to Germany's reasonable grievances.

European situation.

The *Medina* calls attention to the race for armaments and territories and the general atmosphere of distrust and jealousy in Europe and predicts another world war in the near future. Coloured Asia is impatient to rise to a man against white imperialism. Labour is pitted against Capital and Socialism also is straining at its leash to get to grips with imperialism. Moreover, this conflict extends into cultural and moral realms. Conflict between British and French policy in Germany and Arabia will not permit the two countries to range themselves on the same side. Marshal Hindenburg's election strengthens the expectation that Germany will side with Russia and Japan, but Italy is a dark horse and will be guided by the exigencies of the moment.

The Gurdwara Bill.

The Gurdwara Bill is generally welcomed, but the release of Akali prisoners is considered to be essential for the final solution of the problem. Some papers also urge a consideration of the interests of the Udasis. The *Pioneer* calls attention to the protest against the Bill made at a meeting of Udasis held at Allahabad and says: "The Bill is neither perfect nor free from the imputation so forcibly made by the Udasis. It goes almost to extreme lengths in meeting the demands of the Akalis." The *Surya* urges that *Sanatanists* should also be represented in the management committee which is going to be formed under the new Gurdwara legislation, as they also have vested interests in the Gurdwaras. The *Anand* appeals to the Government to see that the new Gurdwara Bill does not, in any way, injure the interests of the poor Udasis. The *Abhyudaya* says that the Government would commit a folly and a great political blunder, if it fails to release the Akali prisoners on the occasion of the consideration of the Gurdwara Bill. The *Aj* welcomes the Bill and remarks that it would inaugurate a new era in the constitution of the religious institutions of India. The *Medina* welcomes the Bill and says that it would have been much better if it had come earlier as so many Akali lives would have been saved. Government would be well advised to arrive at an understanding with the Akalis about the Nabha question also. The *Haqiqat* regards the Bill as a complete triumph for the Akalis and appeals to Government to show due regard for other Sikh sects also.

Treatment of Akali prisoners.

The *Abhyudaya* stresses the necessity for the appointment of an impartial committee to inquire into the allegations regarding the perpetration of atrocities on Akali prisoners in the Nabha jail and the publication of its findings at an early date. If Government fails to do so unrest will further spread among the people and their faith in its sense of justice will decline, still more. Some other papers also write to the same effect.

The Faridpur Conference.

Mr. C. R. Das's presidential address at the Faridpur Conference has, on the whole, been favourably received and the hope is expressed that all the parties concerned will respond to the spirit of conciliation and co-operation evinced in it. The *Leader* writes: "The address is remarkable because it makes a decided departure, alike in substance and in the tone, from non-co-operation and Swarajist deliverances and does not apotheosize destruction as such even as a necessary prelude to future construction." The paper finds in this hopeful elements of an end of political divisions and invites Mr. Das and the leaders of other parties to take the next step, so that the effort in the direction of reunion which was commenced in 1924, may be brought to a success in the present year. In the

opinion of the *Pioneer*, each time Mr. Das makes a 'pronouncement' his incapacity for political leadership is more pitilessly exposed. Emphasizing the importance of the Conference, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Mr. Das has rendered a real service to the country by his remarkable utterance. "What is wanted now is not merely a united front, but also a strong front and this should not be lost sight of in any effort to achieve the former. Let us hope that all the political parties of India will sink their differences in the present crisis to fight the common enemy and that Faridpur will prove to be a happy landmark in the history of India." The *Advocate* writes:—We have to admit candidly that the address appears to have been delivered by a moderate leader and not by a Swarajist. The terms of Mr. Das are very moderate and the Government should co-operate with him by accepting them wholesale and it should not lose this golden opportunity, otherwise it will have nothing but repentance later on. The *Aj* agrees with the remarks of Mr. C. R. Das regarding the suppression of political crimes and conspiracies, but regrets that he has defined his goal to be *swaraj* within the Empire. It is not possible for Indians to co-operate with the Government without being insulted and the Government are not going to agree to the conditions imposed by Mr. Das. The *Vartman* says that the Deshbandhu has thoroughly refuted the charges of those Europeans and Anglo-Indians who tried to get him arrested. The paper urges every lover of India to take the views of Mr. Das to heart and try to translate them into action. The *Haqiqat* hopes that the hand of fellowship and good-will extended by Mr. Das will be clasped by the authorities in India and England and a calm atmosphere will thus be secured, otherwise if the conflict between the *Swaraj* party and Government takes a bitter turn the advice of Mr. Das will no longer be heeded by the revolutionaries. The *Hamdam* is of opinion that every sensible person will acknowledge the reasonableness of Mr. Das's terms for honourable co-operation and hopes that the Government will feel no hesitation in reaffirming the royal announcement of 1919. It is glad to note that Mr. Das is prepared to revert to the original programme of non-violent non-co-operation if his demands are rejected.

Indianization of services.

Commenting on the appointment of Mr. Kichlu as officiating Director of Public Instruction, the *Leader* writes:—"That after so very many years of British rule and English education, that ninety-two years after the Charter Act of 1833 and sixty-seven years after the Royal Proclamation of 1858, the King's Indian subjects have got to rejoice at the temporary appointment, for the first time, of an eminent Indian to be the head of the education department is a grave reflection upon the policy followed by the Government in the matter of the appointment of Indians to high office. That even now there should have been difficulties and uncertainty for several months about this appointment, shows that the old spirit is not yet dead and that whatever else the British may do they will be extremely reluctant to surrender places of power and profit. It is a warning to our countrymen that their struggle is not yet over, that they have still to fight hard for even ordinary justice." In a note commenting on the Secretary of State's acceptance of another batch of the Lee Commission recommendations affecting "British service interests" the paper writes:— "After all, the fact is that the mis-called services are the real masters of the situation and India exists for them." The *Haqiqat* protests indignantly against the total exclusion of Indians from all posts of political agents and residents and says that this is specially reprehensible when there is no dearth of indigenous talent which has proved its fitness in such offices as those of Governors and Members of Executive Councils. Will some Hon'ble Member raise the question in the Assembly or the Council of State and inquire of Government what national failing stands in the way of the employment of Indians in these posts"?

Hindu organization.

The *Pratap* publishes the 4th instalment of an article from Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) in which he says that the Hindu-Muslim problem can be solved only if both the communities organize themselves separately and the Hindus make themselves so strong that the Musalmans may be obliged to court their friendship and this they will do only when they find that the Hindus are about to take *Swaraj*

single-handed. The sentiments of Musalmans will not change so long as they feel that they are a separate entity. It would, therefore, be necessary that the Musalmans should discard their Arabic names, give up their alien sympathies, call themselves Muhammadi Hindus and form themselves into a section of the Hindu community like the Jains and Sikhs. The article concludes with an exhortation to the Hindu youths to sacrifice themselves in furthering the cause of *Swaraj* and liberate their brethren from serfdom. The *Abhyudaya* also publishes an article by Lala Har Dayal, in which he reiterates his view that the Hindus should organize themselves, leaving the Muhammadans severely alone. In his opinion Hindu organization is the road to *Swaraj*. Hindu-Muslim unity is not absolutely necessary for the attainment of *Swaraj*. Even if two crores of Hindus become true heroes and patriots after organizing themselves, the attainment of *Swaraj* will become possible. *Swaraj* should be adopted as the goal of the *Hindu Maha Sabha*, which should always hold its sessions in Benares. The *Hindu Sarvaswa* publishes a poem on the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements which begins with the lines—

O Companion, let us convey to the world the message of truth.
Let us acquaint the polytheists of the world with the Vedic religion.
Let us give the message of destruction to the thorns and thistles of Ka'ba,
Let us make it the (holy) fire-place by means of "sacrifices" and "*havans*."

The *Gorakshan* also publishes a poem on Hindu *Sangathan* in which among others the following lines occur :—

If twenty crores of Hindus had sunk their differences and become united,
They would have become invincible and the oppressors would have been struck with terror . . .
A handful of oppressors would not have been able to set the people by the ear . . .
If twenty-two crores of Hindus had become one,
No one would have dared to cast an evil eye at our chaste women and to rob us of our property.

The *Medina* ridicules Lala Har Dayal's suggestion that Muslims should be Hinduized and says that the Hindus themselves are hopelessly split up by caste distinctions and do not at all possess any capacity for national solidarity. Of course, if Hindus accept Islam, all caste distinctions will be levelled and this is bound to happen in due course.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The Muslim press is greatly excited over the report of the sacrifice of a Muhammadan girl in Konch (Jalaun) and is making impassioned appeals to the leaders of the community to adopt necessary measures for saving their co-religionists from such cruelty at the hands of Hindus. The *Anand* doubts the truth of this report. The *Mashriq* wonders why Government is silent even after this worst phase of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. The *Pratap* agrees with Mr. Kitchlew that *sangathan* of the Hindu community must not be based on hatred of the Musalmans, but says that there is a party among the Musalmans whose members range from theologians like Hasan Nizami to a common grave-worshipping water-carrier—the one object of whose life is to convert by fair means or foul, at least one infidel each. If the papers like the *Tanzim* do not allow themselves to be carried away by their religious fervour in supporting the actions of Muhammadan *badmashes* who abduct Hindu women and children, the estrangement between the two communities will not be aggravated. *Al Bashir* discusses "the uniformly unpractical and futile nature of Mr. Gandhi's programmes" and says that instead of fighting shy of the task of reuniting Hindus and Muslims he should have probed the causes of the ever-growing estrangement between the two communities and tried to remove them. Who does not know that the seeds of inter-communal discord are sown in the tender minds of school and college boys by the present day text-books of history? And efforts should have been made to counteract this insidious but fatal propaganda. Mr. Gandhi has instead encouraged the forces of disunion by eulogizing

men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The *Sada-i-Muslim* inveighs against the publication of an offensive book entitled "Muhammad" at Ahmedabad and points out that it was the excitement caused among Muslims by a similar publication that led to the Kohat trouble. If Hindus do not exercise restraint in future and Government do not take action, it would bode ill for the peace of the country. The *Medina* complains of the proselytizing activities of Hindu officials in the Hamirpur district and observes that such oppressors of the Muslim minority will never flourish. The *Hamdam* also appeals to Government to protect Bundelkhand Muslims in general and Hamirpur Muslims in particular, from the Hindu officials and the Hindu public. The Muslim minority is in a parlous plight there.

Muslim affairs.

The *Haqiqat* appeals to His Excellency Sir William Marris to exercise clemency in the case of the two Muslim convicts under sentence of death in the Shahjahanpur riot case, as they acted under the influence of religious passion. *Al Bashir* resents the action of the Education Minister in appointing a single committee to enquire into the primary education of both Muslims and the depressed classes and enquires whether Muslims have now fallen so low as to be classed with the untouchables. It urges a boycott of this committee and an insistence on Muslim educational demands in the local Legislative Council until they are conceded.

Local Self-Government.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* takes strong exception to the Local Government's suggestion that local bodies should adopt a rigorous policy of economy accompanied by fearless taxation and says: "The remedy lies in dispensing with a top-heavy administration, in substantial retrenchment in the Army, the Police, and the Civil Service, and in providing the local bodies with the necessary funds out of the treasury." The *Mansur* points out that matters relating to schools, pounds and slaughter-houses are a constant source of friction between Hindus and Muslims and urges that the District Boards Act should be so amended as to transfer the control of schools, pounds and slaughter-houses situated in notified areas and town areas from District Boards to the committees of those areas, as Muslims are better represented in those committees. The *Nizam-i-Alam* considers the new tax on circumstances and property proposed by the Cawnpore District Board as altogether unjustified and says that with a little care much economy in the present expenditure is possible. The *Oudh Akhbar* regards as impracticable the resolution of the Jhansi Municial Board regarding the extension of the franchise to all adults in the Municipal area and says that if it is accepted by Government the difficulties of election will be very much enhanced. The *Nizam-i-Alam* complains that Muslim *muhallas* are specially selected for the operations of Improvement Trusts and that sometimes lands of which Muslims have been dispossessed are given to Hindus for cultivation.

Political propaganda.

The *Hindu Sarvaswa* remarks that liberty being the birth-right of man, Indians should strive to attain it with zeal and love after making themselves strong. They should ply the disc of the spinning-wheel and, humiliating the selfish, attain liberty, the greatest bliss on earth. The same paper refers to the statement of the Colonial Secretary on the basis of the attack of the Arabs on Mr. Balfour in Palestine, to the effect that the Arabs were now fit for independence and remarks that it shows that the nation which is strong and is ever ready to destroy those who deprive it of its liberty is fit to be independent. But the Indians are such a people that if one were to slap them on one cheek they would offer the other cheek also to be slapped.

The *Vartman* and *Swadesh* sedition cases.

The *Surya* says that when Pandit Rama Shankar Awasthi had expressed regret for his guilt the Government should have let him off with a nominal sentence. The magistrate has not raised the dignity of the court by passing a severe sentence. The *Pratap* commenting on certain remarks in the judgment of the Allahabad High Court in rejecting the appeal of Pandit Dasrath Prasad Dwivedi of the *Swadesh* newspaper sarcastically says that it was very kind of God that

even after the publication of the horrible poem the district of Gorakhpur remained as it was, that not even a mouse was killed at Chauri Chaura and that the Hindus and Muhammadans did not lose their heads on the occasion of the Dasehra.

Reforms.

The *Swadhin* opines that diarchy is sure to end now that even civilians like Sir William Marris are opposed to it. Full provincial autonomy alone can reform the present system of administration. The Government also know that this system is defective, but our white lords are only trying to defer the realization of our hopes.

Indian States.

The *Hamdam* strongly condemns the proposal to appoint a barrister from England as Diwan of Travancore and points out that his ignorance of local customs and sentiments will stand in the way of his arriving at correct decisions. It is in Indian States alone that Indians have a fair and full field for their abilities. The *Mashriq* regards as unfair the refusal of Government to restore Berar even after the Nizam's services during the great war and his recent remission of ten lakh pounds advanced as a loan to the Government of India. Government's attitude will be very much regretted by all the Indian Chiefs.

The North-Western Railway strike.

The *Medina* complains that the railway authorities while always anxious to raise fares never care to concede the just demands of their low-paid employés. Indian labour has a better claim than British capital over Indian railway earnings, and it is a pity that hungry Indians are flocking to act as strike-breakers and thus prolonging the agony of the struggle.

ALLAHABAD:
The 9th May, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 19 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 16TH MAY, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Commenting on M. Painleve's statement foreshadowing a decisive blow on the Riffs, the *Leader* writes :—"The world will probably not even hear harrowing details of this blood and iron policy if it comes to be adopted. The ways of imperialism are everywhere the same." The *Haqiqat* apprehends that the relations between the Government of India and Afghanistan are not what they appear to be and says that one of the most important objects of Lord Reading's visit to England is the settlement of this thorny frontier question. The conclusion of a military alliance between Russia and Japan has not only induced the Conservative Government to re-start the suspended work on the Singapore naval base but also to court the friendship of the Muslim countries intervening between Russia and India and specially that of the buffer state of Afghanistan. The *Mansur* says that the Arab deputation to Colonel Amery was right in expressing dissatisfaction with British policy in Palestine. The British have failed to secure the co-operation of the Arabs, as the promises made to them during the war have not been redeemed. Britain is bent upon settling Jews in spite of the protests of the Arabs and the rise in prices. The *Najat* thinks that the combination of France with Spain against the Riffs is the consequence of the consultations among the European Powers at Paris and says that Europe finishing its land-grabbing activities in Asia, has now turned its attention to Africa. This may appear painful to Muslims but the more they are oppressed the sooner will they awaken. The paper hopes for a speedy end of the oppression on Muslims in Africa as was the case in Anatolia.

Haj.

In view of the conflicting reports about the conditions in the Hedjaz there is some divergence of opinion regarding the advisability of *haj* pilgrimage this year. The *Pioneer* finds it difficult to believe that the steps taken in the Hedjaz to facilitate the progress of the pilgrims to their destination are likely to eliminate risks of a serious character. A writer in the *Hamdam* wonders why the politically-minded *ulema* are insisting on the performance of *haj* this year when the journey is so risky. Indian Muslims should beware of Nejdian propaganda and should not be misled by their leaders into encountering the sufferings of another *hijrat*. Another writer suggests that the supporters of Ibn Saud and Emir Ali are pursuing conflicting propaganda in regard to the *haj* pilgrimage and urges Government to send a deputation to the Hedjaz to report on the situation there. The *Haqiqat* while condemning propaganda to induce Indian Muslims to proceed on *haj* this year urges Government to provide ships for the Chinese and Bokharan *hajis* lying at Bombay prepared to brave all the perils of the journey. The *Hind-i-Jadid* gives more credence to Ibn Saud's pronouncements and urges Muslims to flock to Mecca in the performance of their pious duty. The *Sada-i-Muslim* is grieved at the deplorable plight of the inhabitants of Mecca as revealed in the manifesto issued by 60 *ulema* of that place and appeals to Indian Muslims to proceed on *haj* in even larger numbers to succour the suffering inhabitants. *Al Barid* holds Government responsible for all complications in the *haj* situation. Government could easily induce its protégé Emir Ali to conclude a temporary truce but its negligence in this direction has strengthened the suspicion that it is supporting Ali. Ibn Saud stands surety for the protection of the life and property of the pilgrims after landing and Government also should soon publish a *communiqué* which might pacify the feelings of intending pilgrims. The *Mansur* attaches very little

value to the objections raised by Government regarding lack of railway and telegraphic facilities at the ports suggested by Ibn Saud and says that if Government is at all serious it can with its wider resources easily arrange for every comfort of the *hajis*.

The Faridpur Conference.

In the opinion of the *Leader* the Faridpur Conference was more or less of a fiasco. "The meagre attendance at the Conference and the dissensions which broke out in the subjects committee proclaimed that Mr. Das's days as a popular leader are possibly nearing the end." The paper then refers to forces of disintegration and indications of serious disagreements in the *swaraj* party and says:—"All this may render the path of the bureaucracy easier for the time being in Bengal. But the fact that the manifestation of a spirit of restraint and reconciliation on the part of leaders who the other day were the idols of the people when they had adopted an irreconcilable attitude, has been followed by their loss of influence possesses a significance of its own and conveys a lesson which should not be ignored by British statesmen. The path of wisdom lies in the British Government utilising the temporary lull in evolving a progressive scheme of constitutional reform so that the forces of gathering discontent may not materialize." The *Patriot* concurs with Mr. Das's view that national civil disobedience should be adopted as a last resort but thinks that the *khaddar* and *charkha* programme alone is not sufficient to prepare the nation for it. The paper is of opinion that attention should be paid to secure sufficient sinews of war and to pay the volunteers who stand in need of money. The *Aj* wonders if it is possible for the British statesmen to treat the whites and the non-whites on an equal footing as urged by Mr. C. R. Das and remarks that if this becomes possible Indians will not only co-operate but will also gladly make all possible sacrifices for such a federation of states. The *Abhyudaya* holds that the address is a fine model of true politics and patriotism. Mr. Das has indicated to the country a royal road towards political advance at a critical juncture. If the Government and the Liberals do not agree to his reasonable proposals, it will mean that they want unrest, quarrels and passive resistance in the country, for which they alone and not Mr. Das will be to blame. The *Bhavishya* infers from the address that henceforward the chief leaders of the non-co-operation movement will co-qperate with the Government on certain conditions. If it acts wisely and arrives at an understanding with the Mahatmaji and the *Deshbandhu* the era of constitutional agitation will be resumed in the country. The *Pratap* thinks that the address mirrors the policy of the *swaraj* party. The paper is surprised that the *Deshbandhu* is noticing a change in the hearts of the rulers when even to-day the same haughtiness, audacity, coldness and severity mark their mentality as twenty years back. It adds that it is a part of the British policy to milch India and make the services secure for British lads. The British Empire which is strengthened by brute force does not stand in need of the moral support of Mr. Das and the subject peoples of India. We do not see any justification for fixing the political ideal of the country. This is not practical wisdom but the result of over-exultation at being patted on the back. Mr. Das is now tired of battle and is looking out for an easier course. The *Medina* is deeply disappointed at Mr. Das's "vague and halting" address and says that by taking the initiative in the matter of peace overtures, Mr. Das is only acknowledging defeat and ruining the morale of his army. It is a mistake to expect anything from the Conservative Government in England.

Maharashtra Provincial Conference.

The *Leader* calls special attention to the resolution of the Maharashtra Provincial Conference held at Satara condemning the yarn franchise and says that the views expressed on this question at the Conference are shared by the bulk of the Swarajists in other provinces also. The paper thinks that "the ovation given to Dr. Besant and the blessings bestowed on her scheme of self-government are significant of the change that has taken place—a change which may facilitate the regrouping of political forces in the country in the near future." In another article the paper says:—"The Satara conference marked a further stage in the movement of political thought towards rationalism . . . In so far as the Maharashtra Swarajists are trying to undo the mistakes of the past and to return to the well-tried original policy of the Congress they deserve to be congratulated . . . We hope these leaders will not rest content with the good work they have done at Satara but will persist in the effort to bring about unity of all parties in the

Congress by suitably modifying its creed, constitution and policy. Satara has given a good lead which the Swarajists in other parts of the country cannot do better than follow."

The Gurdwara Bill.

The *Aj* welcomes the introduction of the Gurdwara Bill specially as it will serve as an eye-opener to the followers of other creeds and expresses the hope that the Government will everywhere uphold the principle that the property endowed to temples and monastries belongs to the members of the particular sect and that the *Mahants* are merely its trustees. The paper urges that a similar legislation is needed for reforming and controlling the administration of all other religious institutions throughout the country. The *Abhaya*, on the other hand, disapproves of the Bill on the ground that it curtails the liberty of the Sikhs by giving power to the Government to interfere in their affairs and scents in it the official policy of conciliating the Sikhs by giving them false hopes. The paper apprehends that if the Bill is passed the Sikhs will retire from the political field. The *Vartman* urges that the Udasis, Nirmalas and other sects also should act with the same magnanimity as has been evinced by the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee in accepting the Bill after making so many sacrifices in reforming the *gurdwaras* which the *Mahants* had turned into hell by indulging in prostitution and other vices. The *Hindustani* regards the Bill as a grave attack on the proprietary and religious rights of Udasis and other sects. Government could placate the Akalis without hurting the feelings of others by simply reinstating the Maharaja of Nabha. It apprehends serious trouble on account of this Bill specially in view of the recent growth of iconoclastic tendencies among the Akalis and hopes that the Governor of the Punjab will refuse his assent to the Bill.

Indians in Burma.

Commenting on the official report of the debate in the Burma Legislative Council on the Burma Tax on Sea Passengers' Bill, the *Leader* says that reason and justice were on the side of Indians and that the position of the Government was untenable and inconsistent. Continuing, the paper says:—"Any one who carefully and dispassionately reads the debate can come to no other conclusion than that the measure is directed against Indians and is the result of an anti-Indian policy which is being steadily pursued in Burma. Unless the public voice is raised against this pernicious policy we may have another South Africa nearer home." In another note the paper expresses the view that beginning with the first Burmese war up till now India has received no benefit from the annexation of Burma but has had, on the other hand, to pay for it. Proceeding, it says: "If we are right in thinking that Burma has cost a good round sum to the Indian tax-payer, a just financial reparation must be an essential part of any political operation involving the separation of Burma. Meanwhile, it is strange to us that the Government of India, which should be a unifying force as between one part of the country and another, should consent to the anti-Indian legislation of the Burma Government." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is of opinion that the imposition of the tax on persons entering Burma by sea militates against all fundamental canons of taxation and will prove detrimental to the growth and well-being of Burma itself.

Reforms.

Vernacular papers generally remain pessimistic with regard to the prospects of obtaining further reforms as a result of negotiations between the leaders of the *swaraj* party and the representatives of the Government and emphasize the need of unity among the various political parties in India in order to win self-government. The *Bhavishya* says that if Mr. C. R. Das's offer of accepting *swaraj* within the British Empire is only a political move and has been made merely by way of a reply to Lord Birkenhead we have nothing in particular to urge against it but our final goal should be complete independence. In the existing situation of the country, however, colonial self-government or even something less should satisfy us and should be accepted by us. The *Abhyudaya* does not expect that anything good for India will come out of the consultations between the Secretary of State and Lord Reading, although they will surely benefit "the celestial bureaucracy" to the greatest possible extent. Before the year 1929 or so long as the present Cabinet remains in power we can entertain no hopes, but if a war breaks out in Europe, or in the Pacific ocean, which is not an impossibility, England will fold hands, concede reforms and grant rights to Indians. The *Vartman* appreciates the recent resolution of the Independent

Labour party expressing sympathy with the political aspirations of Indian labour and appealing to the British Government to give generous consideration to Mr. C. R. Das's manifesto, but opines that it is a useless recommendation, for Indians can attain *swaraj* only by self-help. The *Aj* remarks that Mrs. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill has no more value than a petition and that it is sure to be rejected, because England cannot afford to lose the gain which she is making by her connection with India. The British will grant *swaraj* to India only when they are constrained to do so and Indians can exert pressure on them only by practising non-violent non-co-operation. The *Shakti* says that the rumour that Lord Reading will come back with some more reforms is a mere creation of the imagination of the Anglo-Indian papers. Lord Reading has proved himself to be a great cunning and astute diplomat and it is quite impossible for him to do any good to India. Another rumour about him is that he will get an extension of about two years and try to strengthen the foundation of the Empire by holding a new Durbar at Delhi, imposing fresh taxes and tightening the "steel frame." This is possible if Lord Reading succeeds in his diplomacy. We have seen few astute politicians like him and there is little wonder if he succeeds in ensnaring Birkenhead and other politicians and returns to India. We, however, pray God to send frank and straightforward men like Dyer, O'Dwyer and Sydenham but not a tiger in the skin of a cow like Lord Reading. It is better to have a number of *Jallianwala Baghs* than a single Kohat affair. But whoever comes, the near future of India is shrouded in gloom and so long as the Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs and Jains do not offer united a prayer for the emancipation of their motherland it would continue to be so. The *Najat* observes that the Government of India is too much a slave to prestige to effect any reforms without outside pressure. The Viceroy clearly realises all the defects of the existing administrative machinery but he cannot take any initiative and has to act according to the orders of his masters in England. It is a pity that these European officials have no regard for the country which feeds them. The real reason for this indifference of Government is our mutual discord and we should close our ranks if we want to extort any concessions from this unwilling administration. The *Medina* refers to Lord Birkenhead's observation that India was not yet advanced enough for full parliamentary government of the English type and points out that political privileges were never conceded to Englishmen but were always wrested by them. Concessions were wrung from Henry VIII as an autocrat like him would never care to grant them. It was Cromwell's iron strength which led to the execution of Charles I. India also would get political power unasked when it develops such strength. For the while Lord Birkenhead is right as the two arms of the country are battling against each other, but it must be borne in mind that the soul has begun to realise the harm of this internecine struggle. In another article referring to the resolution passed by the Third International regarding propaganda in favour of Indian independence, the paper points out that many Indian nationalists are tending towards Bolshevism because of British injustice and urges Lord Reading to return with a proper policy from England if he does not want to see the tide of Bolshevism rolling up the Attock and the Ganges.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Bharat Dharm* urges Hindus to sink their internal differences and unite to combat the proselytizing activities of Muhammadans and Christians. The strong organization of the missionary institutions shows that the Christians are doing more harm to the Hindus than the Muhammadans. The same paper in another article says that formerly the proselytizing activities of Muhammadans which consisted in intimidating, seducing and deceiving the Hindus were confined to individuals, but now they are being conducted in an organized form under the patronage of wealthy Muhammadans and ruling chiefs. When Jiwan Das of Kohat published a booklet which probably contained an attack on Islam there was a riot and the Muhammadans wrought ruin and destruction among the Hindus and the booklet was burnt and its author was sent to jail but the *Agha Khani* literature, which is deluding, injurious and defamatory to the Hindus is being sold broadcast and neither the attention of the Hindus is turned towards it nor do the Government stop its circulation. The *Pratap* publishes a letter from Devi Datt Dwivedi who invites attention to the statements of Khwaja Hasan Nizami and Muhammad Rauf regarding the special arrangements made in big towns for the propagation of Islam among Hindu boys, girls, men and women and appeals to the Khwaja and other Muhammadans to say their prayers in Hindi as the Turks do in the

Turkish language and to fight for the freedom of India as Indians. The *Abhyudaya* exhorts its readers to convey the message of the Hindu *Maha Sahba* to Hindus in every nook and corner of India, pointing out that the delay in the organization of the Hindus means the postponement of the day of *swaraj* and liberty in the country. Commenting on the recent speeches of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai the *Paigham* opines that matters have now reached a climax and there is no alternative for Muslims but to give up the idea of *swaraj* and self-government and to devote their entire energy to the organization of their community and to the improvement of their financial and educational condition. The *Hamdam* contrasts the atmosphere of communal suspicion and distrust pervading the Calcutta session of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* with the solicitude of the Bengal Muslim conference at Faridpur for Hindu-Muslim unity as the only road to *swaraj*. Mr. Gandhi can now see which community is barring the way to Indian national progress. The *Awaz* suggests to the Hindus that the best way to stop cow-killing would be to start pig slaughter-houses to which the Government, being Christian, cannot object. The *Nizam-i-Alam* protests against Mr. Malaviya's statement that Jiwan Das's pamphlet published at Kohat was in reply to a certain pamphlet published by Muslims containing objectionable attacks on Lord Krishna and challenges him to produce even a single copy of the alleged publication. The *Arya Musafir* has an article by one Har Dayal Singh on the life of the Prophet Muhammad in which he says that the deeds of the Prophet were those of an uneducated and misguided boy and that he was declared to be an able and intelligent man because of a rich woman being enamoured of him. The Prophet removed idols so that all may come to Ka'aba and thus swell his income. The *Sada-i-Muslim* publishes a note from Maulana Hasan Nizami who urges the Muslim press to make an emphatic protest against the *Tej* which has used defamatory language in respect of Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal.

N.-W. Railway strike.

Newspapers are strongly espousing the cause of the strikers and holding the railway authorities responsible for protracting the struggle by the adoption of a harsh and unreasonable attitude. The *Leader* is of opinion that there are substantial grievances at the bottom of the strike and that the railway authorities are not in a conciliatory mood. It goes on to say:—"The public are entitled to know authoritatively the details of the issues involved and the reasons which prevent the railway authorities from opening negotiations on the basis of the terms that might have been offered by the strikers. And what has the Railway Board been doing to bring about a termination of the strike which, in addition to causing immense hardship to the workers, is also causing loss and inconvenience to the public?" The *Aj* says that it is the duty of every Indian to help the strikers. The fact that such a big strike took place on the dismissal of a petty railway employee shows that the grievances of the railway employees are of long-standing and that the railway authorities want to coerce them in every way and are not prepared to listen even to their pettiest complaints. The salaries of employees are quite inadequate as the cost of living has risen so high. They have no other course left open but to continue the strike as the authorities do not want to come to terms with them.

Indians in Colonies.

The *Advocate* finds from the report of the Imperial Citizenship Association that the position of Indians in the Colonies, especially in South Africa, is becoming worse day by day and says:—"We should make a vigorous campaign to establish our rights and privileges in British Colonies as we also form part and parcel of the British Empire and if we fail to do so, we should make the same sort of legislation against them and unless we do so we should never hope for any good treatment from them." Deploring the downfall of General Smuts the *Aj* says that his successor, General Hertzog, is a worse enemy of India. With the election of this General our compatriots in South Africa have fallen from the frying pan into the fire. We feel sorry at the fall of General Smuts as a brave man feels for his brave enemy, but on account of the meanness with which the new Government is attacking our brethren we cannot regard General Hertzog even as a brave enemy.

The next war.

Some vernacular papers are indulging in speculations regarding the prospects of another world-war. In a signed article in the *Abhyudaya*, the editor, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, predicts another great war in the near future as, in his opinion, Japan

cannot afford to wait for the establishment of the Singapore base which will weaken her own position as against that of the United States, which will have Britain as their ally. He thinks that this war will decide as to whether Asia or Europe will dominate the world in future. The election of Marshal Von Hindenburg, the ascendancy of militarism and imperialism in Europe after the last great war and the construction of the Singapore naval base are unmistakble portents of the outbreak of another world-war. The great future of Asia is assured but it is for the Asiatics themselves to take advantage of the tide in the affairs of humanity. The *Medina* predicts a revolt by China and Japan against the imperialism, militarism and capitalism of Britain and America and says that Britain's construction of a naval base at Singapore and America's aerial and naval manœuvres in the Pacific may prove the sparks to fire the magazine. The Russian treaty with China and Japan is only another preparation for this war and we may witness it any day. Britain will try to buy over Muslim friendship in such a situation and it is the duty of Indian Muslims to study the situation thoroughly before deciding upon their line of action. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that Marshal Hindenburg's election has caused a panic in official circles in Great Britain and France. The present trend of European politics shows that another great war is fast approaching and as a matter of fact it is very much needed, because without it the oppressed Eastern nationalities can never get an opportunity for their uplift.

Local boards.

The *Hamdam* invites attention to the growing dissatisfaction, specially in Muslim circles, with non-official chairmen in most local boards in these provinces. The causes of this tension should be probed and remedied as it is on local boards that the foundation of Hindu-Muslim unity can best be laid. A writer in the same paper inveighs against the proposed district board tax on all persons having an annual income of Rs. 200. This tax will affect almost every individual as no one can have two meals a day without earning sixteen rupees per month. District boards should curtail their expenditure and should exploit to the full their existing sources of income before embarking on any fresh schemes of taxation. The income limit should also be raised sufficiently high in the case of the proposed tax on circumstances.

Conviction of Lala Jiwan Das.

The *Sangathan* congratulates Lala Jiwan Das of Kohat on his conviction and says that the action of the Government in not only not punishing but also supporting the Muhammadans who ruined the Hindus, dishonoured their wives and desecrated their temples, is a glaring specimen of the present civilisation.

ALLAHABAD:
The 16th May, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAIL SECTION
23 JUN. 192
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 20 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 23RD MAY, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Haqiqat* publishes an account by Jawad Pasha of the enthusiastic welcome accorded by the inhabitants of Mosul to the Turkish members of the Mosul Commission and hopes that after this clear expression of public opinion the members of the Commission will not allow themselves to be influenced by British propaganda and will give the award in favour of Turkey. The *Oudh Akhbar* considers the combination of France with Spain against the Riffs as wholly unjustified and says that her only motive is to crush the spirit of liberty in Africa. The paper fears that if the combination does not prove successful it is likely that Italy also may join them the next day. It is to be seen if the League of Nations is at all moved by the cries of the Riffs. Past experience, however, shows that it never takes action likely to prove prejudicial to the interests of the Allies. The *Haqiqat* lends its support to the proposal to offer *juma* prayers on the 22nd May for the victory of the Riffs. The *Sada-i-Muslim* expresses great satisfaction at the news that Mustafa Kamal has proposed the name of Sheikh Sennousi for the Caliphate and says that if the news is correct the Turks will once more secure the leadership of the Muslim world and will get rid of all the existing obstacles in the path of the Turkish Republic. Eulogising H. E. H. the Nizam for the princely donation of Rs. 50,000 towards the Turkish Red Crescent Fund, the paper appeals to Indian Musalmans to complete their proposed quota of ten lacs immediately and says that as the fund is in aid of the Muslim refugees from Greece, every Muslim should contribute his mite towards it.

Haj.

The announcement of the date for the departure of steamers for the Hedjaz has somewhat relieved the tension in the Muslim press. The *Leader* writes: "The Government of India, in spite of the knowledge they possess of the risks involved in this year's *haj* pilgrimage, have acted wisely in not taking any definite steps to discourage it. For, if they had done so, they would have been seriously misunderstood." The *Medina* while satisfied with the announcement views with suspicion the Government's note of warning and says: We have never had much faith in the good intentions of the Government and we are constrained to style this note as one coming "from the enemy's side," as both the Home and Foreign departments of the Government have rarely presented good examples of truth and sincerity. What is the meaning of this effort to produce fear and distrust among the *hajis?* We would hold the Government alone responsible if the *haijis* are molested by Emir Ali's ships in the sea. The paper pities those selfish dissension-seekers who merely because of their innate wickedness and material lust had been opposing the *haj* pilgrimage this year and says: We find that a nominal Sunni sect which is even now supporting the wicked and disgraceful Sheriff is vigorously opposing *haj*, impelled by Sheriff's-i-gold. The other opposing faction is that of the Qadians. We would fain impute motives, but is it not a fact that in Khwaja Kamaluddin's journey the wickedness of the Sheriff was mingled with the ignorance of Qadians? One should ask these eternally unfortunate people as to how opposition to *haj* could help them. Now when the Government have changed their view will not these people also veer round? The late Mirza disowned even the duty of *jehad* to please this very Government. The *Oudh Akhbar* observes that the happy settlement of the *haj* question by the Government will be received by Muslim India with great satisfaction and while

congratulating M. Shaukat Ali and others to whose efforts the settlement is really due, remarks that their real work has commenced now and urges them not to rest till the pilgrims have safely returned to their home. The *Sadas-i-Muslim* advises Indian pilgrims to Mecca not to neglect their brethren in faith in Arabia and in view of the dire scarcity in that country to take some extra provisions for those who are eagerly waiting for their help.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The Hindu-Muslim tension is showing signs of growing bitterness and charges and counter-charges of high-handedness, underhand proselytizing activities and publication of offensive literature are becoming more frequent. The *Bhavishya* complains that Hindu children and women are being abducted in Cawnpore city and the neighbouring villages in accordance with Maulana Hasan Nizami's scheme and warns the local Hindus to be on their guard. The *Abhyudaya* also complains that in Sindh Muhammadans are indulging in various improper practices against the Hindus. Not only *gundas* (bad characters) abduct Hindu boys and women, but Mullas and Maulvis in their speeches incite their co-religionists against the Hindus, as was done only the other day at Jacobabad. What is most surprising, says the paper, is the fact that there is nobody to take them to task for it, with the result that Muhammadans are encouraged to commit breaches of peace. The *Surya* deplores the conduct of the Musalman vakils of Peshawar in establishing a separate association of their own and says that if it is a sin for the Musalmans to co-operate with the Hindus it would be better for them to migrate to some Muslim country. The *Vartman* publishes an article in which the writer refers to the incident in Bareilly in which a Muhammadan youth disguised as a Hindu mendicant was caught taking photos of Hindu women bathing in the river and suspects some conspiracy behind the matter. He says that Maulana Hasan Nizami's scheme has found such favour with the Musalmans that they are trying to convert Hindus by resorting to strange and inhuman practices. The followers of this short-sighted Nizami are treating the simple-minded Hindus in a way in which they were not treated even in the reign of the great tyrant, Aurangzeb. The *Kshattriya Vir* publishes a contributed article in which the writer remarks that Hindu-Muslim unity can be brought about only if the Muhammadans are made to fear the Hindus. This can be done if the Hindus give up forbearance and humility and retaliate against the ill-treatment on the part of Muhammadans by completely non-co-operating with them from one end of the country to the other. The *Vartman* says that, as reports of rape cases are daily received from every part of India now-a-days it is necessary that *Nari Raksha Sanghas* or societies for the protection of Hindu women should be established all over the country. The *Gyan Shakti* exhorts the Hindus to carry on their reclamation work vigorously, pointing out that the two crocodiles, the Muhammadans and the Christian missionaries—are trying their best to swallow the Hindu community. If the Hindus do not remove untouchability and further the cause of *Shuddhi*, a day will come when they will cease to exist. Commenting on the present communal tension in the country and its effect on the political advancement of the nation the *Naiyar-i-Azam* remarks that under the present circumstances the demand for *Swaraj* means nothing but courting a horrible and bloody war between Hindus and Muslims. The *Medina* ridicules the Hindu claim of reclaiming their converted co-religionists and points out that in Malabar the right of conversion was sold to the colonising Arabs and (elsewhere) the Rajput princes voluntarily sent their daughters to the harems of Muslim Emperors and if Muslim Rajputs were born of them they could not be restored to the Hindus. The *Hamdam* regrets that as a result of the spread of *Sangathan* sentiments the Hindus have become bent on injuring Urdu. Some Hindu members of the Punjab Legislative Council recently called Urdu a foreign tongue and urged its replacement by Punjabi and Hindi as media of instruction. This deliberate design to uproot Urdu is much to be deplored, specially in a province where that language has been most popular. The *Medina* is wrath at the recitation by an *Arya Nagar Kirtan* party at Bijnor of a couplet meaning that *Brahmxcharis* would come out of the *Gurukul* and proceed to Mecca and build Arya temples there. The Aryas should first remove the Muslim mosques from Kashi, Ajodhya, Hastinapur, Somnath and other places before thinking of building temples in Mecca. The Aryas who have not got a single holy place which has been spared the heathenism-consuming touch of Islam can hardly realise the pain caused by this couplet to Muslims who have always kept Arabia free from non-

Muslim influence and authority. We have unmitigated praise for those Muslim hearers who did not reply to this couplet with a slap on the face of the reciter. It is a matter for gratification that this singing party left Bijnor soon for the mischief-makers had left little undone to stir up trouble even in this peaceful city. Aryas who can build their temples in Mecca are still to be born but those men are already in existence who can with God's grace cover every inch of Indian soil with mosques. The *Farishta* complains that the Sur Vijaya Natak Company staged at Agra on the 13th May a drama entitled "Vir Charitra" which inculcates seditious ideas and is offensive to Muslims. Government should watch this company as it seems to be inspired by political motives. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* also regrets that Arya literature offensive to Muslim sentiments continues to be published at Bareilly and certain Nagri publications are sure to produce anger and excitement. One such book contains a cartoon portraying Bharat Devi armed with sword and spear fighting against the Muslims. She has killed some Muslims and is standing sword in hand over the prostrate corpse of one of them. The *Hindustani* publishes a letter from the President of the *Arya Samaj*, Bahraich, protesting against the action of the Muslim officials of the district in prohibiting Arya propaganda work in the Syed Salar fair and urging Hindus to organize a vigorous agitation against this attack on their religious freedom.

Muslim Affairs.

The *Medina* heartily approves of the proposal to hold an All-Muslim Parties Conference and says that the composition of differences is essential for united and organized action. All shades of opinion should be represented in it and it should be held at some central place like Delhi after at least two months. The President should be a person trusted by the majority. A writer in the *Hamdam* refers to Russian designs on India as evidenced by the recent Russian alliance with Japan and China, the supply of aeroplanes to Afghanistan and M Zinovieff's resolution regarding aid to Indian revolutionaries and says that neither Afghans nor Indian Muslims can ever become enamoured of Red principles as these are entirely foreign and hostile to Islam. Maulana Husain Ahmad of Deoband writing in the *Medina*, points out that a study of the authentic writings of the Nejdis and Wahabis has convinced him that the differences between them and the Sunnis are not so radical as they have been popularly represented to be but are confined to mere matters of detail and do not justify their condemnation as outcasts of Islam. The paper in an another article urges that the remains of the saint interred near the New Market, Calcutta, should not be disturbed, as this would deeply wound Muslim religious sentiments. Referring to the notice issued by the District Magistrate against the proposed commemoration of the Moplahs killed in the last revolt the *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the District Magistrate failed to foresee the discontent his notice was likely to cause and says that, if, as appears from the notice, the feeling in favour of commemoration is really high, the District Magistrate's notice is bound to cause unrest. The paper contends that though the construction of any permanent memorial could have been disallowed, no objection should have been made to the mere observance of the death anniversary. *Al Bashir* has a contributed article urging that the Act of 1880 relating to *Qazis* may be suitably amended so that it may become possible to appoint *Qazis* to settle disputes relating to marriages, divorce, dowry, etc., and Muslims may be saved waste of money and miscarriage of justice in the common law courts.

Posts of Commissioners.

The *Leader* asks if it is a fact that a recent circular order of the Provincial Government's enjoins upon all officers the duty of calling upon Commissioners of divisions. Proceeding, the paper calls attention to the public demand for the abolition or reduction of the posts of Commissioners and says: "Coming back to the recent circular with which we started, we hope the text of it will be published for the edification and amusement of the people and further, that their ignorance will be enlightened by an explanatory note retaling the circumstances in and the reasons for which it has been promulgated. And it is to be hoped that both in the Legislative Councils and the Legislative Assembly more pressure will be put upon the Government to abolish this unnecessary post office betweeh the Local Governments and their district officers. . . . . In our local Council an attempt will doubtless be made to get at the full facts relating to the circular and to get it rescinded."

Ban against Mr. Malaviya.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's *firman* prohibiting the entry of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya into his State has evoked strong protests in Hindu papers. The *Leader* says that it is not surprised at the *firman* of the Nizam, as this is not the first time he has shown such an autocratic spirit. "He has already banned a number of Indian papers and if we remember right, passed a similar order against the entry of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali about three years ago. But it must be admitted that the present order beats His Exalted Highness's record." The *Advocate* advises the Nizam-to cancel the *firman* and thereby pacify the Hindu population which has been much enraged. The *Aj* deplores the anti-Hindu attitude of the Nizam and says that he and his councillors have displayed a spirit of intolerance on several occasions not only in religious but in political matters also. His Exalted Highness has not so far fulfilled his promise to restore the Hindu temples destroyed by Musalman bad characters. The *Bhavishya* strongly protests against the *firman* and is of opinion that the Nizam has now definitely taken up the cudgels against the Hindus. Proceeding, the paper remarks :—It is doubtful in view of oppressive and proselytizing activities in Hyderabad whether any Hindu will remain a Hindu in the Nizam's dominion after some time. The more the Nizam is trying to conceal his weakness by interdicting into his territory the entry of Hindu papers describing his oppression of Hindus, the more rapidly it is becoming exposed throughout India. We wish that all *Hindu Sabhas* should, with one voice, oppose the unjust *firman* and that every Hindu newspaper and magazine should give a crushing reply to it and fall a victim to the local policy of interdiction. We also wish that every Hindu chief should, by way of a protest to this *firman*, issue an order prohibiting every outstation Maulvi or Mulla and every Muhammadan preacher or leader from entering his territory, so that the Nizam may be brought to his senses to some extent at least. If the Hyderabad Hindus organise themselves for self-preservation, such unjust *firmans* of autocrats will find their way automatically into the waste-paper basket.

Indianization of Services.

The *Leader* takes strong exception to the appeal for British recruits made by Lord Birkenhead in his address at Glasgow University and says: When appealing for British recruits, the authorities should bear in mind that one of our important considerations is the employment of *our* boys and that any seeming advantages accruing from the employment of British recruits are more than counterbalanced by the dissatisfaction they produce here." The *Pioneer* emphasizes the need for securing English recruits not only in the Indian Civil Service, but in other All-India Services also, even if the changes under the Lee scheme are carried out. "Vigilance too is required lest the pledges given to existing services are ignored or infringed by indirect action in this country."

Political propaganda.

The *Bharat Dharma* says that in addition to the British servants the British traders are also sucking the blood of India. The former are doing so only by charging a number of allowances in addition to their princely salaries, but the latter are doing so in innumerable ways. If by starving or half-starving, a man is able to save a small sum and goes in for a piece of gold or silver jewellery for his wife this jewellery is felt as an eye-sore by the Britishers and they always think of devising means for pocketing it. This crooked policy is clear from the statement made by Sir Basil Blackett before the correspondent of the *Financial Review*. Let us see how many fresh means they are devising for sucking the blood of India. It seems that they are utilising their power and intelligence for impoverishing the country. The *Oudh Akhbar* agrees with Mr. Gandhi's complaint at Faridpur that Indians and not Englishmen were responsible for the economic distress in the country. What should be said of a people who cannot devote even half an hour daily to the *charkha* to attain *swaraj?* The spinning franchise must be continued. Referring to M. Zinovieff's resolution about India at a meeting of the Third International the paper understands that Russia has got a permanent department to devise means for the annexation of India. It fears that this resolution is simply meant to create suspicion and distrust in the British mind against Indians and consequently exhorts British statesmen to give cautious and careful consideration to these mischievous activities of Russia, before taking any action against Indians. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the *Pioneer* has got jealous over the railway facilities allowed to Mr. Gandhi in Bengal. He deserves

special treatment owing to his services as a patriot and reformer and it is a pity that the *Pioneer* could not suppress its prejudice against Indians.

Indians in Colonies.

Referring to the opinions of European settlers in Kenya published in the *East African Standard* the *Leader* writes: What does it all come to? That the white men settled in Kenya think themselves masters of that unfortunate country and claim the right to compel the natives to work on their own terms in order that they may make the most money in the quickest time by the easiest means. They do not care a brass button for the British Government's professed policy of acting in the interests of the natives.....What concerns us most is that the Government of India, while following a more or less correct policy generally, are weak in their advocacy and too prone to surrender the rights of Indians.

Labour organization and Lala Lajpat Rai.

The *Bhavishya* remarks that Lala Lajpat Rai's recent speech at the Labour meeting in Cawnpore contains no unpractical or unnatural suggestions under the cover of specious logic, but lays down at the present juncture, in an impartial and fearless manner, a true and straight course for the attainment of our ideal. We hold Lala Lajpat Rai to be the foremost leader of India at the present time. We should organise ourselves and attain *swaraj* under his guidance. The *Vartman* agrees with the Lala's view that there is no remedy better than union and organisation for removing the malady of serfdom. The cultivators and the labourers should therefore weld themselves together into a strong organisation and prepare for a "long war" with the capitalists.

Bolshevism.

The *Bhavishya* says that capitalistic countries like England, France and America circulated false reports about the Bolsheviks, because they do not like the Bolshevik object of supplanting the power of unjust capitalists and rulers by a government in which both the rich and the poor may be able to live comfortably. The latest report about the Bolsheviks fomenting a revolution in India and helping the revolutionary leaders of the country is quite a false and fabricated one. The Bolsheviks are so busy with their own home affairs that they have no time to spare for such activities. It is, however, with the help of such reports that the officials of this country find justification for practising repression.

Faridpur Conference.

The *Kurmanchal Mitra* remarks that Mr. C. R. Das's presidential address at the Faridpur Conference shows that the *swaraj* party will soon have to give up its obstructionist policy and either join the Moderates or seek the shelter of Mahatma Gandhi. The *Abhyudaya* opines that after this speech there is no need for party divisions among Indian politicians. There is no longer any cause for differences among the Liberals and the Independents but if there is any, the present situation in the country demands that all parties should unite to present an undivided front.

Reforms.

The *Medina* advises Government to hold a Round Table Conference with the Indian leaders to secure relief from the nightmares of Indian revolution and Russain Bolshevism. Success was achieved by Britain in Ireland and Egypt only because some measure of freedom was granted to those countries, otherwise the material forces of England would have been distracted and she would have suffered a serious reverse. The *Haqiqat* assures Indians that little good can result to India out of the Birkenhead-Reading consultations. However, if Mr. Das maintains even a partially stiff attitude India may get something but that something will never come up to the expectations of the *swaraj* party and the Indian public. Any way Lord Reading must be fully aware that Indians can no longer be consoled with the toy of the Reforms. The *Oudh Akhbar* advises all Indian political parties to despatch immediately a joint representation to the British Government expressing the Indian point of view. If a joint conference be not feasible all parties should support Mr. Das's statement at Faridpur that India's case should be fully presented.

India and Nepal.

The *Prem* and the *Hindi Kesri* publish an article by Mr. Savarkar in which he contends that Nepal is not a separate country but a part of India like so many other provinces and urges that interested propaganda to create ill-feeling between India and Nepal should be counteracted, as the latter is the only independent Hindu state which can help in the organization of the Hindu community.

High prices.

The *Haqiqat* complains that food-grains have now again become as dear as they were during the War. It is a pity that the Government continue to be unmindful of the sufferings of the people and large quantities of grain are being exported from Karachi. As there has not been a good wheat harvest this year in America and very little grain is even now being exported from Russia, Indians are being starved to feed the hungry in Europe. Can the Government do nothing to solve this problem?

Railway affairs.

Under the heading "The Fruits of Amalgamation" the *Weekly Mazdur and the Railwaymen* strongly protests against the transfer of the railway clerks from these provinces to Bengal, as, in its opinion, it is altogether impossible for the people of these parts to go and settle in Calcutta on the same pay. The paper advises the clerks to cast off their fear and come out to assert themselves unitedly. The *Aj* urges the appointment of a board to enquire into the grievances of the North-Western Railway strikers and says that it would have been much better if there were some legislation by which both the parties could be forced to come to terms with each other.

Usury.

The *Leader* calls attention to the evil of usury and thinks it essential that the question should be taken up in right earnest in India and public men should press the Government to deal with it by means of equitable legislation. It has been neglected for sufficiently long and should no longer be dismissed as unworthy of serious attention.

Village panchayats.

In the opinion of the *Leader* the annual Administration Report of the United Provinces for 1923-24 gives a depressing account of the village panchayats. "We are disposed to think that better results would have been achieved if Government had shown an active interest in the development of the panchayats. The fact that they are languishing in many places and show little signs of progress is not one on which the Government can congratulate themselves." The paper exhorts non-official workers to interest themselves in the matter with a view to put life into the moribund panchayats and generally to see that the aims and objects of the Village Panchayats Act are better realised and hopes that the Government will offer facilities to such workers as may be desirous of taking up the work.

Indians in Burma.

The *Hamdam* appeals to the Government of India to stop the enforcement of the recent law passed in Burma with a view to exclude Indians from that province.

Local Boards.

A writer in the *Hamdam* complains that in spite of the low percentage of Muslims in high posts in the Allahabad municipality, a suitable Muslim candidate for the post of municipal engineer was not appointed though available and the Hindu members voted unanimously in favour of the old engineer, Mr. Kochar, being recalled. Another writer deplores that in utter disregard of Muslim interests the secretary of the Farrukhabad district board, has issued orders that useful cattle are not to be auctioned to those who want to have them for purposes of slaughter.

The Coal Committee's report.

Commenting on the Indian Coal Committee's report, the *Pioneer* says: Those who looked for heroic remedies from the Committee will be disappointed, but, taken as a whole, the report seems to be a straightforward, sensible, and business-like production recognising the difficulties with which the trade is faced, and endeavouring to propound practical remedies as might have been expected.

Attack on Indian students at Glasgow.

The *Leader* writes: The news of the murderous outrage on Indian students at Glasgow resulting in one death and several injuries will be received in this country with great indignation. It is to be hoped that the guardians of law and order at Glasgow will succeed in tracing the criminals and that full justice will be done to them. We await further particulars with anxious interest.

Treatment of Akali prisoners.

The *Aj* says that the explanation regarding the ill-treatment of the Akali prisoners in Nabha betrays the incapacity of the jail authorities. The supposed injustice of Maharaja Ripu Daman Singh which cost him his throne is nothing as compared with brute-force which is being displayed by the present Nabha authorities.

The *Vartman* surmises that the next war will be fought in Asia and says that England and America will have to accept Asia's challenge through Japan and Russia before they are able to pursue their imperialistic designs in Eastern Asia and conquer the world.

The next war.

The *Shakti* remarks that not only the Germans, but Indians also, are exultant over Marshal Hindenburg's election. The *Aj* condemns the lack of courtesy on the part of the Allies in not observing the formality of congratulating President Hindenburg on his election and says that the late war has shaken the foundations of European manners.

Marshal Hindenburg's election.

ALLAHABAD:

The 23rd May, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,

Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 21 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 30TH MAY, 1925.

Foreign Affairs.

The Muslim press has been sympathetically following the Riffian struggle for freedom. The *Medina* styles their victory over Spain as a miracle of patriotism worthy of emulation by Indians whose dependence is not only political but also spiritual and religious. Hindus should cease dreaming foolish dreams of Hindu *Swaraj* and wholesale *Shuddhi* and strive, like the Riffs, for the freedom of their country. The *Najat* accuses France of conspiring with Spain to crush the Riffs so that the contagion of freedom may not spread to the French colonies in Africa. In order to secure a free hand in Egypt Britain has to acquiesce in French policy. Indian Muslims should realise how England supports every scheme for the undoing of Muslim nations and countries. The condition of the Jazirat-ul-Arab is before our eyes and now obstacles are being placed in the path of *haj* by the Government of India. England is in possession of Mesopotamia and Palestine and is not prepared to evacuate Mosul. She is also casting eyes towards Persia and is inciting her agents to foment disturbances there. Such is the state of the Islamic world and everywhere the hand of Britain is seen at work. But, alas, we see our salvation in quarrelling with the Hindus and securing our share of a few crumbs of bread. The *Medina* is gratified to note that the London letter published by the *New York World* has made it clear that British intrigues are at the bottom of most of the troubles and that it was British jealousy of German naval expansion in the North Sea that precipitated the Great War. The entire world to-day regards Britain, owing to her trickery, as the most unreliable state. The *Oudh Akhbar* thinks that the expected decision of the Mosul Boundary Commission is sure to embitter the existing relations between Turkey and Mesopotamia. Britain is opposed to the separation of Mosul and is trying to prejudice the attitude of the League of Nations. The *Medina* points out that the trials of the Kurdish rebels have clearly established the complicity of England in the revolt and says that though her material power might save her in this world, the blood of the innocent will bring down very heavily God's vengeance on her in the next world. The Muslim Press is generally satisfied with the proposed installation of Sheikh Sennousi as Emir of Mecca and the *Medina* replies to Mr. Philby's opposition to it with the retort that the installation of such a pro-Turk as Emir would be so disgraceful for Britain that she would have to commit suicide. There is good reason for this. During his *regimé* there would be no room for British intrigue, and other anti-Islamic activities, and what greater calamity can befall England than the prosperity of the Islamic world? Mr. Philby regards the Sheikh's appointment as a challenge to England. May God save Angora from her evil eye! The *Sada-i-Muslim* wonders why Turkey is regarded with so much suspicion and points out that the question of Caliphate being a purely religious one no non-Muslim power has a right of interference. The *Mashriq* scouts the idea of a Russo-Afghan attack on India and contends that in view of the basic antagonism between Bolshevism and Islam and the affinity between Afghanistan and India war between the two countries should not be thought of.

Haj.

The Extremist section of the Muslim Press is still suspicious of British intentions regarding this year's *haj*. The *Medina* alleges that the Government of India are secretly inciting their agents to discourage *hajis* from proceeding on pilgrimage this

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year though the port of Rabigh possesses a good market capable of provisioning a large number of people.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

The *Leader* severely criticizes Lord Birkenhead's speech at the Assam dinner and says: "Luckily for India, Lord Curzon did not, and Lord Birkenhead does not, exhaust the British capacity of statemanship. What is of vastly greater consequence and relevance, the people of India will to be free and they will not be denied. If we trust the sound instinct of the British, we naturally set much greater store by the latter circumstance, and whatever those politicians—not statesmen—who happen for the moment to be in authority may say or will to the contrary, it is the Indians on whose side the time-spirit is fighting and they will have *swaraj*. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* does not find in the speech any signs of sympathy for Indian aspirations and says:—"The clouds are fast descending on all sides of the political horizon. Our rulers are firm in their views and the people are divided in their outlook. The angel of repression is flapping its wings on the India Office corridor. It is for the Indian leaders to face the coming storm." The *Aj* says: Lord Birkenhead's speech in the Glasgow University shows that the main object of the British army stationed in India and maintained at our expense is not to protect the country from foreign invasion but to keep us under subjection: This is also the chief function of the Civil Service. So long as the Government of India is carried on in accordance with this military policy there can be no peace in the country. We do not care for the white or non-white element in the services; all that we want is that they should behave as servants and not as masters.

Reforms.

Commenting on the report that certain powers which under the Government of India Act were given to the Bengal Legislative Council will revert to the Governor of Bengal in Council, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Something other than the mailed fist was expected after Das-Birkenhead conversations and the Faridpur speech of the Swarajist leader, but the proposed action shows the bureaucrat persisting in his obstinate position. He is blind to all signs. Those who think that they can terrify Bengal by repression have never studied the political developments in the country during the last twenty years. The *Aj* regards the proposed action of Government as evidence of swarajist success and says that *swaraj* cannot be attained until Indians have rendered the working of the present system of Government impossible. When the avowed object of the British authorities is to get India ruled by foreign civilians with the help of the military there is no need for legislative councils and Ministers and it is the duty of every patriot to break this net of delusion so that military government may be carried on openly. The *Medina* condemns Mrs. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill as it does not give Indians control over the exchequer and the army. Commenting on Major Graham Pole's article on the Muddiman Committee's report the *Oudh Akhbar* asks Indian leaders to publish their joint statement on the political situation in the country at once. Else it fears that in case the failure of the reforms is officially admitted, the Government might revert to the old Morley-Minto or some other scheme of autocracy and in that case Indians would be great losers and would ever lament over their folly of negligence. Referring to the *Times'* comments on Mr. Das's Faridpur speech the paper observes that not only the Swarajists but all Indian political parties without exception have condemned the present system of diarchy as unworkable and even if the Swarajists condescend to stop their obstructive policy the system cannot prove a success. As a matter of fact the grant of special powers to Government has rendered the Councils a sham and unless this defect is removed and Government is made responsible to the Councils the present agitation in the country cannot subside.

The Empire Day.

Commenting on the speech of the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Empire Day in which he emphasized the importance of the nations of the world recognizing the nations of the Empire as their equals, the *Leader* writes:—This full-mouthed phrase has no meaning for us as India is treated by England herself not as a partner but as a dependency and Indians settled in several other parts of the Empire are subjected to disabilities, oppressive and humiliating. Dominion Governments, particularly that of South Africa, have been going on with legislative and administrative measures to make the Indian settlers' position still more galling.

It is because of these things that the Empire day evokes no enthusiasm among our countrymen and its celebrations leave them cold.

The ban against Mr. Malaviya.

Comments on the Nizam's *firman* prohibiting the entry of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya into his state are deeply tinged with communal acrimony. Hindu papers strongly condemn the Nizam's action while the Muslim press with one voice supports it as an act of statesmanship intended to prevent serious communal troubles which might have resulted from the visit of one of the chief fomenters of communal disturbances. The *Patriot* writes: His Exalted Highness seems to have come under the baneful influence of communal fanaticism which is being assiduously cultivated by a section of Muslims in India . . . The Gulbarga riots, the manner in which the Muslims convicted in the riots have been allowed to go scot-free, the non-fulfilment so far of the promise to repair the temples out of state funds, are all glaring proofs of the fact that either the Nizam or his Minister has been very profusely inoculated with anti-Hindu views. The *Vartman* characterizes the action of the Nizam as despotic and asks him whether he can even now claim that the Hindus and Muhammadans enjoy equal rights in his state and whether he can, in this way, forbid any Christian missionary from entering his state. In the opinion of the *Aj* the ban shows that under the Nizam's Government efforts are being made to crush the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus despite the fact that they form 96 per cent. of the population. The Nizam had nothing to fear from Pandit Malaviya as the Hindu *Sangathan* is not meant for weakening any community but for purging various communities of their hooligan elements. The *Sada-i-Muslim* regards Mr. Malaviya as the person responsible for the present communal dissensions in the country. The *Hamdam* holds the *Sangathan* movement to be responsible for the Gulbarga disturbances and says that in view of the persistently truculent attitude of the Hindu press even after that incident, the Nizam's Government has acted very wisely in excluding from their territories the chief protagonist of militant *Sangathan*. The *Medina* is surprised at the action of Hyderabad Hindus in electing this dissension-breeding individual as their President. He got so many Hindu and Muslim skulls broken and his entry into Hyderabad would have resulted in a thousand Golcundas. When the voice of this wizard of *Sangathan* from (distant) Benares could lead to bloodshed in Golcunda, what would not his presence have done? Mr. Malaviya is the worst enemy of the country and even while working with Mr. Gandhi has been guilty of treason to the Congress. He is the greatest fomentor of discord and only recently in his speech at Delhi he conjured up a vision of attacks on the honour of Hindu women by Muslims and advised Hindus to break the heads and legs of the Muslims. The *Mashriq* sees in the ban an act of great administrative capacity and the *Zulqarnain* congratulates His Exalted Highness on having saved his state from the flames of Hindu-Muslim disunion which are swallowing British India. The *Sada-i-Muslim* enquiries why the Hindu press which is just now so vociferous in its protests was silent when Mr. C. R. Das and Seth Jamna Lal Bajaz were excluded from Kashmir and Jaipur respectively.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to Lala Lajpat Rai's statement that Muhammadans are making strenuous efforts to gain more political rights and privileges, the *Pioneer* writes that Muhammadans can hardly be blamed for seeking to improve their position, either in public bodies or in the services. And the utterances of certain Hindu politicians have certainly not tended to render the relations between the two communities more friendly. The *Gyan Shakti* takes exception to the remark of a local contemporary that the Muhammadans are free to sacrifice whenever and wherever they deem it necessary to do so and says that they are bound by considerations of time and place in this matter. Cow-sacrifice should never be allowed at the time when and the place where it has never taken place before.

The *Bhavishya* says that in the recent riot between Hindus and Muhammadans at Calcutta the latter appear to have been the aggressors which is generally the case. Leading Muhammadan barristers espouse the cause of rioters after the disturbances and this only encourages bad characters in their nefarious practices. The *Arya Mitra* condemns the action of the Muhammadan Deputy Commissioner of Bahraich in preventing the Arya Samajists from carrying their missionary work in the Syed Salar fair. It asks him why he is planting thorns in the path of religious liberty. Is he not solely responsible for fanning the fire of discontent in the Arya Samajist world by committing such

unjustifiable acts? Have the Musalmans also been prevented from preaching in the fair? We fail to understand how the work which has been carried on so peacefully during the last twenty-seven years has now given rise to apprehensions of a horrible catastrophe overtaking the place? Do Government want that the Arya Samajists should not propagate their religion without let or hindrance? Can the people maintain religious toleration for any length of time in the face of such behaviour of Government officials? The *Pratap* publishes a letter from the President of the *Arya Samaj*, Bahraich, in which he appeals to the entire Hindu community and the press to agitate against such an action of the authorities and says that by imposing restrictions on the Arya Samajists in this way the position of the Hindu women and children visiting the fair will become very perilous. The *Gyan Shakti* invites the attention of the Government to the desecration of Siva images in two quarters of Jaunpur and says that these incidents have wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus and caused great consternation in the town. It appeals to the Government not to allow the perpetration of such high-handedness in British India, and takes the Hindus to task for worshipping graves and *tazias* of Muhammadans and says that if they are not already a dead nation they will become so by worshipping dead-bodies. One Akbar Shah Khan of Najibabad appeals to Mr. Malaviya through the *Medina* either to desist from his communal activities which are so embittering Hindu-Muslim relations or take the permission of Government to materialise his idea of a pitched fight between Hindus and Muslims. The battle may be fought with sharp-edged weapons on the famous field of Panipat where the Muslims so utterly routed the Hindus in 1761. Mr. Malaviya may rest assured that there will be only 700 Muslims against 2,200 Hindus and there will not be a single member of the much-dreaded Afghan or Frontier community among the former. The *Nizam-i-Alam* complains that a most unsavoury tract entitled *Asmani Firishta* or *Islam ki Tilili Jhar* was distributed at the annual gathering of the *Arya Samaj*, Bijnor. Its publication is meant only to insult Islam and Muslims. The *Medina* is similarly aggrieved at the publication of the picture of the Prophet by one R. N. Sharma in the Madras Presidency and wants its circulation to be stopped. The *Sadha-i-Muslim* approves of the action of the Deputy Commissioner of Bahraich interdicting Arya preachings at the Syed Salar fair this year in view of the grave peril to public peace caused by the offensive language of the Aryas at the last year's fair.

Rockfeller Medical Fellowships.

The *Leader's* Simla correspondent complains that four of the Indian doctors selected by the Government of India for the award of Rockfeller Medical Fellowship have, on their return after acquiring special knowledge in foreign countries, not been given "their specialist work," but have been posted "for normal medical profession." Commenting on this the paper writes that if its correspondent's information is correct, the treatment accorded by Government to these doctors is astonishing to a degree. "Surely, commonsense should set limits even to race prejudice and political considerations."

Political Propaganda.

The *Pratap* says that news received from various quarters during the last week shows that the Bolsheviks are trying to uproot the British raj. It cannot be said how far this is correct but it shows that the Bolshevik bogey is still frightening Englishmen. It is also possible that these rumours have been circulated in order to enable the present Conservative Government of England to govern with absolute autocracy. In the course of an article entitled "Thirst for other people's blood," the *Vartman* says that the desire for dominating other nations is greatly increasing in the hearts of independent powers. The preparation of the Singapore base, the election of Von Hindenburg, the formulation of the Soviet programme are all the outcome of the Imperialistic ambitions mentioned above. Educated and wise men are, however, tired of this disastrous policy and it is necessary that societies should be established in every country to force the Imperialists to abstain from enslaving others and to help in the emancipation of those who are undergoing the severe tribulations of subjection. The *Bhavishya* compares the annual recurring expenditure on Indian defence with that incurred in Japan for the same purpose and points out that despite greater expenditure India's defences are not as good as those of Japan. One hundred and fifty years of British rule have not improved the condition of Indians but on the contrary have rendered them weak, spiritless, dependent and impoverished. Students of politics should note how costly subjection is proving

to India and should try to solve the problem at an early date. The *Swadhin* says that Indians who are regarded as easily exploitable and willing slaves of old are so badly fettered with the chains of this crooked "trusteeship" that when any question is raised regarding her in the League of Nations our "God given trustees" frighten people by conjuring up the Bolshevik bugbear and the bogey of inter-communal quarrels. All the high posts in the army which is maintained under this "trusteeship" for protecting us from the attacks of the Russian bugbear are given to the worthy children of the white trustees. Indians are employed only for hewing wood and drawing water and rendering other services to them. In view of all this we wonder whether we should call it trusteeship or exploitation. The *Shakti* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in which he says that the Ghadar Party of America is located in house no. 5, Wood Street, Francisco (California). It is open to receive every political *sanyasi* and there are arrangements for board and lodging and clothing for eight or ten men. Tha *Najat* dwells at length on the economic exploitation of India by England and says that it was British lust for Indian gold that impelled her to extend her sway gradually over the whole of India with the fruitful weapon of "divide et impera." England is now trying to safeguard all the routes to India and this is responsible for her new born antagonism against Japan. Germany is also being sedulously excluded from the Indian market and while all Indian gold is being kept in England Indians are being beguiled with silver, nickel and paper money and made to lose heavily in the matter of exchange.

The Glasgow incident.

Referring to the assault on Indians at Glasgow the *Bharat Jiwan* says that it will be a matter for regret if it appears that the incident has anything to do with the colour question. The incident is unprecedented in the annals of Britain and it is to be hoped that the police will soon find out the culprits as well as the cause of this mischief. The *Aj* says that the incident will be remembered side by side with Lord Birkenhead's speech at Glasgow University as it took place shortly after it.

Abolition of Commissionerships.

The *Oudh Akhbar* regards the local Government's circular order enjoining upon all officers the duty of calling upon Commissioners of divisions as an insult to Indian officers who would be mostly affected and wonders why in spite of the public demand in these provinces for the abolition of Commissionerships the local Government are attaching so much value to them. The United Provinces can, like Madras, very well do without Commissioners. The appellate functions of these officers in second revenue appeals can be discharged either by the Board of Revenue or District Judges and the work of inspection can be delegated to Secretaries to Government.

The Gurdwara Bill.

The *Vartman* says that if the Akali, Namdhari, Sahajdhari and other sects of the Sikh community are dissatisfied with the Gurdwara Bill the Hindu Sabha should intervene and bring about a satisfactory settlement between the Akalis and the other twenty-two sects of the Hindu community so that their just rights may not be jeopardised. Referring to the protests of the Udasi Sikhs against the Bill the *Oudh Akhbar* asks the Punjab Government to make special provision for protecting the rights of the Udasis who have for long been in possession of the Gurdwaras. The object of the Bill should be to secure the administration and supervision of the Gurdwaras and not the ejectment of the present possessors in favour of the Akalis, otherwise a still stronger agitation will ensue and the Government will fail in its object of maintaining peace in the province. The *Mashriq* has a contributed article in which the writer warns Sir Malcolm Hailey against a policy of excessive leniency towards the Akalis and says that it will tell upon the peace of the province if their activities are allowed to continue unchecked.

Bawla Murder Case.

The *Pioneer* calls attention to the significance of the words "hireling" and "some exceedingly powerful influence" used by the defending counsel in his plea for mitigation of the sentence on two of the accused and says:—"The execution of the penalties prescribed will not entirely dispose of the very serious issues arising from the affair which has aroused public attention and comment in a remarkable degree". While satisfied with the sentences passed the *Haqiqat* enquires what action would be taken against the person to please whom the whole conspiracy, resulting in the murder of a respectable citizen, was hatched. Something must be done to deter others.

The Railway strike.

Commenting on an account of the origin and the development of the strike sent to the paper by the general secretary of the North-Western Railway Union, the *Leader* doubts whether the leaders of the Union have proceeded the right way about the business and used with self-restraint their influence over the workers. The paper, however, criticizes the "non-possumus" attitude of the higher railway officials and says:—It is time that the Railway Board intervened and brought about a settlement of the quarrel. A statement should be issued as to why the railway authorities are reluctant to recognize the Union. The Railway Board should issue an authoritative statement about the causes of the trouble and the steps it proposes to take to bring about a termination of the unfortunate dispute. The *Bhavishya* condemns the European authorities of the North-Western Railway for not putting an end to the distress of the strikers and wonders why the Punjab Government does not intervene in the matter. It says that the railway authorities can be made to yield only when the strikers force their hands by making the strike a success by means of a perfect organization. The *Surya* urges the members of the Legislative Assembly to solve the strike problem as soon as possible and says that the way in which the Railway Board is ignoring the grievances of the strikers shows that the employees have no other course open to them but to continue the strike.

Indian States.

The *Bhavishya* writes that the people of the Alwar State are now being oppressed in a very cruel manner. Most barbarous atrocities are being perpetrated on them. These atrocities come next to the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and are a blot on the old and noble traditions of Rajputana. The *Sada-i-Muslim* emphasizes the need for a vigorous agitation by the Muslim leaders against the desecration of graves in tahsil Rampur in the Jammu State as it thinks that Kashmir Muslims will have no peace until their protests resound in the ears of the Viceroy and his Council.

The Next Home Member.

The Muslim Press has now passed from conjectures about the next Home Member to positive suggestions about the appointment. Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan is ruled out as he is considered to be inseparable from the Muslim University and the *Rohilkhand Gazette* suggests instead Nawab Muzammil-ullah Khan as suited for that high office both by his capacity and the confidence that he enjoys in the country. The *Haqiqat* supports Nawab Yusuf on the ground that an Agra Zamindar should succeed an Oudh Taluqdar. The *Mashriq* suggests a choice between Mr. Raza Ali and Nawab Yusuf.

Indians in Burma.

The *Hind-i-Jadid* is pained to find that Indians are being sedulously excluded from every country that they have helped to develop and that history is now repeating itself in Burma. It is a pity that Burmese Nationalists are playing into the hands of the European officials and do not realise that the latter and not they themselves will gain by the exclusion of Indians from their country.

Indian Coal Committee.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is of opinion that though some of the recommendations of the Committee are desirable they do not go to the root cause. The paper pleads for the protection of the coal industry and says that unless a countervailing duty on the South African coal is imposed, thereby giving adequate protection to the Indian coal against foreign competition, there will be no satisfactory solution of the problem of developing the indigenous industry.

Union of Parties.

Referring to Mrs. Naidu's attempts at re-establishing unity between the different political parties, the *Leader* writes that the time is ripe for consultations among the most prominent leaders of the various parties with a view to discuss how far united action is possible. They may or may not result in a settlement of all points of difference but they are likely further to minimize them.

ALLAHABAD:

The 30th May, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,

Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 22 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 6TH JUNE, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Commenting on the agreement between England, France and Spain with regard to the Moroccan operations the *Leader* writes: It is all a part of the game of grab systematically practised by the powerful European nations at the expense of the weaker Africans and Asiatics, ostensibly in the name of the extension of civilization, but in reality for their own selfish purposes. As Asiatics our sympathy is naturally with the inhabitants of Morocco. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regards the Moroccan war as a fight for white supremacy through the murder of the small Riff nation struggling to be free from European domination . . . The secret of the whole thing is that the gallant Riffs by putting the Spaniards to rout have shaken the white prestige in North Africa. They have been creating there a new self-consciousness for freedom amongst the subject people of the European Powers; and if they are not destroyed North Africa will not be safe for European exploitation and dominance. The *Sada-i-Muslim* wonders whether Britain's instinct for protecting the weak has disappeared along with the war. She was not at all moved when Greece perpetrated atrocities in Smyrna and it is yet to be seen if she cares to save the Riffs from the clutches of France and Spain. The *Medina* condemns British policy in regard to the Mosul question and appeals to the League of Nations to settle it very quickly if it does not want to kindle the fire of another world-war. The *Vartman* says that Afghanistan is justified in increasing its military strength when it knows that Europe and white nations are ready to swallow Asia and black nations. Usually when a nation becomes strong it tries to enslave other nations, but Afghanistan ought not to follow suit. It should, on the contrary, help other subject nations in making themselves free and happy like itself.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

The *Bhavishya* concludes from Lord Birkenhead's speech at the Assam dinner that by yielding too much to "cunning" authorities Mr. C. R. Das has not got nor is likely to get anything from them. Whatever has been obtained from the British people than whom there is no nation more selfish, cunning and promise-breaking, has been secured not by an yielding attitude, but under compulsion. This historical truth should never be forgotten by Indians. The *Vartman* wonders why India is asked again and again to show her *bona fides* when she has already done so several times. The speech shows that India should not hope to get further reforms before the expiry of the prescribed period. It is impossible to remove the unrest in India unless a scheme calculated to satisfy the starving and afflicted Indians is inaugurated. The *Aj* remarks that if Lords Birkenhead and Reading cannot devise some means to satisfy Indians, they should revoke the reforms and dissolve the Legislative Councils. In view of Lord Birkenhead's speech the *Medina* expects little from his conversations with Lord Reading and says that as foreshadowed by Mr. C. R. Das in the concluding lines of his Faridpur address, civil disobedience will be needed after the official announcement. Will our quarrelsome friends ponder awhile?

Haj.

The *Medina* opines that all the intrigues of the Government to dissuade *hajis* from proceeding on pilgrimage this year were meant to deprive the people of the Hedjaz of their annual source of income and thus to prejudice them against Ibn Saud

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who is a thorn in the side of European imperialism. Britain and the family of Hussain are wedded together and Ali is being secretly helped in spite of protestations of neutrality. An English vessel was caught in the Suez carrying arms to Jeddah on behalf of an English company. Who will dare trust British declarations of neutrality after this? We have cited this incident to show that the enemies of Islam who want to keep the Hedjaz and Arabia a prey to deceitful intrigues are using all their power and cunning to serve their purpose. If the Muslim leaders had not forced the Government of India to allow the pilgrimage this year then it is quite possible that the Sheriffian and British cunning would have succeeded, but God be praised that the net of deceit of the enemies proved only a spider's web and in spite of the enemies of Islam the *Jehangir* left with pilgrims. The paper joins with the Muslim press in the appeal for funds for the relief of the suffering people of the Hedjaz and says that Indian Muslims should send at least five lakhs of rupees.

Reforms.

Referring to the report regarding the approaching end of diarchy in Bengal, the *Bharat Jiwan* says that it would on the whole be good if the deception which has been practised in India in the name of *swaraj* were exposed in some corner of the country. The Government and the bureaucracy would then appear in their true colours and the world would know that the *swaraj* which had been granted to India depended on the sweet will of Government officials. It is better not to have *swaraj* at all than to have a defective *swaraj* like the present one.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu papers are considerably agitated over the news that notices have been posted in the streets of Dera Ismail Khan threatening Hindus either to embrace Islam or to quit the city. The *Prabhat* wonders if the Government, who are so keen about applying section 144 on the slightest pretext, will let the matter go uninvestigated. The paper says that these mischief-mongers ought to consider what the plight of the country would be if the Hindus were also to retaliate at places where the Muhammadans form a very small minority. The lenient treatment of the Muhammadan perpetrators of the Kohat massacre has only encouraged the Muhammadans in their mischievous activities. The *Abhaya* remarks that the Deputy Commissioner's reply to the Hindu deputation in this connection is ridiculous. It means that the eyes of the Deputy Commissioner will be opened only when the Hindus of Dera Ismail Khan have been massacred. It is clear that either the Government have not strength enough to protect the Hindus from Muhammadan bad characters or else they want to colonize Dera Ismail Khan with their kith and kin by sending the Muhammadans to hell when the latter have extirpated the Hindus. The Hindus should, therefore, soon devise means for protecting their Frontier brethren and, if necessary, should send volunteers from various places. The *Bhavishya* points out that the notice is the outcome of the proselytising propaganda of men like Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Zafar Ali and Hasan Nizami who have led hooligans to believe that it is their religious duty to rob, plunder and forcibly convert their enemies and thus add to the number of Muhammadans. The *Vartman* says that it is apparent from the notice that there is certainly some secret organization which engineers the communal disturbances in the country and that this secret organization has been encouraged to issue such a notice by the scheme of Khwaja Hasan Nizami, the secret intrigues of His Highness the Agha Khan and the speeches and writings of Muslim leaders. The paper exhorts the Hindus to wake up and save their brethren from the coming danger. The *Shankar* publishes a letter in which the writer wonders as to the justification for the application of section 144 in Syed Salar Fair at Bahraich, when the discourses of the Arya Samajist preachers were not like gun-powder or shells which could raze to the ground Syed Salar's tomb, and remarks that such action has been taken against the Arya Samajists because at Bahraich all officials from the constable to the highest authorities are Muhammadans and they are trying to carry out Hasan Nizami's scheme. The *Abhaya* replying to certain "absurd" observations of Hasan Nizami says: Has "Mianji" forgotten the sword of Hari Singh Nalwa, at the mere mention of whose name the Frontier Muhammadans used to tremble with fear. This demon of *shuddhi* is going to swallow you; narrow-minded Maulvis like you have put an end to Muslim power in India and now the day is not distant when you and your co-religionists will grow top-knots and wear sacred threads. The *Arya Mitra* writes: We see that the mischievous activities of Muhammadan bad characters are increasing day by day.

They are promoting the cause of *Tabligh* in all possible ways. At some places they abduct women and at others steal children. The Muslim press is not inclined to attach much importance to the anti-Hindu notice said to have been posted at Dera Ismail Khan. The *Jadu* regards it as the work of a mad man or a mischief-maker or perhaps of a third person who by.throwing a lighted squib seeks to set the peaceful province ablaze. Anyway, the deed is execrable, and it is to be hoped that all sober-minded people will discountenance this move to create ill-feeling between Hindus and Muslims. The *Medina* publishes a contributed article in which the writer ridicules Lala Har Dayal's suggestion that Muslims should merge themselves into the Hindus and says that as pollution by touch, *niyog*, divergence of sects and gross forms of worship exist among the Hindus, their culture cannot prove acceptable to others. All the Hindus should, therefore, embrace Islam. The *Al Barid* refers to the Lala's suggestions regarding Hindu *swaraj* and complete *shuddhi* and says that the negligence of Muslims has emboldened the *dal* (pulse)-taking and *dhoti* (loin cloth)-wearing race to harbour such dangerous designs. Muslims beware, those, whom you always regarded as foxes are going to take advantage of your weakness and to swallow you in the guise of wolves. Those whom your blood-drinking swords kept as slaves for centuries now want not only to enslave you but also to deprive you of your religion. The *Medina* condemns the Lala's insistence on a separate language and culture for India and says that it would bar Indian progress. It is no use reviving the dead Sanskrit language. Urdu, Persian and Arabic would help free India in her intercourse with Muslim neighbours.

The services.

From the "persistent questioning" in the House of Commons following the debate raised in the House of Lords by Lord Ampthill, the *Leader* apprehends that British officers and perhaps also domiciled European and Anglo-Indian, in services other than those classified as "all-India," may get increases of emoluments and passage concessions more or less on the lines "of the Lee gifts to the more favoured ones already materialized." Concluding, the paper says: "One gets sick of this unabashed raid on the public revenues in defiance of public opinion, the while that want of funds is habitually pleaded when more expenditure on beneficial services is strongly urged."

Bawla murder case.

The *Advocate* is convinced that "there is some one at the bottom who has caused the perpetration of this beastly crime but has been left scot-free" and says "it is the moral duty of the Bombay Government to find out the real culprit and to punish him severely so that it may serve as an example to others and such crimes may not be perpetrated in future." The *Weekly Observer* says that with the passing of the sentence on the accused the case has not been altogether closed. "The side issues have now to be examined and will be a grave public scandal if no attempt is made to elucidate the still mysterious origin of the motive which led men from an Indian State to perpetrate a dastardly murder in a public thoroughfare in Bombay for the sake of a dancing girl who had at one time been the mistress of a powerful Maharaja." The *Medina* is grieved to note that while the poor accused in this case have been punished, their master who did everything to minister to his sensuality has escaped scot-free, because he is a capitalist and a ruler. No wonder that in view of such invidious distinctions the labourers of Russia laid the foundations of Communism and Bolshevism. No one would be surprised if in India also the children of these convicted persons were to join the Red Army one after the other. Excess always induces reaction. Why should not capitalism and mammon-worship when they exceed all bounds lead to Bolshevism? Then there would be no distinction between a Maharaja and a motor-driver and every criminal would suffer for his deeds. The *Sada-i-Muslim* suggests the appointment of a commission to make further inquiries into the Bawla murder case and to discover the chief personality at whose instigation the brutal deed was committed.

The ban against Mr. Malaviya.

The *Kailas* says that by issuing the *Nadirshahi* (autocratic and tyrannical) order against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya the Nizam's government have sullied their reputation for justice and impartiality and deeply wounded the religious susceptibilities of millions of their Hindu subjects. In view of such unjust acts of Indian states it is not wrong for some people to say that British rule is better than Indian rule. The *Aj* deplores the approving comments of the *Hamdam*

on the Nizam's *firman* and contends that though Hindus and Muhammadans were always treated on an equal footing in Hyderabad, the same treatment is not accorded to them now. The Nizam's government should have known that the organization of Hindus does not mean a challenge to Muhammadans to fight with them.

Political propaganda.

The *Najat* regards British influence in the East and the ascendancy of British capitalists in the West to be the two great obstacles in the progress of the Bolshevik movement. The Bolsheviks are, therefore, fired with hatred against Britain and have not only converted the Balkan peninsula into a volcano but have also established their centres in the heart of the British Empire. Britain is bent on destroying Bolshevism, but it is doubtful whether the repressive methods adopted by her will succeed in their object. In another article the paper attributes the deplorable economic condition of India to the existing system of government which sacrifices the subjects for its own selfish motives and political ends. The British Government is a government of capitalists, who in the name of free trade and by juggling with the rate of exchange are busy in looting and exporting the raw products of this country for full twelve months of the year. Freedom is the only remedy for all these ills. Communal differences should be sunk and all constitutional methods should be adopted to secure liberty. So long as Englishmen stand as buyers, their interest would be to keep us poor so that we may be compelled by necessity to offer raw products for sale. The *Oudh Akhbar* eulogises the work of the Swarajists in the Councils and urges them to contest seats in the Council of State. The *Hamdam* regrets that the exploitation of the Afghan bogey for purposes of Hindu *Sangathan* by such leaders as Lala Lajpat Rai and Bhai Parmanand has given occasion to Lord Birkenhead to justify British tutelage of India as the best safeguard against invasion from the North-West. Indians have in the past furnished sufficient proof of martial qualities and, given the opportunity, both Hindus and Muslims will develop the necessary capacity and protect their common country from foreign foes.

Birthday Honours.

The *Pioneer* thinks that the Indian Honours List covers a wide field and that it will be regarded on the whole with satisfaction by those acquainted with the work performed by the recipients of the new Honours. The *Leader* agrees with the American view that titles are "like the antiquated mummeries of a past age" and asks if the dispensers of the favours cannot exercise a finer discrimination than they do either in England or in India. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The length of the list of Birthday Honours and the expectancy with which these Honours have been awaited must remind the sincere non-co-operator of the utter failure of one of the planks of his programme. These Honours are sought for with the same avidity as before.

Indian states.

The *Leader* supports the demand for constitutional reforms in Indian states as formulated in the presidential address of Mr. Kamat to the Deccan States Subjects Conference held at Poona and is of opinion that it cannot possibly be objected to by a single reasonable ruling prince. "And every wise member of that illustrious class should, without avoidable delay, take steps to satisfy aspirations so reasonable, so moderate and so much in the interests of the rulers themselves and their states." The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that the shocking Alwar incident has eclipsed even the Jallianwala bagh massacre, inasmuch as it has been perpetrated by fellow-countrymen. People in no Indian state are safe and India will have to raise her voice against the powers of Indian chiefs. The *Aj* says that if Indian ruling princes treat their subjects well, firmly resolve to educate them, and grant them real administrative powers the almighty bureaucracy will not dare to ill-treat them. It is using them as were tools to keep India under subjection as long as possible. The Indian chiefs should ponder over this crooked policy of our present rulers who are doing injustice in Indian states under the pretext of protecting them.

Local Self-government

The *Hamdam* publishes a letter from Rao Muhammad Abdul Rahman complaining of the disregard of Muslim interests by the Hindu majority in the Saharanpur District Board and suggesting that there should be official chairmen in local bodies with Muslim secretaries where there is a Hindu majority and Hindu secretaries where there is a Muslim majority. The *Mashriq* complains that

since the non-officialization of the district boards the condition of the Islamic *maktabs* in these provinces has become very unsatisfactory. Taking advantage of superiority of numbers every possible effort is being made to render this useful scheme of Sir James Meston a failure. It is surprising that the Bara Banki District Board should pass a resolution to abolish the Islamia *maktabs*. It is to be hoped that the Local Government will take speedy steps to counteract this undesirable tendency.

Earthquake in Japan.

The *Bhavishya* urges Indians to render monetary help to the Japanese in the distress caused by the recent earthquake, remarking that it is their duty to do so on account of their religious and geographical connection with the Japanese, who are, besides, the sole champions of the Asiatics against Europe.

Control of the sale of opium.

The *Bhavishya* says that Britain can well ignore the displeasure of other powers and bear the sight of Indians, Persians, Arabs and the Chinese getting deteriorated in health, but it can never like to get its income reduced by the control of the sale of opium. In a poor country like India the consumption of opium should be totally stopped.

The next war.

Referring to the recent Russo-Japanese and Anglo-Afghan treaties, the *Najat* apprehends another great war in the near future, and says that now the parties will be spreading snares for entangling Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. It regards the situation as dangerous to India and says that it is to maintain her hold on the country that Britain is increasing her power in the East. The *Medina* advises England to cultivate the friendship of Muslim States in view of the impending peril of another war and wonders whether the resignation of Lord Allenby foreshadows a milder policy in Egypt.

The North-Western Railway strike.

The *Leader* urges the Railway Board and the Hon'ble Member for Commerce to intervene and make an earnest effort to bring about a settlement. The *Hindustani* makes a similar request and pleads for a sympathetic consideration of the demands of the strikers.

Next Home Member.

The *Leader* urges that it will be a great public advantage if the next Home Member in the United Provinces is selected from among the leading members of the bar, as it will be one of his duties to deal with the numerous and important recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee.

The next Viceroy.

The *Hindustani* opposes the extension of Lord Reading's term as it would only mean a prolongation of his régime of repression. Lord Birkenhead would prove no better as he would only be the former's worthy pupil in oppression and cunning and being fond of Darbars would waste a good deal of public money also. This much has been made clear by Lord Birkenhead's Assam dinner speech that diarchy will continue in defiance of Indian public opinion, but it would have been better if our next Viceroy had been a man who bore no grudge against India and was not blinded by love of power.

Primary education.

The *Hamdam* has a contributed article protesting against Mr. Kichlu's proposal to replace the smaller village schools by larger ones in central places as, in the opinion of the writer, the disappearance of these village schools would greatly reduce the rural school-going population.

Gurdwara Bill.

The *Leader* emphasizes the justice and the expediency of due heed being paid to the protests which are being uttered against the inclusion in the schedules of institutions to which Hindus and Udasis may have a more just claim.

Deportation of Moplahs.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* appeals to the Government of India to reconsider their decision to deport the Moplahs to the Andamans which it regards as a hell on earth.

Administration of justice.

The *Hamdam* refers to a recent judgment of the Allahabad High Court in which the plea of rupture of spleen was accepted in extenuation in a murder appeal and remarks that the court has set up a dangerous precedent in view of the liability of the poverty-stricken people of rural areas to this disease.

Christian nuns as nurses.

The *Hamdam* protests against the appointment of Christian nuns as nurses in public hospitals in the Madras Presidency and fears that they would carry on proselytising propaganda there to the great annoyance of other communities.

ALLAHABAD:

The 6th June, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,

Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 23 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 13TH JUNE, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Pioneer* advocates joint and effective action against the Riffs and says: If peace is to be established in Morocco, it can only be done by a joint prosecution of the campaign against Abdel Krim to the logical conclusion of all wars of this nature, namely, the reduction of the enemy to a state in which he is able to fight no longer. The *Pratap* evinces hearty sympathy with the Riffs in their struggle for freedom and strongly condemns the French and Spanish efforts to crush them. The paper remarks that the way in which European and American nations are "milking" the Africans and Asiatics cannot continue for long. The Riffs might be regarded as small sparks that can be extinguished in a moment, but they can also set up a mighty conflagration capable, on the one hand, of reducing to ashes the wielders of power and privileges and, on the other hand, of imparting the light of life to the oppressed nations. The *Hamdam* says that the delicate position of the Riffs at present loudly calls for the sympathy of the entire Muslim world and urges Indian Muslims to arrange to send at least a medical mission at once. The *Sada-i-Muslim* views with misgiving the growing friendship between Russia and Afghanistan and points out that as such an alliance would prove disastrous to Britain in the next war, she should forthwith cultivate friendly relations with Islamic countries. The paper regards the Singapore base as another strong link in India's subjection and asks Indians to raise a general and forceful cry against it. The anti-foreign demonstrations in China are being watched with keen interest and sympathy by the press. The *Leader* writes: In their struggle to free themselves from the tentacles of foreign imperialism which has all but destroyed the economic and political freedom of China, the Chinese have our fullest sympathy and we hope that out of this apparently unequal struggle they will emerge a great and united nation able to hold its own against the most powerful exploiter. Let those who in the pride of their power are trying to crush the spirit of an awakened China which, according to reports, is getting the direct moral and material support of Bolshevik Russia, beware, for they are raising the spirit of resistance and aggression among one of the most peaceful and most numerous peoples in Asia and are thus laying the foundations of another terrible racial and economic war. The *Aj* refers to the advice of the *Times* to the great powers to suppress the anarchy in China and says that this terrible imperialist organ makes such suggestions only at the instance of the British Government. If Britain meddles in the affairs of any eastern country it should be taken for granted that evil days are in store for it. If Britain and America extend their dominion in China under the pretext of suppressing anarchy the future of Japan will be shrouded in gloom. Japan will, therefore, be well-advised to establish an Asiatic Federation. The *Najat* apprehends that the present disturbance in China will develop into another great war and calls upon the League of Nations to take speedy steps to avert the peril.

Hej.

The news of the bombardment and blockade of Rabigh by Emir Ali's war vessels has been received with anxious concern by the Muslim Press. The *Najat* supports Maulana Shaukat Ali's view that the British Government are as in duty bound, responsible for the protection of the pilgrims and should compel Emir Ali to withdraw his warships from the port of Rabigh. The *Haqiqat* opines that once the British Government have allowed the *hajis* to depart from Indian shores they are responsible for their safety at sea and failing Rabigh the Government should arrange to land them safely at any of the other two ports. The *Sada-i-Muslim*

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remarks that if the British Government are unable to dissuade Emir Ali from doing mischief they should at least force him to suspend his activities during the *haj* season. The *Medina* says that the British Government possess a sufficient number of properly equipped warships in the Red Sea and would be held responsible if any of the *hajis* are wounded as a result of Emir Ali's naval activities there. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that by his action Emir Ali will incur the opprobrium of the entire Muslim world. It is strange that he has paid no heed to the Government of India's warning to him about the protection and safety of the pilgrims. The British Government should strongly call Emir Ali to account for the bombardment and should compel him to stop his offensive activities in Rabigh. The British Government as well as the shipping companies are of course responsible for the protection of pilgrims during the voyage till they have landed on Arabian soil. The *Hamdam*, however, is of a contrary opinion and says that the *hajis* must now return, as the British Government cannot and ought not to interfere in these hostilities.

Indians in Colonies.

Commenting on the report of the East African Commission the *Leader* says: The policy which the report has recommended is one of perpetual British trusteeship and racial domination . . . If the recommendations embodied in the report are given effect to, then it will mean not only the triumph of the white settlers but will also demonstrate to the world that the doctrine of native trusteeship as adumbrated in the Kenya White Paper of 1923 was highly misleading and meant nothing more than the subordination in perpetuity of the interests of the natives to those of the white settlers. In plain language the whole of the policy seems to be a combination of selfishness and hypocrisy. The *Aj* refers to the warning of the European Association of South Africa to ladies in the colony against having trade relations with Indian "coolies" for economic reasons and writes: If it is necessary to boycott Indians in the colonies, does it not follow that it is necessary for the same reasons to boycott Europeans in India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The Hindu press continues to be exercised over the "Dera Ismail Khan notices". The *Arya Mitra* refuses to believe that responsible Muhammadans have no hand in the secret societies of the Frontier Muhammadans and the anonymous notices and contends that if the case is otherwise all the responsible Muhammadan leaders of India should convene a conference to denounce these notices and announce that they view this mean act of this "secret society" with deep disgust. This will bring the Frontier Muhammadans to their senses. The paper next invites the serious attention of the Government to the matter and says that it is their duty to protect the Frontier Hindus from the high-handedness of the Muhammadans. The Deputy Commissioner should nip the evil in the bud. The *Kailas* observes that the ancient Hindu nation is not going to be cowed down by the horrible and reprehensible threats of the Frontier Muhammadans. Muhammadan hooligans will cease to molest Hindu women, when the Hindus will have organised themselves. The indifferent attitude of the Hindu ruling chiefs, of the so-called leaders and of the Government towards the cases of the dishonouring of Hindu women is reprehensible and deplorable. The *Bharat Jiwan* exhorts Hindus to be courageous and to oppose bravely the aggression of the Frontier Muhammadans even at the cost of their lives. The *Arya Mitra* condemns the allegation of Hasan Nizami in the *Durwesh* against Aryasamajists that they take beef and says that this is the man whose destructive scheme has ruined the Hindus and kindled the fire of unrest and discontent throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is as much a lie to call the Arya samajists beef-eaters as to call the Muhammadans pork-eaters. The paper urges the Government to scrutinize the books and writings of the Nizami and take proper steps to check the spread of unrest and discontent in the country. The *Nizam-i-Alam* complains that the Hindu press has made it a point to publish tales of cow-killing and abduction of Hindu women by Muslims to stir up communal feeling. Muslims always show due regard for the feelings of their neighbours and never sacrifice cows publicly. As regards abduction of Hindu women it is disgraceful to give publicity to such cases. It is a pity that in their anxiety to calumniate the Muslims Hindus show such scant regard for their own reputation. Even if it be admitted that Muslim males and Hindu females are corrupt the evil should be reformed, and not advertized. The *Medina* has a contributed article in which the writer calls attention to reports about the oppression on Hamirpur Muslims in order to deter them from *tabligh* work and says that no Muslim should be victimised for carrying on *tabligh* propaganda.

Hindu organization.

The papers publish an appeal for the organization of the Hindu community, issued over the signatures of Raja Sir Rampal Singh and other prominent Hindu leaders of Oudh, calling attention to the poverty, disorganization and social evils among Hindus and to the danger to the community from the proselytizing activities of Christians and Muhammadans. Proceeding, it says: "If, therefore, we wish to retain our individuality and stop stagnation and further decay, it is imperative that we took steps to bring back to us the physical strength which was ours when we ruled the world. . . We must *sangathanise* ourselves and see that there is left no village, no town, no tahsil without having a Hindu *Sabha* of its own for looking after and promoting Hindu interests" The *Indian Daily Telegraph* in strongly supporting the appeal says: "He is no true Hindu who will not, at this crisis in the progress of his community and country, resolve to join the *Sangathan* movement effectively. To Lucknow Hindus, with their recollections of the recent riot, the appeal for *Sangathan*, we are sure, must have a special significance.".

Clemency to prisoners in United Provinces.

Warm and general satisfaction and gratitude has been expressed at the clemency shown by His Excellency the Governor to the prisoners convicted in connection with communal riots. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the step taken by the Government will be welcomed throughout India. The Government could never have started a more effective propaganda for the restoration of Hindu-Muslim unity than by the courageous resolve they have taken. We also welcome the measure as the first gesture from the Government of an adequate realization of responsibility towards the people on occasions of communal upheaval. The *Aj* heartily congratulates His Excellency on the magnanimity displayed by him and assures him that no Indian will commit the mistake of regarding such magnanimity as a weakness. The *Anand* is grateful to His Excellency for the leniency and says that this just and merciful act of his will fully satisfy the Hindus. The *Bharat Jiwan* expresses deep gratitude and says that if His Excellency also orders the release of the few prisoners who are still undergoing imprisonment in this connection the communal feeling will greatly subside. The *Haqiqat* and the *Oudh Akhbar* appeal for similar mercy for the accused in the Shahjahanpur and Karari riot cases respectively.

Contempt of Courts Bill.

The Press is in full accord with the committee of the Upper India Journalists' Association in its opposition to the Contempt of Courts Bill. In the opinion of the *Leader* the entire Bill is absolutely uncalled for and opposed to public interest. The definition of contempt of court is of so comprehensive a nature that it will become extremely difficult for journalists to comment adversely upon judicial vagaries even in a mild and restrained form. It will virtually remove the healthy influence of press criticism on the administration of justice. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deplores that the bureaucracy in India should delight in forging subtle chains for the newspapers and thinks that the proposed measure would "muzzle the press effectively". The *Hamdam* urges the Government of India to defer to the opinion of the Journalists' Association and not to proceed further with the Bill as it contains too wide a definition of contempt of court and prescribes imprisonment as its punishment. The existing criminal code is sufficient for dealing with cases of contempt of court and no severer measure is needed.

Indian States.

The Alwar affair continues to receive considerable attention in the Press. The representative of the *Partap* who had gone to ascertain full facts about "the Alwar massacre" but was not allowed to proceed to Neemuchan is of opinion that the incident is of a very serious character and that people are much panic-stricken. Though the number of the killed does not amount to five or six hundred yet it is not so low as stated by the Alwar officials. The paper says that the attitude of the Alwar officials shows that they do not want that people should know full facts about the incident. The *Vartman* remarks that the tragedy seems to be of such a serious nature that attempts are made to conceal it. It is therefore necessary that an impartial commission should be appointed to investigate the affair and save the unfortunate villagers from despotism. The *Hamdam* observes that Indians are very conservative and love their old ruling chiefs and the Government would gain great popularity if they were to reinstate the Maharaja of Nabha and restore Berar to the Nizam.

Military training for Indians.

The *Leader* calls attention to the statement made by Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., in the course of a speech in London that the military authorities blocked the way to the eligibility of Indians for admission to officers' training corps in the Universities where they were studying and says: We fail to understand on what ground admission is opposed when Indians can hold Commissions in the regular forces, and what calamity would have befallen the Empire if the demand had been conceded.

Lord Reading.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* welcomes the news that Lord Reading's term of Viceroyalty will not be extended as, in its opinion, His Excellency has alienated not only the people of India, but also the princes. His "judicial" dealings with Nabha and Suket have startled the princes out of security. And as for the people the Reading regime has been a colossal failure. The most lawless laws were enacted during his period under which Bengal is still smarting.

Bawla murder case.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The almost personal attacks on the person and throne of His Highness the Maharajah of Indore in a section of the Indian press ever since the judgment in the Bawla murder trial, mark a debasing feature of journalism in this country. It is almost shocking to realize that without any evidence a campaign of calumny should be directed against Indore. Whoever the conspirators, certainly it cannot be the head of the state that rendered all help to the Bombay police in arresting the accused and in tracing and collecting all possible evidence against them. The *Pratap* also condemns the insinuations which are being made against the Maharajah and says: Even if by some stretch of imagination it could be proved that the Maharajah had some hand in the Bawla murder, the British authorities deserve a thousand times greater punishment than he has already suffered or deserves to suffer, for it is their policy which makes Indian princes the embodiments of sensuality and tyranny. And relying on the unwholesome favours of these authorities there are dozens of Indian princes who have so far advanced in the gratification of licentiousness and sensuality that the poor Holkar pales into insignificance before them.

Railway strikes.

Referring to the B. and N.-W. Railway strike, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* calls attention to the allegation that the railway company has been able to utilise the police to strike terror into the hearts of the strikers and says: Public life in Gorakhpur would be a mockery if responsible men do not come forward to protest against this police subserviency to capitalist interests. The *Bharat Jiwan* refutes the contention of the N.-W. Railway authorities that the strike was totally unjustified and has failed to dislocate railway work, saying that if there had been no justification for it, thousands of men would not have given up their vocation and roamed about from place to place starving and flying flags coloured with their blood. We think that the matter has been sufficiently prolonged, and the Government should conduct proper inquiries soon.

The ban against Mr. Malaviya.

The *Kailas* remarks that the Nizam's ban against Pandit Malaviya has pained the entire Hindu commuity. This together with the fact that the Nizam did not prohibit Khwaja Hasan Nizami from touring in his dominion and openly creating feeling against the Hindus clearly shows that the Nizamdom of Hyderabad is proving to be the reign of Aurangzeb for the local Hindus. The emancipation of the Hindu community can be brought about if only all the Hindu ruling chiefs join the Hindu Sabhas. The *Vartman* opines that the Nizam's despotic order against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is insulting to the whole Hindu community. It shows that the condition of the Hindus is extremely deplorable in the Nizam's dominion. It is a pity that the Nizam has not imbibed the spirit of the twentieth century or of the British democracy.

Local Self-Government.

The *Hamdam* publishes a letter complaining of the attitude of the Hindu majority in the Benares District Board and pointing out that while that body has dismissed its *Hakim* it has retained its *Vaidya* on a much higher pay. A capable Muslim engineer was passed over and a less qualified and less experienced Hindu Engineer was appointed. Referring to the resignations of Muslim members from the Jhansi Municipal Board the *Sada-i-Muslim* urges Government to turn their attention forthwith to Muslim grievances in local bodies and to redress them.

Flood Relief Fund.

The *Oudh Akhbar* suggests that the unspent amount of the United Provinces Flood Relief Fund should either be kept in the form of a fixed deposit to meet similar calamities in the future or be spent in fixing iron railings on the bridges on the Ganges and the Jumna.

Next Home Member.

The *Anand* recommends the names of Pandit (Hon'ble Mr. Justice) Kanhaiya Lal and Raja Rampal Singh for the post of Home Member, after the retirement of the Hon'ble Raja (*sic*) of Mahmudabad and says that the appointment of either of the two personages will be viewed with satisfaction all over the province.

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* publishes a letter complaining that pressure is being put on nau-Muslims in the Tirwa estate in the Farrukhabad district to forsake their religion. The paper thanks the Government of Bengal for the recess granted by them for *Juma* prayers and hopes that the Government of India will issue general orders on the same lines for the whole country.

Recording of evidence in English

The *Oudh Punch* ridicules the Allahabad High Court's circular order to judicial officers to record evidence in English. The *Anand Pracharak* advises the people to hold protest meetings against the order in every district and requests the Hon'ble High Court to reconsider the improper order. The *Hamdam* and *Azad* strongly support the resolutions passed by several Bar Associations in these provinces against the order and remark that if it is brought into force the evidence recorded would not be the exact statement of the witnesses, but the interpretation put upon it by the recording officer.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

The *Shakti* says that Lord Birkenhead's speech at the Assam dinner shows that he is not going to do anything for India till 1929. He has well brought about the regeneration of India by surfeiting her with repression.

Balrampur and Mahmudabad estates.

The *Haqiqat* appeals to His Excellency Sir William Marris to recommend the grant of feudatory status to the estates of Mahmudabad and Balrampur.

ALLAHABAD:

The 13*th June*, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,

Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 24 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 20TH JUNE 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Newspapers continue to condemn the policy of European Powers with regard to China and to evince hearty sympathy with the Chinese in their efforts to free themselves from foreign exploitation. The *Leader* writes:—"If the foreigners do not abate their arrogance and treat the Chinese as equals as they do the Japanese, the trouble is bound to increase. An awakened China will not put up with insults any more, and it is time that this fact is realised by those who are intoxicated with the pride of power." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that like vultures foreigners have been sitting round China in the hope that they would soon have a carcass to divide. This is a most deliberate attempt to keep down a great people from coming to their own, so that the European workers may find a market for their goods. What they call anti-foreign riots are but the merest expression of national indignation of Young China that finds itself choked under the heels of the merciless foreigner. Referring to the shooting of an Indian named Abdur Rahman Peshawari in Turkey the *Vartman* says that if a French, German or an Englishman had received such a shower of bullets there would have been a commotion all over the world but there is no one to look after poor and subject India. It hopes that this incident will serve as a lesson to the Indian Muhammadans who are never tired of singing the praises of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. The *Oudh Akhbar* condemns the attitude of the Allies in respect of the evacuation of Cologne as a serious violation of the Treaty of Versailles and remarks that it is bound to engender hatred and disaffection against the Allies and is likely to lead to another war for which they alone will be to blame. The *Hamdam* regards as cowardly and inhuman the Spanish idea of blockading the Riff coast and bombing the Riffs from the air and hopes that Britain will not be influenced by an agreement, past or present, to adopt any attitude in this connection which may further alienate Muslim sympathy. The *Medina* denounces the "persistently dishonest" attitude of France and Spain towards the Riffs and says that it is only their patriotism which is enabling these ill-equipped men to fight the organised might of the proud European Powers who are always ready to deprive God's creatures of their freedom. These Powers have not learnt a lesson even from the devastating effects of the last Great War with which God visited them as a punishment and are still blinded by Imperialism and Capitalism but God will help the Riffs. Referring to the Italian note to Afghanistan regarding the execution of an Italian engineer the *Sada-i-Muslim* writes that without the support and encouragement of other Powers, Italy could not dare to send such a challenge to Afghanistan. Italy and her allies should, however, know that they cannot throw even a slanting glance at Afghanistan. The time has passed when Muslim territories could be usurped by means of throwing an apple of discord among them. Now every Muslim, be he an Indian, Tartar, Turk or Egyptian regards it as his prime duty to help Afghanistan even at the risk of his life and property.

Haj.

Referring to the shelling of Rabigh by Emir Ali's war vessels the *Anand* says that Muhammadans ought to have been sorry for their shortsightedness in insisting upon going to *haj* against the Government's warning but on the contrary, Mahomed Ali is accusing the Government of India and holding them responsible for the safety of pilgrims. Is it not like a thief accusing the *kotwal* (police officer)? Referring to Maulana Shaukat Ali's telegraphic message about the bombardment of Rabigh, the *Oudh Akhbar* holds the Government of India as well as the shipping companies responsible for the safe

landing of the Indian pilgrims and suggests that the Government of India should strongly press Emir Ali to stop the bombardment, else it fears that the whole blame will fall on their shoulders. The *Rahnuma* expresses horror at the bombardment and says that Indian Muslims are anxiously waiting to see what steps the Government of India take to protect the Indian pilgrims. The *Najat* characterises as sheer audacity the obstruction by Emir Ali of the pilgrims of an empire known as the "Queen of the Seas" and observes that it appears that in spite of her wide resources, the "Queen" does not desire to use her influence and to intervene in the matter. There are persons who suspect the hand of some of the British statesmen in the activities of Emir Ali and it is just possible that their suspicion may be correct to some extent. Mr. MacNeill's advice in the British Parliament for the postponement of the *haj* pilgrimage this year supports the belief that Britain avoids entering into any negotiations with Emir Ali about *haj*. The *Hamdam*, however, publishes with approval the views of Maulana Abdul Bari and Sheikh Mushir Husain Qidwai denouncing the demand of a section of Indian Muslims for British aid in landing Indian *hajis* at some port in the Hedjaz and deploring its shortsightedness in inviting British interference between two Muslim states at war on the holy soil of Arabia.

Reforms in Bengal.

The news of the resumption of the transferred subjects in Bengal has been hailed by the entire Extremist press as a triumph of the Swarajist party. The *Leader*, while admitting that the behaviour of the present Bengal Legislative Council on successive occasions was so lacking in clear-sightedness and intelligent consistency that on the face of it the decision of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in Council looks a justifiable proceeding, thinks that as statesmen it was their duty to take a broad-minded and far-sighted view of the position and the prospect and to base their judgment upon a higher conception of policy. The paper adds that at the present juncture their action can, and will largely be interpreted as a sign of their leaning towards the "scrapping of the Reforms" and as an indication of the probable outcome of the Reading-Birkenhead conversations. The *Indian Daily Teleyraph* writes: Diarchy has brought nothing for the people: it did bring something for the bureaucrats, because it enabled them to mislead the outside world into the belief that India had responsible government. The credit goes entirely to the Swarajists for tearing away the mask from the Government and forcing them to show their cloven hoof. The action of the Government ought to instil into minds that have not hitherto felt it, the ennobling feelings of self-respect and pride. The disappearance of the Ministers does not mean anything else than the effacement of the demoralising institution which enabled a few men to draw high salaries in the name of representatives of the people, when they were really helpless slaves of the Government. The *Bhavishya* congratulates the Swarajists of Bengal, and specially Mr. C. R. Das, on their success and says that the resumption will expose the hollowness of diarchy all over the country and lead to a saving of one lac of rupees yearly. The *Aj* writing in a similar strain hopes that the Central Provinces will follow suit. It is certain that if bogus Ministers are not allowed to raise their heads in these two provinces till 1927 there will be a Swarajist majority in the next elections and diarchy will end by 1929. It is better not to have powers at all than to have sham and humiliating powers like those conferred under this system. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that the sole object of Messrs. Das and Nehru was to end diarchy and the object has now been attained. The Reforms were calculated merely to prolong the period of India's servitude. Now, by peaceful methods, Government should be compelled to inaugurate such a scheme of Reforms as may give some real weight to the voice of the Councils and some substantial power to the Indian Ministers. The *Hamdam* believes the Goverment will now have ample opportunity for improving the deplorable educational condition of Bengal Muslims and funds for that purpose will probably be not refused by the Council.

Death of Mr. C. R. Das.

All papers irrespective of political views join in mourning the death of Mr. C. R. Das as an irreparable national loss and paying eloquent tributes to his patriotism, self-sacrifice, dominating personality and dynamic powers of organisation. The *Leader* writes: —"We never have been of Mr. Das's party: We did not share his views; we could not approve of his ways. The more ready are we for this reason to bear testimony to his personality, to qualities in him which deserved respect and extorted admiration, to his public spirit and his self-sacrifice. He had a passion for the

freedom of his country and there was nothing he was not prepared to do, no price he was not ready to pay, to achieve that freedom." In another note the paper highly commends the messages of sympathy and condolence sent by His Excellency the Viceroy and prominent non-official Europeans and says that such sympathy on such an occasion has the effect of lifting public life to a higher plane. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the best way of mourning the death of Mr. Das would be the furtherance of the cause he had so much at heart. The *Hamdam* extols his great self-sacrifice and his remarkable qualities of leadership which were second only to those of Mr. Gandhi. He gave proof of great political acumen in keeping Bengal Muslims on his side by conceding them their just rights and he leaves a gap in Indian public life which it would be extremely difficult to fill and his death just on the eve of his victory, as demonstrated by the resumption of transferred subjects, is doubly deplorable.

Hindu Muslim relations.

Hindu papers apprehend serious trouble in Lucknow, Delhi and Bahraich on the occasion of the next *Bakr-id*. The *Bhavishya* says that in view of the danger at Delhi virtuous Hindu women of that city have procured arsenic and opium to enable them to protect their chastity by committing suicide, if necessary. The paper deplores that instead of responding to the appeal of the Hindus of Delhi Mr. Gandhi has preached the doctrine of forbearance. Addressing him, the paper says:—"As a result of following your teachings of self-abnegation, non-violence, and forbearance, Hindus have become so forbearing and non-violent that they remain passive even at the sight of their women being assaulted, houses being looted and burnt, and brothers and sisters being killed. What greater forbearance do you wish to inculcate now?" While admitting that the Hindu opposition to cow-sacrifice is in some respects unreasoning, the *Aj* appeals to Muslims not to treat with contempt the tenderest susceptibilities of the Hindu community on this subject if they want to make India free and thereby also save Islam which is in danger of being crushed all over the world (by European Powers). The *Anand* says that the frequent religious meetings that are being convened by Muhammadans in Lucknow by beat of drum lead people to suspect some secret motive behind them. It is not at all difficult to incite people in the name of religion. The peace-loving citizens and officials should be forewarned. The *Kailas* apprehends trouble in Delhi on account of the permission granted to Muhammadans to take out the cow procession and says that the Delhi officials should have taken a lesson from the last disturbance and should not have bowed before the hooliganism of Muhammadans. The Government ought to think of the evil consequences of this horrible permission which they have given in order to ruin the Hindus and wound their religious susceptibilities. If a disturbance again takes place the Local Government will be held responsible for it. Referring to the permission granted to Muhammadans to take out the cow procession, the *Bhavishya* says that the cow-eating English officials who rule with ease by setting the two brothers by the ears do not care if the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus are wounded or they are robbed and belaboured. The paper, however, advises the Hindus not to obstruct the taking out of the cow in contravention of this unjust permission as their organisation is not yet strong enough to make their influence felt by the Muhammadans and officials. The *Abhaya* expresses great anxiety about the Hindus of Bahraich and fears that as they are small in number and have a Muhammadan Collector who is free to do what he likes, they also may have to share the same fate as their brethren in Saharanpur. The *Vartman* publishes a letter complaining that most of the Bahraich officials are Muhammadans and as they are sufficiently under the influence of Hasan Nizami's scheme they cherish ill-will against the Arya Samajists. In the Syed Salar Fair Muhammadans were openly provoking the Hindus. Hindus recovered ninety-nine Hindu women and fifty-two children from the possession of Muhammadan rowdies. The ill-treatment of the Hindu women was shocking and it would be indelicate to say what happened to them inside the mausoleum.—The Hindu press also continues to be perturbed over the intimidating notices to the Hindus of Dera Ismail Khan, especially as they were followed by the burning of their houses. The *Anand* deplores that owing to the failure to make precautionary arrangements for protecting the Hindus they have had to undergo these sufferings and says that it is the duty of the Dera Ismail Khan authorities to bring the hooligans to book and of the Hindus to organise and protect themselves. The *Vartman* says that in such a dangerous situation the Deputy Commissioner should act with great caution. If the Hindus have suspicions against the police he should replace it by an impartial force capable of protecting the

public from such mischief. If the Muhammadans are not put down with a firm hand the Frontier Hindus will lose heavily in life and property and the entire responsibility for this will lie on the shoulders of the Government. Hindus should guard their quarters with *lathis*. The *Aj* is anxious to know what action the authorities have taken to rectify the wrong. The fact that so many notices could be posted without the knowledge of the police is calculated to rouse suspicions. The authorities should remember that the eyes of the whole of India are directed towards Dera Ismail Khan at the present juncture. In a note on Hasan Nizami the *Pratap* says that the zeal with which the work of *tabligh* is being carried on at the present juncture was not evinced even in the time of Muhammadan rulers and the methods which are being employed for the purpose are most objectionable. Every day newspapers publish reports about the abduction of Hindu girls and women, from one end of the country to the other. This is not in conformity with the sublime teachings of Islam but in order to keep ignorant Muhammadans under their control the Moulvis have employed even prostitutes to do the work. Khwaja Hasan Nizami has excelled all such Maulvis. He has openly advocated methods for spreading Islam in every possible way with the help of prostitutes, bangle-sellers, *ekka*-drivers, and the like. Maulana Muhammad Anis Bilgrami urges in the *Hamdam* the organization of counter-propaganda by Oudh Muslims in reply to Raja Sir Ram Pal Singh's appeal for Hindu *Sangathan* and the editor opines that while the *ullema* should conduct a vigorous *tabligh* campaign, the Muslim taluqdars should try to improve the economic status of *nau*-Muslims as it is generally their poverty which makes them forsake their religion. Referring to disquieting reports about Hindu-Muslim tension in Delhi and other cities in connection with the approaching Bakr-id festival, the *Haqiqat* points out that the atmosphere is heavily charged owing to the contest between the *Shuddhi-Sangathan* and *Tabligh-Tanzim* movements and leaders of both communities should immediately devise means to prevent a conflict. The *Hamdam* is surprised at the efforts of the Delhi Hindus to stop the passage of the sacrificial cows through Pahari Dhiraj on the occasion of the Bakr-id and says that as Delhi Muslims already labour under a disadvantage in having to take cows outside the city for sacrifice their difficulties should not be increased. Under the heading "An Arya Martyr". the *Patriot* publishes an editorial article giving an account of the death of Babu Narain Singh of Patna, "an intrepid and zealous Arya Samajist" at the hands of Moslem hooligans. It says: "Babu Narain Singh has died a martyr. He sacrificed his life in the cause of the Arya Samaj and in championing the cause of the Hindus against the aggression of Muslims. It is the lookout of the British officials, for their own sake and for the sake of the good name of British administration, that the long arm of the law should not fail in this case."

Political propaganda.

The *Shankar* publishes an article from Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) in which the Lala urges that the Hindus should conduct all their activities through the medium of the Hindu *Maha Sabha*. Swaraj can be attained only when England is alarmed to see the growing power of the Hindu *Sangathan* and this *Sangathan* is supported by Nepal. Hindus should not look to Muhammadans for help as they are not to be trusted and may prove false at the crucial moment. They should resolve to take Swaraj whether theMuhammadans help them, remain neutral or even hostile. Hindus can establish Hindu *Raj* even in face of Muhammadan opposition. They have got to attain their ideal by strengthening their agitation and acting with self-reliance and should go on advancing towards it firmly and resolutely. For the attainment of this ideal *Shuddhi*, Hindu *Sangathan* and Hindu *Raj* are extremely necessary. Commenting on this the editor of the paper says that at present Lala Har Dayal is against the policy of the Congress but if the British Government allow him to come to India and to stay here for some time to study the situation he will become a convert to the Congress view. The paper agrees with the Lala that if Muhammadans do not stand by the Hindus the latter should not care for them but go on advancing towards their national goal. The *Pratap* reproduces from the *Hindi* of Natal "Raja" Mahendra Pratap's letter describing the facilities of board and lodging offered to political *sanyasis* by the *Ghadar* Party of America. In this letter the writer exhorts Indians to go and reside in the beautiful three-storeyed building (No. 5, Wood Street, California) situated on a high hill in a charming locality and says that he himself is not a member of the *Ghadar* Party but is only a guest of it and is writing this in compliance with the request of certain workers of

the party. The *Hamdam* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap, who says that he is proceeding with certain other Indian patriots to Tibet and Nepal to create sympathy for India both in the populace and *elité* of those countries. The "Raja" is of opinion that there are many sincere friends of India in Afghanistan, Russia and Japan who are prepared to undergo sufferings for her sake and that propaganda in neighbouring countries will considerably advance the cause of India's freedom. The editor wishes the mission success so far as it relates to the propagation of India's ideal of *Swaraj* in Tibet and Nepal.

Indian States.

The *Pratap* criticizes at length the *communiqué* issued by the Alwar authorities and says that some facts given in it accord with those contained in the non-official statement, e.g. the siege of Nemuchan, the outbreak of fire and the firing of shots. The official statement is silent about the extent of loss, the taking possession of wells and efforts, if any, to extinguish the fire. It does not mention how much ammunition and how many men and guns were sent to win this battle of Nemuchan. It cannot be regarded as satisfactory in any way. It is full of efforts to exonerate the authorities and to establish the guilt of the villagers. The *Shankar* publishes two open letters to the Nizam of Hyderabad in which the writer says that since the present Nizam has assumed the reins of government great injustice is being done to the Hindus not only in political but also in religious matters. The new councillors of the Nizam, particularly the bigoted action against the Hindus of Gulbarga, have won for his government the nickname of *Moghlai Raj* which in Marathi means something like a "reign of injustice." In view of all this the British subjects of Berar cannot like to go under the Nizam's protection. In the course of a leading article the *Abhyudaya* strongly protests against the *Jarida* of the Nizam in connection with the management of the Gudwal estate and says that the conditions laid down in it are so difficult of fulfilment that it practically amounts to the confiscation of the estate. The paper invites attention to the "tyrannical" attitude of the Nizam towards Lakshmi Bai, the widowed Rani of the estate, and appeals to all newspapers and the whole Hindu community to espouse her cause and carry on a vigorous agitation in her behalf. "We wish that the wail of injustice should resound throughout the world." The papers extol the action of the Maharaja of Kotah in enforcing in his state the law relating to change of religion by minors. The *Vartman* congratulates the Maharaja on the new law debarring men below eighteen and women below twenty from changing their religion without a certificate from a first class magistrate and appeals to other Indian chiefs to follow suit and thus save their women and children from falling into the hands of bad characters. The *Aj* heartily supports the punishment of three years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of one thousand rupees which the law prescribes for the defaulters and observes that those who steal away women and children deserve severer punishment than common thieves and dacoits who only steal property. The *Haqiqat* is suspicious of the Maharaja of Alwar's refusal to allow impartial persons to proceed to Neemuchan to make enquiries on the spot and says that the rejoinder to the Alwar *communiqué* published by the representative of the *Pratap* shows that the state is trying to conceal the oppression practised. It is a pity that affairs in Indian states have been in a very bad way of late and the subjects in those states which possess the support of the Government of India are severely oppressed. It is high time that political organisation in British India took up the cause of the subjects of such states. The Maharaja Saheb of Alwar should allay further suspicions by permitting impartial journalists to proceed to the spot.

Law of infanticide.

The *Leader* supports the view expressed by Mr. Justice Percival and Mr. Justice Mirza of the Bombay High Court in their judgment in the case of a Hindu widow charged with killing her child that the Indian law might be brought into line with the law of infanticide in other civilized countries like France and Germany and says: "Such a change of law is especially necessary in this country where the widows are driven to infanticide by the tyranny of society. We hope that the Government of India will take the matter seriously into consideration and introduce the suggested reform in the penal law of the country."

Indians in Colonies.

Referring to the warning conveyed by the European Association of South Africa to European ladies in the Colony that trade relations with Indian "coolies" would result in the unemployment of their husbands, the starvation of their children, and the ruin of their nation the *Surya* asks if this does not clearly show that Englishmen cannot bear to see the progress of Indians. Is it becoming of the English society which boasts of its culture and sense of justice? The *Aj* approves the idea of the establishment of a "*Pravasi Bharatiya Sahayak Mandal*" (society for helping Indians abroad) at Benares and says that it is the duty of every Indian to relieve the sufferings of his compatriots in British and independent colonies because Indians cannot expect any sincere sympathy or real help from this alien Government.

Lord Reading.

The *Gharib* says that it matters little who comes here as Viceroy because all are of the same mentality. Lord Reading was famous all over the world for his justice but there was no injustice left undone in his *régime*. The black deeds of Lord Reading like those of other white officials, are tarnishing the pages of history. This was the Viceroy who dared to insult humanity by imprisoning a great man like Mahatma Gandhi. A number of innocent Bengali youths are still rotting in jails. It was in his *régime* that hundreds of Sikhs were pulled by their hair. We do not want such a Viceroy. We want a representative elected by ourselves to protect us. Howsoever kind a Viceroy may come the miseries of India cannot be removed so long as Swaraj is not established in the country.

The Services.

The *Bharat Jiwan* wonders why in spite of various efforts to induce the young men of Britain to join the services, the services are not attracting them and says: We hear that the rats desert the ship which is about to sink even if it is laden with the most sumptuous provisions. Is the case of the services similar?

Local self-government.

The *Hamdam* is grieved to note the anti-Muslim attitude of the Hindu majority in the Jhansi municipality and says that the expectations raised by the election of Swarajist and Khilafatist members to local bodies have been generally belied and complaints are being frequently received regarding the behaviour of the Hindu majority in many of them. Will the Hindu majorities now show better administrative capacity?

The Moplahs.

The *Medina* appeals to Government not to deport the Moplahs to the insalubrious Andaman Isles, as this would lead to their extermination in course of time. Their transport by sea in boats during the rains would also be attended with great danger to life and there might be a repetition of the Moplah train tragedy. Both the time and the method of deportation are tyrannical and improper. The Moplahs are not migrating willingly and Muslim feeling should not be so recklessly flouted lest peace may be imperilled.

Clemency to prisoners in the United Provinces.

While joining in the tribute of gratitude to His Excellency the Governor for clemency to communal convicts the *Khurshed* regrets that the Kandhla convicts have been ignored and therefore advises the Muslims of Muzaffarnagar to agitate for their release.

The Honours list.

The *Azad* can find few names in the Birthday Honours list which are distinguished for sincere patriotism and complains that the petty titles of Rai Bahadur and Khan Bahadur which ought to be reserved for Government officials are awarded to public men also. It would be better if Kaisar-i-Hind medals and the titles of M.B.E., O.B.E., C.I.E., etc., were granted to public men.

Recording of evidence in English.

Criticising the circular order of the Allahabad High Court in regard to the recording of evidence in English the *Rahnuma* remarks that the change will no doubt facilitate the work of English officers but will prove very harmful to the public and requests the Hon'ble Chief Justice to rescind it.

North-Western Railway strike.

Referring to the taking out of the blood-smeared banner by the strikers the *Gharib* says that the strikers have been compelled to do so because they do not get bread enough to satisfy their hunger. The British Government are not ashamed to turn a deaf

ear to the pathetic cries of fifty thousand starving coolies and labourers while they appoint a Royal Commission to enquire even into the pettiest grievances of Englishmen.

Christian missionary activities.

The *Bharat Dharma* warns the Hindus against the proselytising activities of Christian missionaries who are maintained at Government expense and says that these men carry on their activities freely in leper asylums and reformatory schools and thus act in contravention of the Government policy of non-interference in religious matters. It appeals to councillors to take up the question of supervising such Government institutions.

Traffic in girls.

Referring to the traffic in girls in certain hill estates near Simla the *Aj* wonders if the estates in which such diabolical and sinful trade is carried on are still regarded as a part of the British Empire.

Campaign against leprosy.

The *Abhyudaya* says that if the campaign which has been inaugurated for stamping out leprosy becomes successful, the British administration will be immortalised in the annals of India. In this connection the paper requests the Government to test the efficacy of those indigenous medicines also which are claimed by Ayurvedic physicians to cure this disease.

ALLAHABAD :
The 20th June, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter, Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 25 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THE 27TH JUNE, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Commenting on the growth of anti-British feeling in China the *Aj* refers to the Shanghai incident and says that in view of their experience of firing, Indians can hardly believe that the British troops fired in self-defence. It, however, does not approve of the Chinese attitude and observes that China will be well-advised not to wage war with Britain. The *Anand* thinks that if the anti-British agitation in China is not stopped, Britain will also follow the policy of crushing China with a strong hand, because it is idle to expect from the present Government that they will sacrifice their interests by making a compromise with China. Referring to the growing pro-Bolshevik and anti-British feeling in China, the *Medina* asks whether Britain is going to sacrifice her position in the Pacific for the gratification of her imperialistic lust. Is there any country in the world which loves Britain to-day? From all countries, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, India, Egypt, China, Turkistan, Germany, Austria and Russia cries of hatred are being raised against her. The *Najat* apprehends war between China and Britain and prays that the European Powers may even at this stage come to their senses and realise that it is no longer an easy task to enslave the eastern nations. Discussing the present world situation and the possibility of another great war the paper warns Britain that the next war is not likely to prove advantageous to her as she has alienated Muslim sympathy by her selfish and anti-Muslim attitude. Her autocracy has wounded Egypt and the Sudan and has wrought havoc in Mesopotamia, *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and Palestine. She encouraged Italy to attack Tripoli and now her kind attention has been turned towards the Riffs. It is said that Spain and France will have her moral sympathy in blockading the Riffs and if this is true how can Britain expect Muslim sympathy and help? The Muslim Press is unanimous in regarding the demands presented by Italy to Afghanistan in connection with the execution of Engineer Piperno as unreasonable and unjust and as deserving rejection by any state which is at all jealous of its independence. The *Medina* remarks that though they may please the Qadians and the British Consulate they cannot be supported by any fair-minded person. The *Hamdam* justifies the execution and is sorry to find that the proud Western nations are so touchy. As Afghanistan does not possess a sea-board it offers no opportunity for naval action and the severance of diplomatic and trade relations would injure Italy more than Afghanistan. Italy would be well-advised in not sacrificing the friendship of the brave and self-respecting Afghans over such a minor matter. The *Oudh Akhbar* thinks that the honour of the whole of Asia is involved in the insulting, disgraceful and ridiculous terms of the Italian note and urges Afghanistan not to yield, however hard she may be pressed by her allies.

Haj.

In supporting Maulanas Abdul Bari and Shaukat Ali in their opinion about non-interference of outside Powers in the Hedjaz affairs, the *Najat* observes that the advance of British warships towards Rabigh has caused a commotion among Indian Muslims and urges that British action should be confined to a protest against the obstruction of Indian pilgrims by Emir Ali. Maulana Kifayat Ullah, President, *Jamiat-ul-Ullema-i-Hind*, Delhi, writing in the *Hamdam*, appeals to the Government of India to publish a detailed *communiqué* about the situation at Rabigh and to use only persuasion with Emir Ali to induce him to allow the *hajis* to land there. Failing Rabigh the *hajis* may be landed at any other port and if all ports are controlled by Emir Ali, the *hajis* may be returned to India. Anyway, the

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British warships reported to have been despatched to Rabigh should not, under the pretext of protecting the rights of their nationals, occupy any Hedjaz port or in any other way interfere with the hostilities between Emir Ali and Ibn Saud. The *Medina* is dissatisfied with Britain's action in allowing two ships of Emir Ali to take water and coal at Port Sudan and points out that this action has thoroughly exposed British protestations of neutrality. Britain sold her ships to Emir Ali and now allows them to coal at a British port, so that after taking abundant stores and materials they may be able to bombard Rabigh. The Government of India are secretly intriguing to make *haj* unsuccessful this year and thus to harass Ibn Saud and the Islamic world. If Indian protests are of any avail the Government should thrust the ships of Emir Ali far away from the shores of Arabia and anchor the pilgrim steamers at Rabigh. The least that the Government should do to regain the confidence of Indian Muslims is to land the *hajis* in Arabia.

Reforms.

Referring to the forecast of the London correspondent of the *Statesman* about the outcome of the conversations between Lord Birkenhead and the Viceroy, the *Leader* says:—"Should the forecast turn out to be true it would certainly confirm the impression which has been gaining ground in this country for some time past that the forces of reactionaryism are gathering in volume and strength. If the Government of India and the Secretary of State think that they will find any section of political India to approve of their present attitude and to stand by them in their present policy they are greatly mistaken. Our internal differences may be deep or superficial but on one point we are all agreed and it is that India cannot very much longer be kept out of its legitimate rights and its lawful position. . . . The real thing to do is to show that the country at large is in dead earnest about further progress and we think we shall be utilizing our energies better by seriously attempting to set our own house in order." Referring to the disappointing forecasts about the results of the Birkenhead-Reading consultations and the great loss of strength in the political struggle due to Mr. Das's death, the *Haqiqat* advises all Indian political parties to sink their differences and to present a united and irresistible front to Lords Birkenhead and Reading.

Reforms in Bengal.

The *Abhyudaya* congratulates the Bengalis on their victory in getting the reforms strangled by the Government's own hands and says:—We have no complaint against the Government, for it was but meet to put an end to the hollow reforms. The decision of the Government, however, reveals the angle of vision of the higher authorities in India and England and their future intentions in this country. The *Oudh Akhbar* regards the resumption of transferred subjects in Bengal as a victory for the Swarajists and says that if the Central Provinces follow suit, it will be the duty of the United Provinces also to get rid of these frivolities. If the end of the Reforms in Bengal is the first outcome of the Reading-Birkenhead conversations further advantages from them to India would be simply inconceivable. The paper thinks that owing to the communal discord and strife engendered by the *shuddhi*, *tanzim* and *tabligh* movements the Government have become autocratic and therefore asks the organisers of these movements to realise their responsibility in the matter.

Death of Mr. C. R. Das.

The Press continues to mourn the death of Mr. C. R. Das and to pay warm tributes to his patriotism, self-sacrifice and his achievements as the foremost leader of the *Swaraj* party. "Nationalist" papers are generally of opinion that the best and the sincerest tribute to his memory would be to try and put an end to diarchy which had been his immediate objective. The *Leader* advises the Swarajists to take careful stock of the altered situation and adjust their policy accordingly. If the policy indicated by Mr. Das in his Faridpur speech is followed, the Bengal Swarajists may be able to extricate themselves from the difficult position in which they are placed. Their policy has led them to a *cul-de-sac* and they have to retrace their steps before they can make further progress. The *Advocate* writes:—"Had *Deshbandhu* lived a little longer he would have seen the complete destruction of diarchy in every province in India and now it devolves upon his followers to see that diarchy is rooted out wholesale from every province in India." The *Vartman* says that the *Deshbandhu* had promised that in case the bureaucracy did not concede the demands of the *Swaraj* party they would ask voters to stop

the payment of taxes, but he left the world just when the time for doing so had come. The *Anand* remarks:—The clever pilot has abandoned the boat of unfortunate India in mid-stream. The Bengal tiger has himself disappeared after putting an end to diarchy. His death has shrouded in gloom the political horizon of India and plunged the entire country into sorrow. The *Aj* observes that the *Deshbandhu* met his death like Lord Nelson on receiving the news of his victory. He entered the Council to break it and succeeded in doing so, despite all efforts of the Governments of Bengal and India to the contrary. We have now got to push on his work. We should commemorate his death by putting an end to diarchy before 1929. The Muslim Press also universally deplores the death of Mr. C. R. Das in whom it recognised an undoubted champion of the just rights of Indian Muslims. The *Haqiqat* says that he was equally trusted by both communities, and has left a void in Indian public life which it would be difficult to fill. His death has been the most widely mourned in India since Mr. Gokhale's and he undoubtedly possessed great qualities of statesmanship. The *Hamdam* extols the spirit of self-sacrifice and the matchless qualities of leadership possessed by Mr. C. R. Das and says that he was able to keep Bengal Muslims by his side by his scrupulous regard for their just rights. In another article the paper supports Mr. Gandhi's proposal for the release of all political prisoners as a mark of respect to the memory of Mr. C. R. Das and says that this would be the best method of bringing about that atmosphere of good-will without which a conference to consider the demands of Indians cannot be successful. The Government can considerably weaken the opposition of the *Swaraj* party which is now leaderless if it releases all political prisoners forthwith. The *Medina* regards Mr. Das as one of the greatest champions of a united Indian nationality and says that few political leaders could equal him in freedom from prejudice, independence, statesmanship, wisdom, self-sacrifice, sincerity, tolerance and energy. It was at his call that the student population of Bengal flocked to the standard of non-cooperation. He was an inveterate enemy of diarchy and it must have given him great satisfaction to have witnessed the beginning of its end. His greatest achievement was the Bengal Pact which will serve as a model for future agreements for Hindu-Muslim unity when relations between the two communities again become normal. Let us hope that another though lesser leader will arise in Bengal and the god of autocracy will not be allowed to rest in peace in that province.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu papers remain agitated over the alarming reports received from Dera Ismail Khan, but are considerably relieved with regard to the situation in Delhi and Lucknow. The settlement arrived at in these two cities regarding Bakr-Id has generally been received with immense satisfaction and the avoidance of communal friction on that occasion is being earnestly urged both by the Hindu and the Muslim papers. Referring to the alarmist rumours concerning Dera Ismail Khan the *Pioneer* thinks that there are malicious persons who are ready to take advantage of communal suspicion in order to bring about disorder. An alarmist campaign of this kind has evil possibilities, and if the authors of it are discovered they should be severely dealt with. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* rejoices over the token of amity shown by the Muslim leaders of Lucknow by deciding that there shall be no cow processions in the city during Bakr-Id and says:—"Every citizen in Lucknow will realise with gratification and delight that the clouds of suspicion have rolled away and that, hereafter, the ugly scars left by the last riots will never be publicly exposed. If this spirit that comes from Lucknow should spread to other parts of these provinces and to other presidencies, a real beginning would have been made to gain the position from whence the advance guard of the nationalist army found itself rudely dislodged." The *Advocate* also writes in a similar strain. Referring to the press *communiqué* on the situation at Dera Ismail Khan, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that it will neither hearten up the minority who are threatened with dire visitations in the town, nor assuage Hindu anxiety outside the affected area. The *Arya Mitra* condemns the action of Dharampal in writing secret letters to Muhammadans all over India exhorting them to agitate for the proscription of the 14th chapter of the *Satyarth Prakash* and to pass resolutions to this effect in their Friday congregations every week. The paper expresses the hope that the Punjab Government will not allow such a resolution to be moved in the Council but says that if it is allowed and passed owing to the Muslim majority every Arya Samajist will try to give the widest publicity to the chapter and court

imprisonment and even gallows for its sake and the Muhammadans will be responsible for the conflagration it will cause in the Hindu community all over the country. The *Shankar* observes that the news from Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar and Dera Ismail Khan shows that not only inter-communal foolishness is on the increase, but the Government's diplomacy and their policy of divide and rule are also at work and deplores that Indians are falling a prey to them. Referring to the communal situation in Dera Ismail Khan the *Abhyudaya* inquires if it is true that the Hindus are oppressed in the Frontier Province because the officials there are mostly Muhammadans and the Muhammadans enjoy many facilities for obtaining arms licenses while the Hindus have none. The paper urges Hindus to help themselves and to adopt every possible measure to protect their community. It also appeals to the authorities to take precautions so as to prevent the repetition of the Kohat tragedy in Dera Ismail Khan. It suggests that Hindu and Sikh soldiers should be posted in larger numbers in the affected area and exemplary punishment should be inflicted on persons found guilty of incendiarism. If Sikh and Rajput soldiers holding pensions are settled in large numbers in the Frontier Province, the ever-recurring communal troubles due largely to the fewness of the number of Hindus in the province will be reduced to some extent. Hindus should also be allowed to keep arms. In view of the fact that the Government took no action against Maulana Akbar Shah Khan of Najibabad for his letter in the *Municipal Gazette*, Lahore, challenging Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to fight "the fourth battle of Panipat," the *Abhaya* assumes that the Government have some hand in the matter. After the burning of Hindu houses in Dera Ismail Khan, the heart-rending affair of Kohat and the action of the Government in sowing seeds of mischief in Delhi even after last year's experience, who will not say plainly that the troubles which are being created all round by Muhammadans are being inspired by Government themselves? Referring to the Delhi Bakr-Id controversy, the *Sada-i-Muslim* wonders why the Hindus should object to the taking of cows along a particular road when Muslims have no objection to the processions of their idols on public roads. Muslims hate idols just as much as Hindus abhor cow-slaughter. The *Hamdam* points out that if Muslims were allowed to sacrifice cows quietly in their houses there would be no fear of riots as a result of Hindus getting offended at the sight of cows being carried for sacrifice. Islam does not require its followers to take sacrificial cows in procession, but at the same time it is also strange that while Hindus know that thousands of cows are slaughtered daily they get excited only on the Bakr-Id day. While advising the Hindus not to think of resisting the order regarding the taking of cows along the Pahari Dhiraj route in Delhi, the *Medina* advises Muslims to avoid all display and to show due regard for the feelings of their neighbours.

Military Training for Indians.

Referring to the appointment of the committee for enquiring into the means of attracting the best qualified Indian youths to a military career and of giving them a suitable education, the *Pioneer* writes that the most vital issue for the committee to consider will be the means of inculcating among the young men of the educated classes that sense of discipline, of national duty, of corporate life and of personal sacrifice which is an essential attribute of the soldier. Traditions count among the martial classes of India and, there, the right type of officer can be found, but it is unswervingly demanded with an eye on the constitutional future, that the distinction between the martial and non-martial classes should eventually be removed. The committee will have to consider whether the removal is possible and whether by careful revision of the whole educational system and its bearing on the national outlook in defence matters the martial ideals of the Indian intelligentia can be translated into actualities.

Ayurvedic and Unani Committee.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* approves the questionnaire issued by the Ayurvedic and Unani Committee appointed by the United Provinces Government and says:—"What is now wanted is to organise the quacks, to train them, to give them diploma and enable them to administer the medicines to which the people are used and which are best adapted to their economic condition. When fever can be cured by a pice worth of medicine, it is ruinous for a man, especially when he is too poor to have a full meal, to spend a rupee for a six-ounce mixture at the chemists." The *Sach* is strongly opposed to the committee and regards its scheme as harmful to

the interests of the country. It fears that under official control only Government men will be appointed as teachers and professors and a large amount of Indian money will go every year to England for medicines.

Indian states.

The *communiqué* issued by the Alwar Durbar regarding the Neemuchana affair is being severely criticised as a vain attempt at whitewashing the state officials responsible for the loss of life and property. The *Patriot* writes:—The atrocious Alwar incident has imperilled the good name of the Alwar administration, unless on impartial enquiry the allegations are found to be false. The public cannot give credence to the official whitewashing statement. Will the Alwar authorities allow an impartial committee to enquire into the whole affair? The *Shakti* remarks that it never struck it even in dream that Indian states could behave like Dyer. The Indian chief who is going to the Imperial Conference as the representative of India has acted towards his subjects in the same manner in which his masters, the British, have behaved towards Indians. The *Abhyudaya* does not countenance the proposal to give the title of His Majesty to the Nizam on the ground that it will lose its importance by being conferred on an Indian prince. The arguments urged in favour of the proposal are all untenable. The paper sarcastically remarks that if the Nizam is to be thus honoured it should be for his being an "infallible autocrat" who cannot tolerate the least public criticism and does not allow Indian leaders to enter his territory. The *Najat* takes strong exception to the strictures passed by the *Milap* on His Exalted Highness the Nizam for his action with regard to the estate of a Hindu widowed Rani and says that the taluqdari in dispute was granted to the ancestors of the deceased Raja by the Nizam on the clear understanding that it would be resumed if anything happened to contravene the laws in force in the state.

Agricultural societies.

The *Oudh Akhbar* deplores the unsatisfactory state of the agricultural co-operative societies in the United Provinces and suggests that with a guarantee of six months' recurring expenditure they should be placed under the care of private persons who, the paper expects, will be able to improve their condition.

Proposed Royal Durbar.

Referring to the report that Lord Birkenhead would come out as Viceroy to India and would hold a grand Durbar to which His Majesty the King-Emperor would be invited, the *Hamdam* says that the hearts of Indians can be won only by political concessions and not by such spectacular demonstrations and it would be sheer waste of the poor tax-payer's money to hold any durbar. The *Najat* also urges his Majesty to cancel the visit in view of the burdens of the Indian tax-payers.

North-Western Railway Strike.

The *Leader* is glad to note that strikers are resuming work and says:—"Those who are going back to work are acting wisely, for there was not sufficient justification for the strike and it is best not to persist in an error. If the strikers' case had not been weak it would have received a much greater degree of public support than it did."

The *Swadesh* sedition Case.

The *Aj* deplores the conviction of Pandit Bechan Sharma "Ugra," officiating editor of the *Swadesh*, and remarks that a sentence of nine months' rigorous imprisonment is too severe and unnecessary in his particular case.

ALLAHABAD:
The 27th June, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter, Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 26 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 4, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Shakti* exhorts Indian students to take a lesson in patriotism from Chinese students and to wake up to their sense of duty. In a contributed article to the *Abhyudaya* a writer, who signs himself as "BASUDEVA," reviews the history of China and expresses his conviction that the next war in China will give a further fillip to the awakening among the Chinese and convey a lesson to the Japanese also. He adds that Asia will rule the world after the European Powers have been crushed in the next great war. From a review of the present situation in China the *Oudh Akhbar* apprehends another great war and points out that while Britain and Japan for their own advantages and political ends do not want to let China go out of their control, the Bolsheviks too have got a footing in the country and are determined to make war on the foreigners. The recent course of events shows that the foreigners alone are responsible for the unrest. Referring to the "atrocities" perpetrated by France on the Riffs, the *Hamdam* remarks that France had no cause for action against the Riffs excepting her sympathy for other European Powers and her desire for crushing the spirit of liberty among a subject people. The paper prays for the freedom of the Riffs from the "tyrannical grip of the usurpers" and appeals to Indian Muslims to help the Riffs by sending money and a medical mission as they cannot send military volunteers. Referring to the incident in the French Chamber during the recent debate on the Riffian operations, the *Oudh Akhbar* says that the Imperialist party in France seems bent on continuing the war to the bitter end and on crushing the spirit of liberty among the Riffs in spite of strong public opposition. Referring to the events leading to the execution of the Italian engineer Piperno, the *Mansur* is surprised that in face of these obvious facts Italy should have despatched such a harsh and insolent note to the Afghan Government. The paper expects that Italy would reconsider the matter and would not be so foolish as to lose a valuable friend like Afghanistan over a trifling matter like this. The *Medina* contends that Italy had no right under international law to seize the Afghan bank deposits and ammunition stores. For physical reasons Afghanistan is quite safe from any encroachment by Italy and hence the only effect that the disgraceful behaviour of that country can produce is a general hatred against foreigners among Afghans. It is, moreover, likely to afford ample opportunities to the Bolsheviks for carrying on their propaganda which is such a huge bugbear to Englishmen. Britain would, therefore, be well advised to side with Afghanistan and to settle the matter amicably.

Haj.

Referring to the surprise of Mr. Shaukat Ali at the fact that though Emir Ali informed the Government of India on the 1st June that he would bombard Rabigh on the 13th June, the "Jehangir" was detained at Port Sudan from the 5th June to the 17th June though she could make for Rabigh in a day, the *Medina* points out that this delay was meant to give Emir Ali an opportunity to mobilise his forces and to discredit Ibn Saud by harassing the *hajis* on land. The Government of India were underrating the intelligence of Indian Muslims who, being suspicious and prejudiced, could naturally anticipate this move. The paper is highly gratified at the landing of the *hajis* at Rabigh in spite of the obstacles placed by Government and the bombardment by Emir Ali. Proceeding, the paper says: No doubt

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the enemies are many. They are clever and deceitful and are equipped with bombing planes but God is our protector. "You were detained at Port Sudan so that the rebel Ali might meanwhile mobilise his satanic forces near Rabigh and might hurl mountains of suffering at you and Ibn Saud might be held responsible for your miseries. But God the Great, who is the best of deceivers, and also the punisher of deceivers, will foil their moves. You are going to the holy *haram*. Holding the cover of *Ka'aba*, pray that God the Great may free India so that no one may again be able to restrain you from the road to the Hedjaz.—Amen."

Indians in the colonies.

The passage in the South African Assembly of the Mines and Works Bill has evoked bitter comments in the press. The *Leader* regards this as the culmination of a policy of racial arrogance and selfishness which carries with it its own nemesis. "It is bound to intensify the clash of colour and of race and set in motion the forces of hatred and antagonism which cannot conduce either to the prosperity of the white settlers in South Africa or to its economic development. Now that the Colour Bar Bill has been passed and the standard of inferior citizenship of Indians within the Empire has been statutorily proclaimed we would like to know what action the Government proposes to take to vindicate India's honour. We know what a national Government would have done in the situation." In a subsequent article the paper says that if the senate does not reject the Bill the natives and Indians will have to fight their own battle. "They should give no rest to the Government until it realizes the mistake of its un-Christian policy." The *Vartman* remarks that it is idle to think that Indians can get equal rights in other countries when they have not been able to do so in their own country. Indians, moreover, have no right to expect better treatment from the people of other lands when they oppress their own brethren. The *Hamdam* urges the Government of India to adopt retaliatory measures and notes with satisfaction that Mr. Mani Lal Gandhi, who is at present in South Africa, proposes to start non-cooperation in reply to this insult to Indians.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

Commenting on the speech made by Lord Birkenhead at the dinner at the Central Asian Society the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says:—"The Secretary of State has openly insulted intellectual India; he has made mock at the pretensions of politicians; he has broken the Royal promise of *swaraj* by his emphatic assertion that the British must sustain the exclusive responsibility for the protection of India . . . We may assure Lord Birkenhead that the impertinent challenge that he has dared thus to fling to the face of this country would be taken up. Every Indian must feel his self-respect deeply wounded at this cruel taunt at their political ambitions. India will have deserved this contemptuous gesture from a Tory diehard if this plain statement of policy does not rouse from a united people a firm and emphatic demand for self-government."

The *Swaraj* party.

The *Leader* advises the Bengal Swarajists to abandon their policy of wrecking as even their departed leader Mr. Das had come to realize that it had only strengthened the hands of the reactionaries and rendered powerless the friends of India in England. "The Swarajists in Bengal would, therefore, do well to take stock of the entire situation carefully, give due weight to the conclusion to which the powerful intellect and mighty spirit of Mr. Das came when he held out the olive branch, and shape their policy accordingly. They must abandon their barren, futile, injurious, and suicidal policy of senseless obstruction. If they do not do so they will have only themselves to thank for their disintegration and disappearance from the political stage." The *Bhavishya* urges that as the future of India appears to be bound up with the leader of the *Swaraj* party and of Bengal, Indians should give their best thought to the question of appointing Mr. Das' successor who should be a person capable of checkmating the crafty bureaucracy. The paper holds that a Mahatma like Mr. Gandhi is totally unfit for such a position. In another article the same paper expresses the apprehension that as there is no suitable leader of the *Swaraj* party now a split may take place in its ranks over the question of accepting ministerships. The *Sainik*, a new Hindi weekly of Agra, says that the death of Mr. C. R. Das has greatly encouraged the bureaucracy and it is now quite possible that seeing Indians to be without a leader it may try to crush them more forcibly in the press of serfdom. "Soldiers of the *swaraj* army" should not, therefore, put off their uniforms as the struggle will have to be continued.

The Commonwealth of India Bill.

The *Pioneer* strongly criticizes the memorandum signed by certain Indian leaders in support of Mrs. Besant's "Commonwealth of India Bill." In its opinion the memorandum purports to frame a bitter indictment of British rule in India and definitely accuses the British Government of breach of promises and good faith. "Is it likely that such a document bristling as it does with historical inaccuracies, and dressing up a threat in the guise of warning will impress a great political party now in power in England with an almost unprecedented majority behind it? The most regrettable feature of the memorandum is its appeal to anti-British sentiment and enforcement of that appeal by statements of a very reckless character."

Reforms in India.

The *Abhyudaya* remarks that, as Indians have been asserting from the very outset, the Birkenhead-Reading conversations will do no good to India; on the contrary they will tighten the "steel frame" on India a bit more. This is only too natural as the saying goes, a blind man distributes sweets and gives them to himself. The *Bhavishya* argues that the forecast published by the *Statesman* of the upshot of the Birkenhead-Reading conversations must represent the truth substantially and remarks that it will naturally increase unrest and disappointment among such Indians as are not acquainted with the nature of Englishmen, specially of Lord Reading. But those who know that there is no nation on earth more selfish, clever, and cunning than the English never expected any good out of these conversations. It was nothing but adding insult to injury to have the forecast published at the time when the whole of India was stricken with grief at Mr. C. R. Das' death.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Abhyudaya* wonders why Swami Shraddhanand was prohibited from delivering lectures at Chhapra and Bhagalpur where Hindu-Muslim tension is not so serious as at Delhi where he so often preaches. What good are the Collectors, Mr. Khan and Mr. Mirza, if their administrative ability is of so high an order that a lecture can disturb the peace of their cities? Commenting on the remark of the Chief Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan that the Hindu losses ranged between an anna and Rs. 30, the *Vartman* observes that an official drawing a salary of thousands of rupees regards an anna as a negligible amouut but it is like a pound to the poor man who has no food for tomorrow. The *Gharib* suggests that if the Government are unable to protect the Frontier Hindus they ought to grant arms to them without any condition so that they may be able to teach a lesson to the Muslims for their diabolical deeds. The *Haqiqat* dwells on the scrupulous regard of Mr. Das for the just rights of Muslims and says that they can best honour his memory by refraining, as far as possible, from cow-sacrifice on the *Baqr-Id* day and by exercising the utmost circumspection wherever such sacrifice is performed so as not to wound Hindu feelings. The *Sada-i-Muslim* is surprised that the Muslim leaders of Delhi, being flattered by the Hindus, should have agreed not to take cows along the Pahari Dhiraj route. The paper regards this as a political blunder which will furnish the Hindus with a bad precedent.

Release of political prisoners.

The *Vartman* urges that if the expression of sympathy by Lords Reading and Birkenhead on the death of Mr. Das is really sincere and is not merely meant to win over the Indians, the Government should act upon Mr. Gandhi's proposal and release the political prisoners in Bengal as a mark of respect for the deceased's memory. The *Abhyudaya* says that if not for any other reason, then at least to show their magnanimity, the Government should accept the advice of Mahatma Gandhi and release the political prisoners in Bengal. The *Bhavishya* remarks that if the Government were to release the political prisoners in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's suggestion it would get a good opportunity of securing the sympathy of the Indian people in general and of the Bengalis in particular. The *Oudh Punch* supports the suggestion of Mr. Gandhi that as a mark of respect to the memory of Mr. Das at latest those political prisoners should be released whom Mr. Das considered to be innocent and against whose arrest he entered a protest.

Dispensaries in rural areas.

The *Leader* heartily welcomes the scheme of the Local Government regarding the opening of new branch dispensaries in rural areas and says that it should offer an incentive to local authorities to do more than they have been doing in the direction of medical relief. The manner in which the medical requirements of the

villagers have been neglected has been scandalous, and now that the Government is prepared to share the cost half and half it may be hoped that the district boards and other local bodies will take full advantage of the offer and make provision for extended medical facilities. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* hopes that the Government resolution marks the first step towards improving the existing facilities for medical relief and says: "This is a lesson in self-help which the Government have set before the public and we can only hope that the response would be worthy of the public spirit of these provinces."

Red Cross Work.

While admitting that the activities of the Indian Red Cross Society are essentially of a national character and agreeing with His Excellency Lord Lytton that they ought to appeal to the people and secure their co-operation, the *Leader* writes: "One of the evils of political subjection is that the best energies of peoples who have become politically conscious but who are denied freedom are absorbed in the struggle for constitutional liberty. Every question of social welfare and economic well-being, however essential the same may be for the progress and prosperity of the peoples concerned, is subordinated to the idea of national emancipation. The tendency to follow destructive policies follows the pursuit of a reactionary policy by those who have the gift of freedom in their hands."

Rural games.

The *Leader* writes: "The campaign inaugurated by Sir Fazli Hussain for the encouragement of rural games in the Punjab with the blessings of His Excellency the Governor should lead other provinces to undertake a similar campaign. In these provinces it should be initiated by the Minister of Education and the co-operation of the district boards and the leading men in the districts should be invited to bring about the revival of rural games which are fast dying out."

The Hindi-Urdu controversy.

Referring to the rumour that the Raja of Awagarh is to move in the Legislative Council that Hindi should be declared to be the court language of this province, the *Hamdam* points out that in spite of the continuous efforts of the supporters of Hindi the progress and popularity of the Urdu language in these provinces has not been affected and not even one per cent. of applications and plaints are filed in Hindi. The paper invites attention to the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha's reply to the resolution moved in the Bihar Legislative Council urging the introduction of Urdu in that province and remarks that as that proposal was opposed on the ground that it would increase the difficulties of Government why the same argument should not hold good with regard to the introduction of Hindi in these provinces.

Political Propaganda.

The *Patriot* strongly supports the appeal for union of the various political parties and says: Let us hope that the leaders of all the parties will be able to evolve a *modus operandi* for making the national work for *Swaraj* co-ordinated and so designed as to make the national will irresistible, which will enable us to bring the reactionary bureaucracy to its knees at no distant date." The *Sainik* holds that if a great war takes place in the near future India ought not to participate in it. It is a matter of shame for a subject country to place its men and money at the disposal of a tyrannical power to help it in putting fetters of subjection on other independent and semi-independent states. The *Bhavishya* invites attention to the inauguration of the boycott movement in China and expresses the hope that thoughtful Indians will revive the movement in India also, as it is one of the best means of advancement in the commercial and industrial field.

The Services.

The *Leader* fails to see why the standing joint committee on Indian affairs should think that any rules affecting the services made by the Secretary of State might not be accepted by the Imperial Government until they have been exhaustively examined by the committee, when they know that the Secretary of State is a Lord Birkenhead, supported by an Earl Winterton. Or are even they not sufficient to protect the interests of the services? The paper points out that the proper body to examine the rules is the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Local Boards.

Rao Abdur Rahman, writing in the *Hamdam* on the working of the Saharanpur district board, complains of the numerous irregularities committed by that body and asks Government to take action against the persons responsible and to appoint a

non-official chairman. Failing that it should be laid down that resolutions affecting a particular community should not be regarded as valid unless supported by at least three-fourths of the members of that community. This is essential for protecting the minorities. A writer in the *Haqiqat* discounts the reports published in the *Mashriq* about the existence of an agitation in the Gorakhpur public against the new slaughter-house and remarks that it would be sheer folly to pay any heed to this spurious agitation and to allow the slaughter-house to continue.

The All-India Muslim League.

The *Haqiqat* supports the suggestion of Nawab Nasir Husain Khyal of Calcutta that the next session of the Muslim League should be held at Aligarh on the occasion of the University Jubilee in Christmas week and that the Hon'ble Sir Abdur Rahim should preside over its deliberations.

Indian States.

The *Aj* condemns the action of the Nizam in placing a ban on the *Hindustan Times* and other newspapers and wonders why all papers excepting Muhammadan are not forbidden entry into his territory. It regards the prejudiced attitude of the Nizam towards the Hindus as shameful for a ruler the majority of whose subjects are Hindus. The *Najat* takes the Hindu Press to task for its rude and undignified attacks on the Nizam in connection with the Gudwal estate affairs and remarks that the only object of this agitation is to damage the Nizam's Government in order to encourage the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements in the Deccan. The *Haqiqat* publishes an open letter from one Sultan Khan of Srinagar to the Resident at the Kashmir Darbar. The writer refers to the severities to which the signatories to the memorial to the Viceroy are being subjected and implores the Resident to come to their rescue. He assures the Resident that however oppressed Kashmir Muslims may be in future, they would never dare to approach him or the Viceroy.

The Sikh Gurdwara Bill.

The *Hamdam* urges that all Akali prisoners should be released, the question of Gurdwaras in Indian states should be settled and the definition of the word "Sikh" insisted upon by the Prabandhak Committee should be accepted, if it is wanted to secure peace and quiet in the Punjab after the passage of the Gurdwara Bill.

The next Home Member.

The *Aftab* says that considering his education, abilities, experience, and popularity the present Hon'ble Education Minister, Rai Rajeshwar Bali, is best fitted for the Home Membership.

ALLAHABAD:
July 4, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter, Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 27 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 11, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Bharat Dharma* remarks that the Chinese boycott of British goods has scared England out of her wits and has proved that there is no better weapon than the boycott of foreigners for the attainment of freedom and for self-preservation. The *Bharat Jiwan* refers to the British view that the Bolsheviks are backing the Chinese and observes that if the Bolsheviks succeed in liberating that unfortunate country (China) from the clutches of the wicked they will earn the gratitude of the whole of Asia. The paper fully sympathises with the Chinese youths and wishes that the Indian youths may also imbibe the same spirit of self-sacrifice. The *Abhyudaya* holds that the cry of Bolshevism in China has been inspired by self-interested capitalists and imperialists and says :—We cannot understand how our wish that others should not rule our homes can be called communism. Reviewing the situation in China the *Medina* observes that the two notes recently sent by the Chinese Foreign Office are tantamount to a declaration of war. The arrogance of the foreign powers has now roused even the opium-eaters of China. The starving Indians are not the only people who are acquainted with the deceptive moves and imperialistic lust of Britain. The drugged people of China also have been roused in a trice to the reality of the entire mystery behind the screen. Our heartfelt prayers are with China in her desire to throw off the yoke of foreign influence. The latest reports show that huge crowds of Chinese parade the streets with banners bearing the motto "Declare war against England." England has disturbed the peace of the east by the naval base at Singapore and it does not appear that its result will be good for her. There is still time for England to save her skirt from the flames. If the war predicted by the statesmen of the world is once begun it would be difficult for England, France and their satellites to remain alive. Otherwise we pray to God that circumstances may develop in favour of the freedom of the east. The *Najat* states that the Bolsheviks have secured the sympathies of the Sheikhs of Islamic territories and of the religious leaders of China and Japan so that the masses of these countries might come speedily into the grip of Bolshevism and the religious sentiments of the eastern peoples might be fully exploited. This new move of the Bolsheviks is succeeding a good deal. Now that the fire of Bolshevism has approached the imperialists, the struggle between labour and capital will come to a speedy decision. In another article the same paper says that France is now making full preparations for crushing Riffs and instigated by Britain is going to blockade the Riffian coast and thus to starve them to death. The recent French repulses have caused a general mourning in France, Spain and Britain and now these three seem determined to annihilate the Riffs. Under no moral law can this united action against the Riffs be justified. They are fighting for their liberty and no earthly power can frighten them. The paper warns Indian Muslims against Emir Ali's deputation which has recently arrived in India and wonders how in face of his numerous flagrant misdeeds the deputation can succeed in securing the sympathies of Indian Muslims for him. The deputation seems to be the result of the efforts of the Hedjaz merchants of Bombay and has surely some secret and unlawful object before it. The *Medina* thinks that if the Afghan Government were to interdict Italian trade within its dominions and Indian Muslims also were to boycott Italian goods simultaneously the Italian Government would soon realise how costly the estrangement with Afghanistan was proving.

11 AUG INDIA OFFICE

Lord Birkenhead's statement on Reforms.

Commenting on Lord Birkenhead's statement with regard to his conference with the Viceroy about the Indian problem the *Pioneer* says:—If Lord Birkenhead's statement contained no sensational announcement of new developments, it was inspired throughout by a liberal and broad-minded appreciation of India's aspirations and difficulties. There is a recognition of the importance of acting strictly on constitutional lines. It recognises to the full Britain's obligations to India. It also foreshadows a complete review of the existing constitution when the proper moment arrives for the consideration of the problem by a Royal commission. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—"The entire speech conjures up a picture that is positively revolting. It must put a severe strain on the faith of those who still swear by British justice and fair play. There is no mistaking the pronouncement of Lord Birkenhead. It is the herald of retrogression . . . It lies with our political leaders to say whether Lord Birkenhead was right or wrong in his contemptuous treatment of their claims. Lord Birkenhead will be right if, at this crisis, when our glorious country is menaced by British arrogance, the leaders fail to unite and force the hands of the Government to appoint the Royal commission in a year and widen the basis of reforms." The *Leader* says:—His Lordship's speech was characterized by a spirit of self-complacency which showed that he is incapable of understanding the deep-seated causes of Indian unrest and that he is not qualified to apply the proper remedy. The speech is not calculated to improve the situation in India, or to strengthen the forces of co-operation or to give satisfaction to the progressive elements in the country.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

Almost all papers strongly criticize Lord Birkenhead's speech at the Central Asian Society's dinner. The *Leader* says that Lord Birkenhead has shown a colossal ignorance of Indian history which would be inexcusable in one holding the responsible office of the Secretary of State for India. Proceeding, the paper writes:—"Did he express the views of the British Government or his own? If they were his own, they ought to be repudiated by the British Government. That they should have been expressed at a time when a large section of political India is mourning the loss of one of its foremost leaders adds to its objectionable character. We fail to see what immediate occasion there was for dropping such a bomb-shell." The *Aj* says that history has already answered the question whether the British came here with the sharp edge of the sword or with a pair of scales. The paper is, however, satisfied with this frank statement inasmuch as it shows that Lord Birkenhead's sword is going to protect the "Steel frame" of Lloyd George. It remarks that a number of swords have been broken on this ancient rock of India and many more will still be broken. India's ancient metaphysical civilisation is her armour. The *Bhavishya* characterizes the speech as wild talk and writes:—Englishmen came to India as petty hawkers and servants polishing the boots of Rajas and Nawabs and not as peace-makers among warring communities. We pity the intelligence of those who still talk of British sense of justice, liberality and sincerity. We have been proclaiming with the beat of drum that in cheating and deceitfulness English officers are matchless and it is not by yielding but by forcing them that something can be got out of them. Before the advent of the British peace had been established almost everywhere in the country. Then mischievous Englishmen made Hindus and Muslims fight against each other at various places, with the result that bloodshed became the order of the day. Even now British rule is based on the same crooked policy. Thefts and dacoities may have decreased for some time, but now they are increasing day by day, and famine, want, rise of prices and unemployment are the results of this good administration. Therefore, if Englishmen go away from India, they will be relieved of responsibility and India will be saved from famine and dissensions. The *Pratap* observes that the Secretary of State's remarks sound like those of a conqueror like Alexander or Napolean before his conquered people. Englishmen did not come to India sword in hand but as petty peddlers, who used to hawk about in streets for their living. They used to feel pride in bowing at the feet of the Moghal Emperors. Lord Birkenhead thinks that every Englishman has a god-given right to protect India. This is a mere boast. No country has been given the right to hold another country in trust. The *Hamdam'* regrets that His Lordship so boldly denied such a well-known historical fact as the coming of the English to India primarily for purposes of trade. No doubt when the

Moghal Empire began to totter after the death of Aurangzeb the English employed their favourite device of "divide and rule" to gain political power for themselves. With such a record in the past and such communal tension on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* in Calcutta and Delhi it does not become Lord Birkenhead to talk of "composing differences." His Lordship must bear in mind that while the English have failed to compose communal differences even in 150 years Mr. Gandhi came within an ace of accomplishing this feat in the brief space of two years and that also simply with the help of his sweet tongue. The *Haqiqat* points out that His Lordship's outspokenness has dashed to the ground the hopes entertained by optimists in India that some benefits would result from his conversations with Lord Reading. Lord Birkenhead has come forward with a really novel interpretation of British Indian history as a study of the writings of even British historians cannot lead one to believe that a handful of traders came to India to compose with the sharp edge of the sword differences which might have engulfed Indian civilisation in ruin. It was the willing co-operation of Indians themselves and not the English sabre which secured the Indian Empire for England. Equally objectionable was Lord Birkenhead's remark that the young students of China, Egypt and India were the worst enemies of the British Empire. The bitterness among the students is due solely to the repression of their just national aspirations and for this their European rulers alone are to blame. By their repressive policy the British Government are deliberately thrusting the students of these countries into the arms of Bolsheviks and Lord Birkenhead is far wrong if he thinks that he can suppress their natural desire for freedom by rattling the sabre. His predecessors have tried this policy and realised its futility and it will not be long ere Lord Brikenhead also will have to sheathe his sword. Indians should no longer expect any concessions from the present Government and should wake up in time if their love of freedom has not been killed by communal strife.

Commonwealth of India Bill.

Under the heading "Phantasms of the Living" the *Pioneer* criticizes the manifesto signed by forty Indian leaders in support of Mrs. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill. It says:—"It may charitably be assumed that the forty variegated politicians who signed the solemn warning to His Majesty's Government are victims of illusions rather than conscious purveyors of fiction. Mental obliquity is obviously indicated when with British troops picketing the capital of India and armoured cars patrolling its streets to prevent internecine strife, forty Indian politicians could be found solemnly forecasting the separation of India from the British Empire unless their demands are granted by the British Government. Where would these politicians find refuge if the consummation they contemplate were achieved"? The *Leader* pays a tribute to Mrs. Besant for her untiring and devoted work in the cause of India's freedom and says that the scheme embodied in the Commonwealth of India Bill is the only definite scheme of self-government which is before the country and its main object cannot but have the support of all nationalists. The *Anand* urges Indians to organize a big agitation in favour of the Bill, as without strong national support it is vain to expect that the present conservative Government of England would accept any such Bill. The *Hamdam* thinks that Mrs. Besant's Bill affords a suitable meeting ground for all Indian political parties and all of them should unite to support it if they want to produce any effect on the British Parliament.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu papers bitterly criticize the attitude of the authorities and of the Muslims of Delhi in connection with the *Bakr-Id*. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The elaborate military and police precautions taken to prevent a breach of the public peace at Delhi mark the shame and humiliation of the people of this country. A few more instances of this kind ought to make it very easy for the British to do anything with India as a nation of semi-savages who fight over cow processions and who, therefore, require to be ruled with the sword . . . It would, in fact, appear as if the entire object of the Government in pandering to the cruel instincts of certain Muslims to lead cow processions is to have an opportunity to discredit the Indian claim for *swaraj*. The *Hindu Sarvaswa* remarks that if the Frontier authorities are really unable to protect the Hindus they should allow them to defend themselves. It does not become a Government who boast of being civilized to get the Hindus killed deliberately by Muhammadans. The *Vartman* says that *Id-ul-Zoha* was celeberated at Delhi

at the point of spears and bayonets. Khwaja Hasan Nizami and other *maulvis* were busy provoking the Hindus by circulating notices to the effect that if Hindus wanted permanent amity they should allow the Muslims to sacrifice cows everywhere, in every street and lane, but as the authorities were supporting the Muslims they did not prosecute them for causing provocation. They did not even bring those to book who took out cows along forbidden routes and threw beef into temples. The Delhi *Bakr-Id* has also thrown light on the prestige of the authorities inasmuch as it has shown that the public is not prepared to obey even their pettiest order unless it is backed up by brute force. The decision of the authorities in allowing the Muslims to take out cows has embittered feelings and if a quarrel ensues the responsibility will lie on them (the authorities). The *Aj* writes :—The case of Delhi is more deplorable than that of Calcutta even though there was no trouble there because those who blackened their faces at Delhi were educated Indians. The *Anand* says that though the Hindus of Delhi maintained peace by supressing their feelings forcibly yet it is clear that obstinacy on the part of Muslims has damaged Hindu-Muslim unity and given conservative politicians like Lord Birkenhead an opportunity for saying that if the British leave India the country will be plunged into anarchy. It was but natural that uneasiness should have spread among the Hindus of Delhi, but instead of easing the situation the Government officials have added fuel to the fire even though they have succeeded in maintaining peace outwardly. The *Abhaya* remarks that in view of the police and military precautionary measures at Delhi it cannot be said that the *Bakr-Id* passed off peacefully there. Nor is the true God of all pleased with such a sacrifice. It is the false God of Indian Muslims, that is the pork-eating whites—at whose instance all this happened—who are undoubtedly pleased. The *Bakr-Id* was theirs. The *Bhavishya* writes :—Never again will Hindus fall a prey to the deceitful tactics of Muslims. Muhammadans who have gone to the extreme in following a crooked policy should remember that those who harass others in this world never remain happy themselves. In another article the same paper says :—How could the bloody *Bakr-Id* which exercised the minds of the Hindus for months pass off quietly? Indian Musalmans, who look upon Hindus as enemies and observe the *Bakr-Id* as a day of the Moghal Empire, find only this day in the year when, making a display of their prestige and importance, they are able, in the name of cow-sacrifice, to attack their inveterate enemies (Hindus), annoy them and arouse their religious passions. What can be the reason for throwing beef into the house of Lala Badri Das Ram Saran Das in Nai Bazar, and Babaji-ka-Panchaiti temple in Telipara, Delhi, beyond provoking Hindus to commit a riot. The paper next refers to the riot in Calcutta and expresses the opinion that the Muhammadans there were incited by *maulvis* and *mullas* to create a disturbance or else how could these poor workmen have the courage to sacrifice a cow and commit violence? Referring to the *Bakr-Id* riot at Calcutta the *Hamdam* urges that the mischief-makers should be socially boycotted and Hindu children should not be taught text-books of history which prejudice them against Muslims, but should be made acquainted with all the good that Muslim kings did to them, so that a feeling of solidarity may develop between the two communities and the work of national regeneration may progress with redoubled vigour. A writer in the same paper suggests that the Hindu-Muslim problem should be solved by enforcing Mr. Das's "Bengal pact" in honour of his memory.

"Hindu *Swaraj*."

Some papers reproduce an article contributed by Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) to the *Milap* of Lahore in which the writer declares that the future of the Hindu nation and of Hindustan and the Punjab depends on these four ideals :—(1) Hindu *Sangathan*, (2) Hindu *Rajya*, (3) *Shuddhi* of Islam and Christianity and (4) conquest and *Shuddhi* of Afghanistan and the Frontier. If the Hindus want to maintain their existence among the free nations of the world they must learn these four aphorisms like the *Gayatri mantra*. He adds :—Christians and Muslims will have to be converted as a man clears away from his eyes any particle of stone. Hindus will have to conquer Afghanistan and the Frontier and convert them to Hinduism in the sacred memory of Ranjit Singh and Hari Singh Nalva. If one crore of Goorkhas, Sikhs, Mahrattas, Rajputs and the Hindus become organized, *swaraj* will be ours. Commenting on this the *Patriot*, which is publishing the article in pamphlet form, says :—This question of Hindu *swaraj* now definitely raised by Lala Har Dayal, deserves the serious consideration of all Hindu leaders and we hope it will not be dismissed as a mere dream of a

visionary. The *Abhaya* says that for Hindus every word of Lala Har Dıyal deserves to be written in letters of gold and remembered like the names of Rama and Krishna.

The Gurdwaras Bill.

The *Pioneer* regards the passing of the Sikh Gurdwaras Bill as a good omen and hopes that the operation of the new Act may put an end to the unhappy troubles which have marked the recent history of the Punjab. The paper congratulates His Excellency the Governor on the outcome of his firm yet conciliatory policy. The *Leader* offers hearty congratulations to the Government of the Punjab and its people and especially the Sikhs on the passage of the Gurdwaras Bill and says :— A Malcolm Hailey was required to rise superior to the narrow conception of prestige and to show that there was no problem which could not be solved by tact and statesmanship.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* urges the members of the Jhansi Municipal Board to place the question of the erection of a memorial to the Rani of Jhansi before the entire country as she is a source of pride to the whole of India. The *Bharat Dharma* publishes a contributed article in which the writer dwells upon the imperative necessity of prepetuating the memory of the Rani of Jhansi by erecting memorials and celebrating, throughout the length and breadth of India, anniversaries in honour of her heroic achievements. In another article the same paper urges that if Indians bear in mind that it is the bureaucracy which has done all it could to spread communal tension, and try to establish friendly relations among the various communities, they will soon be able to attain *swaraj*. The *Vartman* publishes the purport of a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap, who says that he regards the establishment of better relations between India and the neighbouring countries as necessary for the attainment of her freedom and has therefore been touring in various countries propagating love and culture of India. He adds that he is going to visit Nepal and Tibet with a view to preach the gospel of liberty there. The *Abhyudaya* urges that a deputation of Hindu preachers should tour Cambodia in order to rescue their fallen brethren there and remarks that their uplift is desirable from social, religious and political standpoints as well as from self-interest with a view to make the Indian Hindus and the Hindu race powerful. The *Vartman* lays the responsibility for the outbreak of communal riots on the shoulders of raw and inexperienced officers coming from England and says that if these officers be alive to their sense of duty and act properly the number of riots, disturbances, thefts and dacoities will decrease in the country, but how can the officers who have never been taught to discharge their duty properly establish peace in India? The *Satya Bhakta* announces in the *Hindustani* that the Indian communist party will try to get India also affiliated to the Third International, that communist schools and reading rooms will be opened and that an Indian communist conference will be held at the time of the next session of the Congress.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Bhavishya* denounces the "Mines and Works Bill" of South Africa as a heavy blow aimed at the coloured people by the crafty and wily whites. The paper says that the disabilities imposed by such Bills can be removed only when Indians become free and demonstrate to the whites that like them the "blacks" too are born to enjoy human rights. The *Anand* also condemns the Bill and remarks that India will have to put up with this insult as it is vain for her to expect that the Government of India or the British Government will do anything to wipe off the disgrace. It is impossible for Indians to maintain their self-respect within the Empire. The *Bhàrat Dharma* writes :—Who else than God will hear the pathetic tale of the Asiatics and natives? Autocratic authorities always try to show that only the powerful community can exist in this world. Will Indians ever understand this? Writing in the *Aj* on the position of Indians in Fiji, Benarsi Das Chaturvedi says that efforts will soon be made to cajole Indians by giving them nominal rights but they should continue their agitation so long as they do not get important political, industrial and commercial rights.

Indian states.

The *Pratap* says that if the report about the appointment of Sir A. K. Banerjee, the ex-Dewan of Mysore, as Regent of Gwalior in place of the Dowager Maharani is correct, it must be said that the British Government are unjustly interfering in the affairs of the state. However capable an outsider may be, he will think more of pleasing his masters—Englishmen—than of the well-being of the

people. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that as the Maharaja of Alwar could not win over a pliant man like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya it must be presumed that there is something rotten in the state of Denmark and that the Maharaja is playing tricks only to gain time. The Congress should take up the Alwar affair in its own hands as the Government of India will not do anything, because they want to show Indians clamouring for self-government what *swaraj* means in Indian states. The *Shankar* complains of increased coercion of Hindus in the Nizam's dominions and of the gradual confiscation of the jagirs of Hindu jagirdars, and remarks that the only remedy for the local Hindus is to refuse to bear these atrocities, even if they have to go to jail or mount the gallows for their refusal. It is no use appealing to the British Government, for if they do so they will receive the reply that it cannot interfere in the internal affairs of any state.

Military training for Indians.

The *Medina* says that the military policy of the Government of India is inspired by high-handedness, distrust and autocracy, and the army is stationed in India to protect not the country but the autocratic Government and its white members. It is because of this that the organisation of the Indian army is based not on the Indian angle of vision but on Nadirism and Changezism which aims not at safe guarding Indian rights but at strengthening British militarism. Government have therefore constantly opposed the efforts of Indian legislators to secure the opening of an Indian Sandhurst. The commission recently appointed to enquire into the fitness of Indian youths for military training should not tempt the legislators to rest on their oars as it might as usual be only a device to gain time.

The rumoured Royal Darbar at Delhi.

The *Abhyudaya* expresses the opinion that if the rumoured Royal Darbar at Delhi is held it will mean a festival to the authorities but bankruptcy to the poor people. The *Pratap* says that there is no wonder if the rumour proves to be true because Lord Reading can never fail to take the fullest advantage of the communal tension and political lull in the country. It seems that he wants to use the King-Emperor as a pawn in his political game and to strengthen the bureaucratic hold over the country by stirring up a wave of loyalty.

Municipal Boards.

The *Aj* agrees with the chairman's view as expressed in the annual report of the Allahabad Municipal Board that instead of municipal elections being held triennially one-third of the members should be elected every year and suggests that the elections should be held in December in place of March, so that new members may have an experience of at least four months at the time of the budget discussion and the publication of the annual report.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* deplores the apathy towards the All-Muslim Parties Conference everywhere outside the Punjab and says that if this indifference continues, the deliberations of the conference will carry no weight and the path chalked out by it will be derided as the work of a coterie. The *Sada-i-Muslim* supports the appeal of the *Zamindar* to the Sikhs to fulfil their promise and to return to Muslims the Shahidganj mosque which had been turned into a Gurdwara in the past.

The next Home Member.

The *Jadu* considers Nawab Muhammad Yusuf to be the best candidate for Home Membership and hopes that in view of his popularity and public spirit the choice of His Excellency the Governor will fall on him.

ALLAHABAD :
July 11, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter, Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT, GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 28 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 18, 1925.

Foreign Affairs.

Commenting on the situation in China the *Pioneer* writes:—The exploiter of the Chinese to-day is not the Japanese and not the British trader: it is the Russian agent who is exploiting the trouble of China for the sole purpose of wrecking the peace of Asia and ultimately of the civilized world. It is the duty of the Powers, for the sake of China and for their own sake, to take firm, united action to prevent this catastrophe. The *Aj* condemns the atrocities of British troops in China and says that it is on account of these atrocities that public feeling against Britain is running so high in that country and Chinese generals are talking of waging war with her. India is sure to be affected by a war between these two countries and we do not want that there should be any kind of unrest here at the present juncture as only those who possess weapons and poison can benefit from it. The Muslim Press continues to watch the *Riffian* struggle with sympathetic interest. Syed Sakhawat Husain suggests in the *Haqiqat* that Indian Muslims should pass resolutions urging Britain to induce France to desist from operations against the Riffs and should also organise a boycott of French goods. The *Hamdam* opines that the continuance of hostilities between Emir Ali and Ibn Saud and the isolation of Jeddah from Mecca are proving extremely harmful for the economic interests of the Hedjaz and urges Ibn Saud to come to some understanding with the people of the Hedjaz as once he is able to win them over Emir Ali can be safely left out of account. Sheikh Mushir Husain Qidwai writing in the same paper says that it is impossible for the Hedjaz to submit for long to the rule of a foreigner like Ibn Saud and the present struggle between him and Emir Ali will only serve to weaken Islam and endanger the security of the holy places. Indian Muslims should, therefore, make serious efforts to bring about peace between them. The Muslim Press is generally not inclined to welcome Tahirul Dabbagh's deputation. The *Medina* warns Indian Muslims against it and says that these agents of the disreputable Hashmite Government will only widen the gulf caused among Indian Muslims by certain greedy *ulema* of Bareilly. The *Rahnuma* says that it will only encourage those who are fomenting differences between Sunnis and Wahabis.

Lord Birkenhead's statement.

Vernacular newspapers emphatically challenge the statement of Lord Birkenhead that Englishmen went to India for composing differences and say that as a matter of fact, it is the British administration which has fomented communal dissensions by adopting a policy of "divide and rule." The papers appeal to all parties to sink their differences and carry on vigorous agitation for the achievement of self-government. The *Abhyudaya* says:—"We are not at all surprised at Lord Birkenhead's statement. We never expected anything at his hands and always held the view that Lord Birkenhead-Reading conversations would do no good to India, but would, on the contrary, lead to the tightening of the 'steel frame' on her a bit more. In another article the same paper writes:—To-day Lord Birkenhead sings the praise of the sword. In which war did the British sword score a victory in India? Was it in the battle of Arcot in which Indian soldiers drank *conjee* themselves and gave rice to their British comrades? If craftiness means sword and valour surely we have nothing to say. Was the mention of sword necessary because there were to be no reforms and it was desirable to keep Indians

quiet by flashing it? After all what statesmanship was intended to be indicated by such an allusion? We have only to lament that the decision of our destiny is in the hands of such a fool and it is to be apprehended that he will be the Viceroy of India one day. The *Bhavishya* remarks:—The mountain was in labour but produced a mouse and that too a dead one. Lord Birkenhead talks of composing communal differences. The fact, however, is that as a result of the policy adopted by the British Government Hindus and Muslims are anxious to break each other's head. Sometimes these two communities are made to fight each other in the name of law. "You have maimed Indians and deprived them of their manhood. You will be well advised to revoke the positively harmful dyarchy". The *Aj* opines that the statement is without substance and full of wrong theories. It appears that Lord Birkenhead does not want co-operation, but wishes simply to defer the reforms. The paper next refers to the Secretary of State's remarks about anarchy in India at the time of the advent of the British and says that revolutions take place in every country. It was India which once had the misfortune of falling into the net of deception of crafty foreigners at the time of a revolution and now it is the turn of China. In another article the same paper says:—The views expressed by Lord Birkenhead could be easily culled from the leading articles of Anglo-Indian papers and it was therefore not necessary to ponder over them for eight months and summon Lord Reading from India. We shall go on practising non-co-operation even for a century or more, but we shall not co-operate even if by doing so we get swaraj to-morrow. India is prepared to treat Britain as her friend and equal, but the idea of master and servant is intolerable to her. The *Anand* is disappointed with the statement and says that the Secretary of State's threat that India will be ruled with a strong hand will have no effect on Indians and will not stimulate their desire for co-operation. The *Vartman* wonders why Lord Birkenhead who holds the destinies of India in his hands took so long to study the situation in India. This means that he was totally ignorant of India when he took charge of her. How terrible and shameful that he should have been governing the country for eight months without knowing anything about it! The *Pratap* writes:—This nonsensical statement as well as the other speeches delivered by the Secretary of State show that there is no immediate hope of a change of heart or mind in him. He speaks of the impartiality of British officials in Hindu-Muslim riots, but we think that the recent Frontier riots were chiefly due to the reprehensible partiality of the authorities. The main policy of the officials has been directed towards widening the communal gulf. If we wish to court death we should listen to what he says, otherwise we should follow the advice of Mr. Mahomed Ali, put blinkers on our eyes and go straight towards our national goal. The only way to bring round conceited and self-complacent men like Lord Birkenhead is to make such a demonstration of strength, without using weapons, that all the Government buildings from no. 10, Downing Street down to Delhi may shake. It is a folly to believe in the generosity of Britain. The freedom of India lies in the hands of Indians themselves and the breeze of freedom will soon blow in this country. The *Garhwali* considers the statement to be devoid of substance and statesmanship and says that Lord Birkenhead thinks that if the British leave India to-day the country will be plunged into a terrible anarchical revolution. We are constrained to say that the Government's policy of distrust is responsible for creating discontent among the people and leaders and if there had not been leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya to restrain them, Indian youths might have led the country towards a revolution. There is, therefore, a greater danger of a revolution here in the leaders leaving the political field than in the British leaving the country. We agree with Lord Birkenhead that India will gain by remaining with Britain, but differ only in this much that we want India to have a status of equality within the Empire. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that the speech will disappoint even the Moderates, but every Indian will be grateful to His Lordship for openly displaying the "die-hard" spirit of British imperialism. The *Hamdam* characterises the statement as a mass of pompous verbiage in which not a single ray of hope can be discerned for Indians. His Lordship has nothing but admiration for the Indian administrative machine and if there is unrest in the country it is, according to him, due simply to the campaign of calumny and misrepresentation initiated by Indian politicians. If Lord Birkenhead were to come out to India and to see for himself the half-starved and ill-clad toiling masses of the country

he would know why in spite of their proverbial patience the land is seething with discontent. Lord Birkenhead is asking Indian politicians to achieve the impossible when he insists on their making dyarchy a success although they do not believe in it and regard it as a failure. The *Haqiqat* says that the Under Secretary of State's explanation makes it clear that there will be no Royal Commission before 1929 and, therefore, any proposals for political reform before this date will be futile. This was what was expected in view of the present Hindu-Muslim tension.

Reforms.

Referring to the passage in Lord Birkenhead's speech which suggested the framing of a constitution by Indians themselves, the *Leader* says: This is an invitation to Swarajists to do a little constructive thinking. They must give up their destructive rôle and let the country know what should take the place of the constitution which they seek to destroy. . . . We want a united demand to be made not because we expect that a substantial portion of it will be conceded during the existing *régime*, but because it will mean a great accession of strength to the public life of the country, will help in the process of nation-building, will strengthen the hands of our friends in England and will eventually lead to success if we show sufficient earnestness and perseverance. The *Hamdam* asserts that the Swarajists are always prepared for "honourable co-operation" but contends that Government also should show not by words, but by deeds, that they will treat Englishmen and Indians alike. There should be mutual trust and Englishmen should give up the idea that they can get Indians to co-operate in strengthening the British hold. The *Sada-i-Muslim* eulogises the work so far done by the Swaraj Party in the councils and hopes that it will be returned with an overwhelming majority to all councils at the next election. It advises the Swarajists never to accept office under the present Reforms as after Lord Birkenhead's statement this would be tantamount to a surrender. If the Swarajists remain unbending in their attitude Government will have to withdraw the Reforms and that would be the best thing for India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on Syed Rahman's speech at Calcutta in which he is reported to have characterised Hindus as cowards the *Bhavishya* says:—The heroism of Muhammadans is confined to hidden and treacherous assaults and incendiarism. This is the work of thieves and robbers. Referring to the Kidderpore riot the same paper remarks that being eager for a revenge, Muslims by means of entreaties and recommendations prevailed upon the authorities to arrest Hindus. The arrest of the innocent coolies is nothing short of partizanship. Commenting upon the statement of Mr. Gandhi that in the Kidderpore riot during the Bakr-id the Hindus were guilty the *Abhaya* remarks:—Mahatmaji is in his dotage. Hindus are not guilty. Therefore people should pay no heed to what he says. What the Hindus of Kidderpore did was right. Hindu religion teaches us that for the protection of cows and the chastity of woman Hindus should do their duty, banishing all fear of bloodshed. The *Bhavishya* complains that since the Hindu-Muslim riot at Calcutta Muslims have been resorting to double-dealing in various ways and asks Hindus to be on their guard, because in view of the *Sangathan* movement hundreds of demons will throw obstacles in their path and try to make them deviate from it. The *Vartman* refers to the throwing of beef into various Hindu temples during the last Bakr-id festival and urges that the only way to stop this is to form civic guards in various towns. The *Abhyudaya* pays a tribute to the Hindus for the quiet passing off of the Bakr-id inasmuch as they displayed forbearance despite provocation at Delhi. Proceeding, the paper says:—The fact that Muslims took out cows for sacrifice through Pahari Dhiraj in spite of the persuasions and entreaties of Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali, Dr. Abdul Rahman and Mr. Asaf Ali shows that these leaders have no hold over the Muslim masses. There appears to be no reason for the Muslim innovation of taking out processions with cows beyond wounding the feelings of the Hindus. Muslims now claim it as a right and the authorities are ready to help them on the plea of the protection of their rights. Swami Shraddhanand has stated that the Pahari Dhiraj affair was the outcome of a promise given by the Viceroy to a Muslim deputation last year. Be that as it may. But we too have the impression that the authorities have a hand in the *Id* problem. It is a patent truth that so long as Hindus and Muslims quarrel England stands to gain. There can be

no more easy but effective instrument than *Id* to accentuate the estrangement between these two communities. If there be no third party in India, if the administration of India be in the hands of Hindus and Muslims alone, they will be constrained to effect a compromise on the *Id* question which is nothing but an attempt on the part of Muslims to benefit themselves in both ways, i.e., by securing concessions from the Government and by repressing the Hindus. The *Sada-i-Muslim* regrets that though it is known on the unimpeachable authority of Mr. Gandhi that Hindus were solely to blame in the Calcutta Bakr-id riots no Hindu leader or paper has come forward to condemn the mischief-makers. When Muslims are in the wrong there is a regular outcry that the Muslim leaders should condemn the actions of their co-religionists, but now both Lala Lajpat Rai's *People* and Mr. Malaviya's *Hindustan Times* are silent. Such is the prejudice and propagandism of the Hindus. If Mr. Gandhi were present at other riots he could soon know which party is generally to blame. The *Medina* writes:—The scurrility and malignity with which the Hindu papers have commented on the (Bakr-id) incidents at Delhi give proof of their extreme satanism, cowardice and unmanliness. But the leading article published in its issue of July 6, by that scurrilous, mean and extremely bigoted paper, the *Tej* of Delhi, is sufficient to cause extreme provocation among Hindus and Muslims in Delhi. The manner in which this bigoted and scurrilous paper has made out Muslims and Government to be cowardly, wicked and mean deserves a thousand condemnation (lit., curses). Of course the (imaginary) picture which it had drawn on paper of the bravery and patience of the Hindus is not only ridiculous but an open insult to them. It was not bravery on the part of the Muslims or of Government to take the cows along the Pahari Dhiraj route. All these arrangements were meant to assert an ancient right and to hold in check the mischievous inclinations and provocations of the Hindus. If the Hindus lay claim to courage and bravery and if our benefactor, Deshbandhu Gupta (Editor of the *Tej*) was the standard-bearer of that courage and heroism then it was necessary for them that for each drop of the blood of the two hundred cows sacrificed in Delhi, the blood of ten Hindus should have been shed and the cows should have been rescued. All this heroism evaporated with the arrest of Lotan Singh and a few nameless Jats. Mian! Be grateful and bless the machine-guns of Government that your honour was saved. Be thankful to the peacefulness and forbearance of the Muslims that you are to-day sleeping at night in peace and quiet. What is the good of heroism in the columns of newspapers? If you lay claim to courage, come into the field and thrust your heads into the machine-guns of Government and stop the "cruel" and (according to Arya papers) "touching" martyrdom of cows. Otherwise, what is the good of this fire-spitting (lit. poison-spitting). Sit quiet and mind your *dhoti* (loin-cloth) (lest it slip).

Gurdwara Bill.

Commenting on the observation of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee that the conditions regarding the release of the Akali prisoners are wholly unnecessary, unjust and derogatory, the *Leader* writes:—"Those of the prisoners who are convinced that the Bill substantially concedes the issues for which they fought should have no difficulty in giving the required undertaking. There is no humiliation involved in the same. In our view the Bill is a great victory for the Akalis. The undertaking they are required to give amounts to nothing more than to a declaration that its provisions are acceptable to them." The *Abhyudaya* expresses satisfaction and gratification at the passing of the Gurdwara Bill and remarks that this measure will mark a new era in the history of the Sikh community and remove a good many of their grievances. The success of the Akalis is the fruit of their sufferings and sacrifices. If they act justly and with honesty in future and do not disregard the interests of other sections of the Sikh community, there will no longer remain any unrest among the Sikhs and they themselves will be able to prosper and flourish. The *Pratap* congratulates the Akalis on their success and hopes that they will now succeed in extinguishing the fire of Hindu-Muslim antipathy in the Punjab. The *Bhavishya* in impassioned language congratulates the Akalis on coming off triumphantly through the ruthless ordeal of cannon, swords, bullets and jails and thereby bringing the Government to their knees. The paper urges the Punjab Government to release all Akali and other political prisoners at once, otherwise a fresh struggle for securing their release might be set on foot. The *Vartman* suggests the complete closing of the Akali affair by the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha to his *gaddi*. The *Aj* congratulates

Sir Malcolm Hailey on the farsightedness and magnanimity displayed by him in giving assent to the Gurdwara Bill, releasing Sikh prisoners and recognising the Prabandhak Committee as lawful bodies and urges that even those Sikh prisoners should be released who do not undertake to abide by the new legislature.

Akali prisoners.

The *Abhyudaya* expresses gratification at the "just" action of the Punjab Government in releasing the Akali prisoners and congratulates both Sir Malcolm Hailey and the Akalis on it. It urges that the next step which the Government ought to take now is to restore the Maharaja of Nabha to his throne. If the Government exercises wisdom in this matter also it will be able not only to remove unrest among the Sikhs but also to convert them into friends. The *Vartman* says that in view of the release of Moplah prisoners who had openly waged war with the Government and of some other prisoners who had been convicted of grave offences, it is reasonable to urge that even those Akali prisoners who committed violence in a fit of religious fury should be released. The *Pratap* publishes a picture depicting the tortures of Akali prisoners in the Nabha jail, such as beating them with shoes after pressing their hands underneath the legs of bedsteads, suspending prisoners by their legs, searing their stomachs with red-hot iron, suspending them by their hands and squeezing them in wooden presses in order to force them to seek pardon.

Political propaganda.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deplores the "callous indifference" shown by Indians to Mr. Gandhi's appeals regarding spinning and weaving *khaddar* and says:—"Two centuries of merciless economic exploitation have rendered India, once the richest country in the world, to be the poorest country. . . The efficacy of *khaddar* to bring us nearer to the goal of Swaraj is incontestable. Let the Indians take up the challenge which Lord Birkenhead has thrown in his recent statement and prove that India means to be a free nation and not to be under eternal subjection to the British. Stung by such an insulting and discouraging statement, it is high time for us to try all weapons in our national armoury to win Swaraj. If *khaddar* can bring us nearer to Swaraj, let us make a mighty effort to make it a success." In another article headed "The sacred cause of freedom" the same paper says:—"The westerners, who once fought for freedom in their own country have been bent upon crushing the liberty of eastern peoples. A free people at Home, they have been tyrants abroad . . . The bubble of imperial fabric must break and the structure of western materialism must fall before the force of the united resistance of Eastern nationalities and the sacred cause of freedom will triumph." The *Prabhat* remarks that Lala Har Dayal's scheme for Hindu Swaraj is a packet of gun-powder which would inflame hundreds of men and prove detrimental to Indian nationalism. The *Vartman* supports the view of Mr. Jamna Das Mehta that *satyagraha* should be started on January 1, 1926 in accordance with the wishes of the late Mr. C. R. Das and urges that Swarajists should prepare the country for civil disobedience under the guidance of Mahatama Gandhi. The *Sainik* publishes a letter from Satya Bhakta of Cawnpore saying that there is no reason why Indians should not send their representatives to the Third International when delegates from all parts of the British Empire can join it. "We will fight for this right and are sure to succeed. Our relations with the Third International will be the same as those of two individuals following a common principle." The *Aj* heartily supports the resolution on the extension of franchise to women which the Hon'ble Mr. Ram Das is to place before the Council of State and wonders how women can be held ineligible for voting when they can even rule over states. The paper adds:—"So long as women do not help us in our national work we cannot succeed." The *Haqiqat* publishes an account of the annual meeting of the Anjuman-i-Ittihad-i-Hind, America, at Sacramento (California) on February 22, 1925, at which "Raja" Mahendra Pratap said that though working along different lines the Anjuman also, like the Ghadar party, wanted the emancipation of India. He referred to a letter he had written to Mr. Gandhi from Kabul and pointed out that Mr. Gandhi had sent him back a reasoned reply and had not attacked him. Mr. Gandhi also believed that good relations should be cultivated with all countries in Europe and Asia. Amir Amanullah had told the "Raja" that the independence of India was necessary for the independence of Afghanistan. The Japanese also realized that the English were their enemies. The "Raja" went on to describe the revolutions in various

countries and said that he did not believe that the English would pack off bag and baggage from India of their own accord. He added that the English were pleased with the universal use of the *charkha*. Proceeding, he distinguished between "lion-heartedness" and "chicken-heartedness" and insinuated that the present leaders of the movement for freedom in India did not possess the former quality.

Indian jail administration.

The *Anand* remarks that judging from the statement in the latest jail administration report of these provinces it appears that the condition of prisoners must be deplorable and heart-rending and urges that they should not be provided with unwholesome food and that too in insufficient quantity. At least so much of human treatment should be accorded to them. The *Vartman* writes:—The condition of Indian jails is worst in the world. The treatment of the Akali prisoners would be a blot on the fair name of any civilized country. The Government have expressed their inability to carry out the recommendations of the Jails Reform Committee on the ground that they have no money, but it is surprising how they can spend so much money in giving fat salaries and big allowances to civilians and travelling expenses to their widows and children. The *Oudh Akhbar* takes exception to the remarks of the Inspector-General of Prisons of Bengal in his report for 1924 about the undesirability of the sentence of simple imprisonment and contends that instead of favouring rigorous imprisonment, which would have a still more demoralizing effect on the prisoners, he should suggest some means of reforming them so that they may prove useful citizens after release.

Cotton Mill industry.

Discussing the causes of the present crisis in the cotton mill industry of this country the *Leader* writes:—If the excise duty is not abolished, if the pre-war rate of exchange is not restored, and if the dumping of Japanese goods by the imposition of duties on them is not stopped in time, we shall be faced with a situation in which the premier industry, not only of the Bombay presidency, but of the whole country, will be involved in serious calamity which is bound to react on the whole commercial and industrial community as well as on the labourers, the consequences of which we do not make bold to predict.

Restoration of Oudh.

The *Medina* regards Rai Bahadur Lala Shankar Dayal's proposal for the restoration of Oudh to the descendants of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah as eminently reasonable and just and says that Government at least cannot look anybody squarely in the face and deny that the proposal is right. The *Anand Pracharak*, however, considers it to be both unnecessary and undesirable and hopes that the Council will not waste its time in discussing it.

Indian States.

The *Haqiqat* publishes a communicated article in which the writer strongly urges the Government of India to return to the Nizam his ancestral territory of Berar. It was the Nizam's Government through whose aid the British were able to gain a foot-hold in India in the beginning and the present Nizam himself has always been most munificent in his help whenever the Government have been in difficulties. It is a pity that when he claims his legitimate hereditary right the terrible demon of British land-hunger is not prepared to disgorge it. It would be better for the Government of India to return Berar before the Nizam's letter to Lord Reading is published, before fresh disclosures are made and before the agitation for restoration assumes all-India dimensions. The Chamber of Princes and the Punjab Khilafat conference and numerous other Muslim conferences have supported the demand and only a few wicked and biassed Beraris are opposed to it. Lord Reading would be well advised to rectify this wrong immediately after his return. Elsewhere the same paper appeals to the Government of India to show every consideration for the wishes of the present ruler of Bhopal in the matter of succession as they are in conformity with the Islamic law though they may conflict with the State custom. The heir designated by the Begum is the most suitable person for the *gaddi*.

His Majesty the King Emperor's visits.

The *Anand Pracharak* welcomes the idea of the King-Emperor's visit to India as it believes that it will prove advantageous to the country.

ALLAHABAD :
July 18, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter, Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 29 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 25, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Under the heading "The Travail in China" the *Leader* writes: To all disinterested observers of the course of events in China it is evident that the manifestations of nationalist spirit there are the outcome of the policy of exploitation which has been pursued by a number of Western Powers, Japan and the United States. A series of treaties have been imposed by force upon China which stand in the way of her economic and political progress and which are a constant source of irritation to the awakened consciousness of its people. The Chinese are prisoners in their own house . . . The vested interests are bound to put up a strenuous fight, and they may prevail. If these win, the peace-loving Chinese will be driven to desperation and no one can foretell what an exasperated people may do to vindicate their right to live. The *Vartman* holds America responsible for creating anti-alien feeling in China and says that there are signs which show a that if the foreigners do not change their policy the day will not be far off when a similar fire will rage all over Asia and every country will turn out foreigners like China. Referring to the report regarding the despatch of Indian troops to China the *Aj* says that this is a matter of the greatest concern to India. It lends support to the view that the Indian Army is chiefly intended to maintain and extend the influence of the British Empire in the East. We can emphatically assert that India is not eager to have a hand in the destruction of China. In another article the same paper remarks that the British Government's refusal to help France actively in depriving the Riffs of their liberty is based on the fear lest France's influence should increase in Morocco, which would always be a menace to Gibraltar. The Riffs will be able to profit by such an attitude of the British but their emancipation will depend upon their own exertions. The *Hamdam* complains of atrocities by British officials on the inhabitants of Mosul and says that even if the political exigencies of the Mosul Inquiry Committee demanded such action it should be discontinued as the inquiry is over and its continuance now will be regarded only as repression and tyranny.

Lord Birkenhead's statement and speeches.

Newspapers continue to criticize in strong language Lord Birkenhead's statement and recent speeches. A few papers have even indulged in vituperation. Commenting on the speech at Milton Abbey Park, the *Leader* says: "Is the constitutional progress of the whole of India to be delayed and a reactionary policy to prevail simply because in one or two councils the party of obstruction dominates? If his lordship is at all anxious to stimulate the forces of co-operation and to induce the swarajists to give up their tactics, he ought to show that co-operation pays. And how can the existing constitution be made a success when the representative bodies have no control over the superior executive agency which has been made more irresponsible than before, and which has been taken under the special and exclusive care of the Secretary of State? The conditions of co-operation have, indeed, been made more difficult even for those willing to co-operate and yet we are told that unless co-operation is forthcoming very few doors will remain open." The *Bhavishya* says that but for the dissensions between Hindus and Muslims and among various political bodies, even the forefathers of Lord Birkenhead would not have ventured in dream to hold out such reckless threats to Indians and an incapable man like Birkenhead would not have been allowed to occupy the chair of the Secretary of State for India. The paper calls Lord Birkenhead a hypocrite and says that his threats of closing

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the door of further reforms are of no greater importance than the ravings of mad men. The *Abhyudaya* observes that Lord Birkenhead makes a show of the strength of the sword. We should reply by the initiation of a vigorous agitation and our cheerful readiness to suffer the greatest self-sacrifice for our rights. This is the way in which the Indians, if they wish, can wrest *swaraj* from the hands of Lord Birkenhead himself. The *Sainik* thinks that the statement of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru to the effect that Indians cannot accept the position in which Lord Birkenhead wants to keep them and that they cannot co-operate with the Government in strengthening the hold of England over India will be endorsed by the Assembly. Lord Birkenhead should take it to be the reply of the whole of India and should bear in mind that no power can suppress an awakened nation. The *Bharat Jiwan* thinks that the only reply to the statement of Lord Birkenhead and Earl Winterton which Indians can give at the present juncture is the boycott of British goods. If Indians resolve to purchase goods from foreign countries other than England the "steel frame" will begin to rust from to-day and will surely totter down in a year. Englishmen are a nation of shopkeepers and they can bear anything except injury to trade. The *Anand* remarks that if Lord Birkenhead wants that Indians should co-operate with him he should deem it his duty to sympathise with Indians in their affliction and solve the problem of poverty and unemployment in the country. The *Abhaya* writes:—Everybody does know that Englishmen established their rule in India by fraud, deception and injustice. To-day Lord Birkenhead forgets everything and says:—"We have secured India by sword." Well, we should not feel offended. Speeches and writings cannot be a reply to this statement of his, but we too ought to decide that *swaraj* is not to be secured from Englishmen by words alone. So long as Indians do not become votaries of the sword they cannot reply to Lord Birkenhead, because poison is counteracted by poison only. The *Aj* exhorts the Indians to accept the challenge of the Secretary of State to frame a constitution acceptable to all sections of the people. The lament for Hindu-Muslim unity will only keep us at a distance from our object, whereas if we set about framing the required *swaraj* scheme, forgetting religious and communal differences, we are sure to attain unity as well as *swaraj*. The same paper in an another article supports the resolution of the All-India Swaraj Party meeting at Calcutta expressing willingness to co-operate with the Government on honourable terms. The *Aziz-i-Hind* welcomes the statement in the Lords as the establishment of democracy in India without adequate representation for Muslims in elective bodies and the services would mean their ruin as a community. The *Oudh Akhbar* advises the Swarajists not to respond to Lord Birkenhead's appeal for co-operation in working dyarchy as that would only lead to the perpetuation of that undesirable system. It is a pity that Lord Reading's visit has proved so barren of results and so much Indian money has been wasted.

Political Propaganda.

The *Aj* refers to the protest of the High Commissioner of India, Sir A. C. Chatterji, and of the representative of the British Empire against the statement of Mr. Joshi at the International Labour Conference at Geneva regarding the prevalence of *begar* in India and remarks that dust is thrown into the eyes of people in this manner in respect of an evil which is practised in broad daylight almost everywhere. Even an outsider can conceive how fine the administration would be for the success of which such untruths have to be resorted to. Commenting on the grievances of third class passengers and the causes thereof, the *Bhavishya* says that in no other country of the world have the railway passengers to suffer so much. The chief reason of this is that in this country the railway authorities are foreigners. They have come here to amass riches somehow and not to provide comforts to Indians who are slaves. One Mr. Pestonji writing in the *Oudh Akhbar* urges Indians to take hope and lesson from the events in the Riff and China. The great war has estranged Germany, Russia and Japan from those who are out to dominate the East. There is, therefore, no reason why the East should not accept the aid of Russia or any other Power and to gain our freedom we should cultivate the friendship of those whom these dangerous and selfish people hate and avoid most.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Bhavishya* calls attention to the reports received from Calcutta that Muslim speakers are openly inciting their co-religionists to break the idols of Hindus and for the blood of one Musalman to shed the blood of hundreds of Hindus. In one secret

society of Musalmans it was suggested that the best opportunity for taking revenge would be the next Muharram. The same paper publishes a letter from the Secretary, Hindu Sabha, Allahabad, warning the Hindus against the kidnapping activities of the Muslim *goondas*. It says that thousands of Muslim *goondas* are engaged in this work which, it appears, is being carried on in an organized manner. If every Hindu remains alert and does his duty these diabolical deeds of wicked men will stop at once. Maulana Akbar Shah Khan, Najibabadi, writing in the *Hamdam* observes that Lala Har Dayal's articles on Hindu Raj appear to be the composition of some British Foreign Office official. The Mahrattas and Sikhs never became a power in the land and it is idle on the part of the Hindus to think of expelling from India those very Muslims who ruled over them for so many centuries. When the Hindus and Muslims together cannot expel the British it is foolish to believe that the Hindus alone will be able to do this. All these articles are meant only to widen the gulf between the two communities. The *Haqiqat* wonders why Mr. Malaviya, who was so much perturbed over the Kohat incident and made a display of his love of peace and justice has taken no notice of the Kidderpore occurrence and has not uttered a single word of reproach to the Hindu hooligans responsible for it. The Muslim leaders were always reproached for not sympathising with the Hindus oppressed in communal disturbances, but what about the indifference of the Hindu leaders and the silence of the Hindu press in respect of this particular affair? The *Awaz* complains that Muslims sacrificed a cow at Mechua Bazar, Calcutta, in the presence of Hindus and says that the best way for Hindus to put a stop to cow-slaughter would be to slaughter pigs and use pork. This should be done after persuasion has failed with the Muslims and then it will be seen that cow-slaughter will stop of itself.

Moplah prisoners.

Referring to the reports that the scheme of the Madras Government to send the women and children of Moplah convicts to the Andamans is meeting with strong Muslim opposition, the *Leader* says: Having regard to the intensity of feeling that has been roused, it would be unwise on the part of the Government to insist on carrying out the scheme and ignore the sentiment of the community. It would be well if the Government could arrange to send a deputation of one or two leading non-official public men to the Andamans to study the conditions obtaining there and postpone their scheme till the deputation submitted their report. The *Mansur* advises the Government of India not only to abandon this ruinous scheme but also to accord sanction to the settlement of the Moplahs in the Nizam's dominions. The *Hiqiqit* strongly supports the resolution passed at the All-Muslim Parties Conference at Amritsar on this subject and suggests that protest meetings should be held throughout the country.

Hindu organization.

The *Bhavishya* writes: If Muslims and Christians keep aloof from national work the Hindus should take to the organization of their own community. India, after all, belongs to Hindus. Unless they organize themselves they cannot rest in peace. If laying aside their sectarian differences twenty crores of Hindus raise a unanimous cry for the progress of the country, the whole world will become perturbed and big generals will be at their wits' end.

Indian states.

Referring to the Neemuchana affair the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the report of the commission appointed by the Alwar Raj and the comments of the Maharaja on it mark the end of what can only be described as one of the worst agitations in the country against a prominent ruling chief and a successful administrator. No one can read the speech of His Highness the Maharaja without feeling to what extent misrepresentations had been carried. The agitation against Indore combined with this campaign of calumny against Alwar, distinctly mark the dawn of a new era in Indian politics—an attitude of severe criticism towards the princes which must have the only result of alienating a powerful class from the politicians.

Bhai Parmanand.

The *Aj* refers to the reply of the Under Secretary of State to Colonel Wedgewood's question regarding the refusal of permission to Bhai Parmanand to visit England for medical treatment and wonders how even the independent members of Parliament can support such cruelty. It is a wonder of wonders that the Secretary of State did not wish to interfere with the decision of permanent officials, when he can not only interfere, but even kick, in case a most ordinary Civilian feels

the slightest inconvenience. All this shows that the greed for Empire and the tendency to support the action of officials belonging to their own race are gradually throwing down the English from the high pedestal of justice and magnanimity. This may cost two or three Indians their lives, but England will surely suffer the most in the end, as she will become totally demoralised.

Jail reforms.

Commenting on the latest administration report on jails in the United Provinces the *Oudh Akhbar* says that in order to meet the objection of the jail authorities to sentences of simple imprisonment the magistracy should as far as possible inflict fines and the punishment of simple imprisonment should be gradually eliminated from the Penal Code. The *Hamdam* urges that juvenile offenders should not be allowed to live with grown-up prisoners in common jails. They should either be discharged on the security of their guardians or retained in reformatory schools for a period which should be so short as not to leave any influence on their lives.

Cow-protection.

The *Pratap* publishes a letter in which the writer says that the question of cow-sacrifice can be solved if the entire Hindu community including rajas and *raises*, sends an All-India deputation to the independent Muslim states and also to the *Ulema* there to secure *firmans* against cow-sacrifice and to request those *Ulema* to tour in India. It would then be very easy to open *gowshalas* and cow-protection societies in every village and force the Government to stop the slaughter of cows for purposes of trade and for the army.

The Congress.

The *Krishna* thinks that among those proposed for the presidentship of the Congress Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Kelkar and Lala Lajpat Rai have the best chances. However as the Cawnpore Reception Committee does not favour Mrs. Naidu, one of the remaining two will most likely be selected. The *Medina* strongly objects to the election of any anti-Muslim leader like Lala Lajpat Rai or Mr. Malaviya as president and says that if any such person is elected the Muslims should boycott the Congress. A selection can be easily made out of Messrs. Arabindo Ghosh, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Patel, Moti Lal Nehru, Sen-Gupta, Abdul Kalam, Shaukat Ali and Mrs. Naidu. The *Sada-i-Muslim* deplores Mr. Gandhi's resignation of the presidentship of the Congress and says that with Mr. Sen-Gupta ready for servile co-operation the Congress will now prove a rudderless barque.

Local boards.

The *Pratap* suspects a clever move on the part of the authorities in fixing the date for the district and municipal board elections in December when the Congress will also be held and urges Congressmen not to devote so much attention to the elections as to let the Congress work suffer. Commenting upon the annual report of the Aligarh municipality the *Aj* agrees with the view of the Chairman regarding the desirability of keeping religion aloof from politics in India and says: This poisonous germ of mixing up religion with politics has entered into our life to such an extent that the entire business of the country has been suffering through it and it is also strengthening the very bureaucracy to weaken whom the nationalist movement was started. There can be no progress of the people and no unity among them until a system of general electorates takes the place of separate representation on a religious basis. The Government have no interest in unity. We ourselves have placed such an instrument into their hands as has greatly increased their power. If we had eyes to-day, we would have endeavoured to wrest this instrument from their hands, but when we ourselves have become blind, there is no reason why they should not take advantage of our folly. A writer in the *Medina* appeals to the Muslim members of the United Provinces Council to see that separate representation is granted to Muslims in town areas now that the Town Areas Act is going to be amended. The *Zulqarnain* while supporting the grant of separate representation to Muslims in town areas urges that the Town Area Committees should have the schools, slaughter-houses and pounds within their limits under their control. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* emphasizes the desirability in public interest of the presence of editors of newspapers on local bodies and hopes that the Government will keep this in view in making nominations for the new boards. The *Hamdam* condemns Mr. Shastri's attack on Mr. Jinnah for the latter's efforts to secure a revision of the Lucknow pact and asserts that the extension of separate representation to local bodies and the services cannot add to the estrangement between the two communities. Hindu and Muslim members are working in co-operation in the Legislative Councils where separate representation exists and there

seems no reason why the same good relations should not prevail in the local bodies when the rights of the minority in them are defined. By creating contentment among Muslims who are seriously dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs, inter-communal unity will be furthered and not hampered. They have grievances against the Hindus and these must be remedied.

Sir William Birdwood's speech.

The *Oudh Akhbar* says that Sir William has shattered even the little hope that had been left after the disappointing speeches of Lord Birkenhead and Earl Winterton and by saying that Indians were pursuing an impracticable ideal he has virtually declared that Government have decided once for all that Indians will continue to remain deprived of their just and national rights.

The Skeen Committee.

The *Abhyudaya* apprehends from the *personnel* of the Skeen Committee and its terms of reference that it will do no good to Indians and the money of the people expended on it will be wasted.

ALLAHABAD :
July 28, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter, Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT, GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 30 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 1, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the news that France and Spain have arranged a joint campaign against the Riffs, the *Leader* says:—"Europe would have rung with denunciation if any great Power had tried to crush a small European state in the manner France and Spain are trying to do in the case of the Riffs. But there is none to succour these poor but indomitable tribesmen and the whole of Europe looks on almost unconcerned while a great human tragedy is being enacted. The Riffs have shown that they are not only clean fighters but high-minded and generous foes." The *Medina* says that if it is a fact that the whole of Europe is supporting France and if America and Italy are really giving her practical aid, then the Franco-Riffian war may well be regarded as a contest between Islam and Christianity and it becomes the bounden duty of every Muslim to help the Riffs. Indian Muslims can contribute their share by holding protest meetings all over the country to press the British Government to arrange for an honourable peace between the parties, by sending a medical mission and giving an enthusiastic response to Syed Amir Ali's appeal on behalf of the Red Crescent Society and by effecting a complete boycott of French goods. Referring to the report of a secret Turko-Persian treaty regarding Mosul, the paper advises Britain to improve her political relations with the Islamic countries and not to give them an opportunity for a joint opposition. The *Hindustani* expresses sympathy with the Chinese who, according to the appeal issued by the Canton National Government, are slaves in their own land. The Chinese are quite right in demanding freedom of trade and movement for themselves and the statement of the foreigners that the Bolsheviks are egging the Chinese on to war is totally unfounded. The real cause of the conflict is that the foreigners have robbed the Chinese and rendered them helpless. The *Bhavishya* remarks that the responsibility for dissensions and brigandage in China lies more on the shoulders of England than on those of Japan, America and France. The *Aj* is glad that the Afghan Government have refused to bend their knees to Mussolini and remarks that the confiscation of all available cash and property of Afghans by him is nothing short of dacoity.

Lord Birkenhead's statement and speeches.

The *Abhyudaya* does not agree with Mr. Srinivasa Shastri's views on Lord Birkenhead's statement and says that only such a policy should be adopted as would carry the masses with the leaders and inspire self-confidence in them and unite them into a solid and powerful body. The *Vartman* observes that it is vain to expect co-operation from Indians unless the present system of government is changed or an assurance is given to that effect. Indians will not be content even with colonial self-government. The *Sainik* remarks that if Lord Birkenhead has firmly resolved to keep India in bondage with the sharp edge of the sword, she, though a subject country, has also firmly resolved that she will not rest in peace so long as she does not become free. Such speeches will only alienate Indians. The *Garhwali* regards the speech as a threat to Indians and says that the speech shows that his lordship has no knowledge of the real situation in India and has formed his opinion only by hearing one-sided arguments. Indians were forced to resort to non-co-operation when they found that co-operation was fruitless. It is the agents of the British Government themselves who are really responsible for non-co-operation. Englishmen should treat Indians on a footing of equality and, realising that the welfare of both the nations lies in mutual co-operation, should not try to humiliate them. Referring to the speech at

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Milton Abbey Park, the *Oudh Akhbar* assures Lord Birkenhead that the Swarajists are not to be moved by threats and can be won over only by concessions. The *Aziz-i-Hind* welcomes Lord Birkenhead's statement in the House of Lords as the paper holds that the establishment of democracy in India without adequate representation for the Muslims in the elective bodies and services would mean their ruin as a community.

Political propaganda.

Referring to the United Provinces Liberal Association's decision that it is in the best interests of the country that every political party should work the present system in order to demonstrate the ability of Indians to work a more fully democratic form of government, the *Pioneer* says:—" That decision accords with the spirit in which the Liberals have endeavoured to order their doings ever since the Reforms came into existence...But the chief need for the Liberals is to infuse into their political creed a more robust belief in themselves and a less suspicious attitude towards the Government. They cannot expect to carry the weight that they desire if they persist in supporting a programme which, in many respects, is merely Swarajism smitten with pernicious anæmia." The *Abhyudaya* thinks that Mr. Gandhi's dissociation from the Congress is a misfortune for the country and remarks that there is no other leader in the country who is so resourceful and far-sighted as to be able to awaken the people and to carry them with him at a critical juncture. The *Aj* exhorts all Indian political parties to sink their differences and present at the next Congress a united front to Lords Birkenhead, Reading and Lytton and to induce Mr. Gandhi not to desert the Congress at the present critical juncture. The *Abhyudaya* observes that Mr. Jinnah's attempt to secure a revision of the Lucknow Pact will be a side-blow to Indian nationalism. Those who dream of Arabia and Turkey will sacrifice the permanent interests of the country to their temporary gains. Hindus will do well to be on their guard and to protect not only their own interests but also the future and the permanent interests of the country. The *Pratap* views with approval Mr. Gandhi's new programme for the economic and political organisation of villages and regards it as a preparation for *satyagraha* which will never go in vain. It says that this organisation will produce brave and firm men who will make Lord Birkenhead and his nation speak the truth and clear their hearts. Unless we develop this power, Lord Birkenhead and his colleagues, far from giving us anything will not even talk to us politely. The *Bhavishya* says that the Swaraj party is the only party in the country which is able to give battle to and defeat the " crooked bureaucracy." It should now give an opportunity to other political parties to join the Congress, so that its demand may be regarded as the united demand of the whole country. The *Aj* remarks that the Liberals are mistaken in holding the opinion that the Swarajist policy was a failure and urges that it is not proper to allow dyarchy to exist anywhere in India. The people should, therefore, strive hard to put an end to it. The *Hindustani* hopes that all Indian political parties will agree whole-heartedly with the conditions for co-operation with Government put forward by Swarajists at the Calcutta meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and in view of Mr. Gandhi's willingness to withdraw the spinning franchise even the Liberals will now have no cause for grievance. The situation demands that all parties should present a joint scheme to Lord Birkenhead, as his recent statement in the Lords shows that he has no regard for Indian interests and the conditions of co-operation laid down by him are simply impossible of acceptance. He wants Indians to work the present Reforms and then to expect further concessions. All Indian political leaders have repeatedly declared that the present Reforms are a delusion and a snare. The Indian political leaders should present the same united front that the British political parties are presenting in regard to the Indian question. We acknowledge that the present Government is well organised and equipped with machine-guns, aeroplanes and other weapons of destruction which can annihilate us in an instant, but history does not show that any nation has been able to rule over another for any length of time through sheer force. Government would, therefore, be well advised to concede the Indian demands which it cannot put off for more than a short time.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Vartman* urges Hindu Sabhas to send preachers to villages to save simple and ignorant villagers from changing their religion and says that it matters little whether the All Parties Muslim Conference was successful or not, for the work of *tabligh*

has been started in the Punjab and it is quite possible that it may be extended to other provinces. Referring to the scheme of a Hindu Raj formulated by the Arya Swaraj Sabha, Cawnpore, the *Sada-i-Muslim* wonders how a Government conducted in accordance with Arya principles and the ancient Aryan civilization can be established without antagonising Muslims and other races. Any movement which aims at combining religion with politics is bound to end in failure. In another article the paper complains that the Arya Samajists deliberately distort history to suit their propagandist purposes. This would be evident from a survey of any book from "Satyartha Prakash" down to "Hindu Superiority." Influenced by this national trait the *Krishna* has also related some stories of the bravery of Rajput women against Akbar. Well, the question is of the courage of men, and history shows that Rajputs gave the greatest proof of their being men by marrying their daughters to the Emperor. If we too had been inspired by sangathanist feelings we could have referred to some (heroic) deeds of the Muslims. But we find that when the Muslims get out of hand under this very provocation of the Hindus, a difficult situation arises and the associates of the *Krishna* have to run to the law courts. So we are not going to be taken in. Muslims, look here, propaganda has to be met by counter-propaganda and not by "manly courage." Leave this for Rajput women.

Protection of Cement Industry.

Referring to the message of its Simla correspondent that the Government have decided to take no action at all on the report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the grant of protection to the Indian cement industry, the *Leader* says:—"If this information is correct, then the Government have laid themselves open to just criticism. It is unfortunate that internal competition should have furnished the Government with an occasion to arrive at the reported decision, but the very fact that they have rejected a very reasonable recommendation the acceptance of which only involved a contingent obligation, will lead the Indian public to think that their decision has not been arrived at entirely on a question of principle or policy but has been influenced by considerations which are not free from bias in favour of British cement which competes with the Indian product at the ports."

Indians in the Colonies.

Under the heading "Insatiable Anti-Indianism" the *Leader* strongly condemns the bill introduced by Mr. Malan in the South African Assembly and deplores that the Government of India have not adopted a policy of retaliation. "We are aware that such a policy aimed by the Government of India at the white peoples of South Africa can not go far in making an impression upon the latter but it will at least show the world that the South African Government's policy has moved to indignation even the British Government of India and therefore stands self-condemned. Indian opinion is of course unanimous on the subject but it is powerless to make itself felt. All the same it cannot afford to let judgment go against it by default. It must agitate against every act of injustice and must make its voice heard not only in Simla but in Whitehall also."

Punjab Jails.

Referring to the judgment in the libel case against the *Bande Mataram* of Lahore the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—"The case has resulted in a black mark being imprinted on the jail policy of the Punjab. The pity is that the editor who exposed the wrongs has yet been mulcted in damages by the High Court. We congratulate the Punjab newspaper on the high sense of public duty that it has displayed. It has by this considerably elevated Indian journalism as a whole. Perhaps some years must elapse before our judges take that broad and humane view of libel cases against newspapers and show the same high regard for the liberty of the press that we find in some of the decisions of the British courts."

Bombay Textile Industry.

The *Leader* regrets the action of the Bombay Millowners' Association in deciding to reduce the wages of their workmen and says that if there is a strike it will not be easy for one to withhold one's sympathy from the strikers. "We earnestly hope the Government of Bombay will try to intervene at this stage and to intervene effectively on the side of the weaker party, not to extort from the millowners unfair concessions but to see that the weaker party will not be cheated of what may be their just due and to ensure that conditions will not be produced in which breaches of the peace cannot be averted."

Moplah prisoners.

The *Medina* expresses extreme dissatisfaction at the reply given by the Home Member of the Madras Government to the Muslims about the colonisation of the Moplahs in the Andamans and says that when the Jail Committee has declared the Islands to be uninhabitable, this deportation can mean only annihilation and ruin for them.

Indian States.

The *Arya Mitra* says that in the Bhopal State, which has already got a bad name for prejudice against Hindus, a number of Hindu women are being abducted and forced to accept Islam every month and the authorities do not pay any heed to the complaints of their relatives. When these women have once embraced Islam it becomes unlawful, according to the laws of the State, even to talk about them any more. The paper appeals to the Government of India to take measures for stopping all such activities. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that in the official report on Neemuchana massacre the blame for firing the first shot has been laid at the door of poor subjects, whereas the firing by the Inspector-General of Police has been described as having been done in self-defence. This is how the truth is concealed. The *Bhavishya* says that by the arguments which His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar has advanced for not allowing an independent commission of inquiry into the Neemuchana affair he has betrayed his own incompetence and despotism. The British Government does not interfere even in cases like this simply because such tragic occurrences in Indian states prevent a widespread agitation against the oppression practised in British India.

The U. P. Ayurvedic and Tibbi Committee.

Hakim Doctor Ulvi writing in the *Oudh Akhbar* appeals to the Committee to recommend the establishment of a Central Tibbi College at Lucknow which should impart instruction in all the modern developments of medical science and conduct investigations into the properties of unani drugs and whose degrees should be regarded as a registrable qualification.

Foreign Insurance Companies.

The *Oudh Akhbar* accords its hearty support to Mr. Jamna Das Mehta's Bill for the deposit of security by foreign insurance companies and says that Indian investors and insurers in these companies stand urgently in need of protection, and there seems no reason why the conditions imposed on Indian companies should not be extended to foreign companies.

Local Boards.

The *Oudh Akhbar* questions the wisdom of holding the municipal elections in the United Provinces in December while the financial year closes in March. The proposed changes in the election rules also need careful scrutiny by municipal boards and they should not accept anything which would add to the disabilities of voters. The condition laid down about the production of certificates of payment of income-tax by voters of that class seems unnecessary and any other proof of such payment should suffice.

The Sikh Gurdwara Bill.

The *Najat* condemns the "callous indifference" of the Government of India to public opinion in not reinstalling the Maharaja of Nabha, in offering only conditional liberty to Akali prisoners and in trying to induce Akalis by propaganda to resume the Akhand Path at Jaito and says that the Akalis will not be satisfied until all their demands are conceded.

Sale of landed property in lieu of revenue arrears.

The *Oudh Akhbar* notes with satisfaction a resolution of the Assam Council that in cases of sale of landed property for realisation of arrears of Government revenues, the defaulting proprietors should have the right of getting back their properties if they deposit the arrears together with other incidental charges and expenses within thirty days of the sale and appeals to other local legislatures, especially that of the United Provinces to take similar action for the protection of landed proprietors.

Presidentship of the Congress.

The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that on account of his disinterestedness, sacrifices and capacity Mr. Gandhi is the best man for the office and he should not resign the presidentship of the Congress simply because that body is likely to reject his spinning franchise. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru is no doubt a suitable person but with his poor health and his pre-occupations in the Swaraj Party he would not do for the post. Every effort should, therefore, be made to retain the services of Mr. Gandhi.

Railway facilities in Etah.

The *Anand Pracharak* points out that Etah is one of the richest, busiest and most populous districts in the Agra division. The town of Etah is also centrally situated and the interests of trade and public convenience demand that the Rohilkhand-Kumaun Railway line should be extended from Kasganj to Agra *via* Etah. This extension would also be able to divert the trade which at present passes from Kasganj to Agra through the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway.

Conviction of the editor of the *Siyasat*.

The *Najat* deplores the conviction of the editor of the *Siyasat* and says that this is probably the first instance in India in which there has been such a severe sentence in spite of an apology. This means that justice is being subordinated to political expediency.

ALLAHABAD :
August 1, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter, Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 31 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 8, 1925.

Foreign Affairs.

The *Najat* welcomes the proposal of some Calcutta traders to organize a boycott of French goods as a protest against the action of the Government of French India in sending troops to crush the Riffs. Muslim countries are faring very badly at the hands of the European Powers and the weapon of economic boycott should prove very useful in undermining the resources of their countries which are mostly trading and manufacturing. The paper is, however, diffident of the success of the boycott as Indians are extremely unpatriotic and weak. They should first develop the spirit of sacrifice and steadiness of purpose which would persistently refuse to co-operate with those who enslave them. Till then their future is absolutely dark. In another article the paper says that the selfishness and oppressions of the imperialistic governments of Europe have so far awakened the governments of the East that they are now closely watching the moves of Europeans and are trying to save their countries from their political activities. The obstacles which have been placed by Britain in the solution of the Mosul question have been viewed with anxious concern by Turkey and Persia and reports are now to hand of a secret alliance between the two to face a war with England on the Mosul question. If England gets Mosul she will begin to hanker after the oil wells of Persia also. We pray to God that the matter may be amicably settled by negotiation and the world may be spared the inevitable horrors of war.

Lord Birkenhead's statement and speeches.

The *Shakti* says: If Lord Birkenhead has resolved to suppress us and to benefit by our weakness, we too have resolved to extricate ourselves from his clutches as soon as possible. So far he has non-co-operated with us, but if he can assure us that he wants to co-operate honestly and sincerely a number of doors are open for him. If, however, he persists in his haughtiness he will have to lose India and repent. The *Prem* is furious over Lord Birkenhead's Dorset speech and says: It is due to our present political apathy and communal antipathy that the Secretary of State has dared to give vent to such sentiments. Lord Birkenhead relies on the British sword but where was his sharp sword when the Germans were gaining victories one after the other? At that time it was not the British sword but the poor and helpless Indians who saved the honour of Britain. His lordship is welcome to shut the doors. This will only do good to India as it will disillusion those who have been expecting to see *swaraj* coming through these doors. The *Najat* says that the extremely disappointing speech of Lord Birkenhead at Milton Abbey Park affords a glimpse of the spirit of absolutism which pervades the British administration. Just now when every part of the British administrative machine is bent on depriving Indians of their natural rights in order to maintain its own prestige and the prevailing colour distinction, it is idle to expect any change in the British angle of vision. When we do not enjoy the right of self-determination we should calmly and bravely bear our sorrows. Lord Birkenhead thinks that his race has a permanent right of dominion over India but it is too much to expect any intelligent person to acknowledge this claim. Practically all the avenues of co-operation thrown open to Government by Mr. Das's Faridpur speech have now been closed by Lord Birkenhead and all Indian political parties are now in search of a front on which they can launch a united attack and bring this god of pride and arrogance to the right path. The heartless and unsympathetic manner in which Indians are being ruled does not at all

become such a self-respecting people and it is up to them to give as dignified and strong an answer as Lord Birkenhead's attitude deserves.

Political propaganda.

Referring to the latest plan of campaign announced by the Swarajists in Bengal, the *Pioneer* writes: The baffled politicians who have declared their intention of inaugurating a movement to persuade the peasantry to refuse payment of taxes seem to have overlooked the pertinent fact that Government possess a very effective instrument for coping with revolutionary tactics in Bengal and we are convinced that any overt act aimed at paralysing the administration would be dealt with sternly and swiftly. The authorities, indeed, would be untrue to their trust if they failed to use to the full every weapon in their armoury to prevent the ruin of deluded and ignorant peasants in order that the vanity of discredited politicians might be soothed. Commenting on the speech of the Governor of the Central Provinces to the Legislative Council the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The Governor assumed a most conciliatory tone, but it would be fatal to the future of the Swarajist party if the Central Provinces group should succumb to the blandishments of officials and Liberals. The threat of Lord Birkenhead is dangling over their heads. Liberals have still faith in British promises, but the country has lost it. And we warn the Swarajists that the moment they decide to accept ministerships and to work dyarchy attended with bombastic explanations about responsive or honourable co-operation, they will have completely lost their hold on the populace. The *Abhyudaya* pays a high tribute to Mr. Gandhi for the sacrifice involved in making over the Congress to the *Swaraj* party. He has sacrificed his most cherished principles to the interests of the country. He has placed before the country an unrivalled example of patriotism, generosity and renunciation and other leaders should not hesitate to make a similar sacrifice in order to secure unity among all political parties for presenting an undivided front to Lord Birkenhead and the bureaucracy. The *Abhaya* deplores that the Hindus do not understand the real objects and spirit of the *Rakshabandhan* ceremony which was inaugurated in order to conserve and organize the Hindu society. Two of the objects were to protect the country from foreigners and the cows from wicked persons. If we had properly grasped the real meaning of *Rakshabandhan* Hindu society would not have fallen into such a plight. The *Prem* publishes a letter from Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) in which he appeals to Hindu poets to write an epic on Nepal which upheld the honour of India in her struggle for liberty a hundred years ago and whence her freedom is to come in future. Commenting upon the case of the two Indian girls whose chastity was reported to have been outraged by the white manager of an estate in the Malaya Peninsula and his assistant the *Aj* remarks: How justice was murdered in the case! We are sorry not that justice was not done because nobody does justice to beggars and slaves, but because Indian labourers still work there. We know they are helpless, but all the same they should attach greater value to the honour of their women. The *Hindustani* warns Indian political leaders against offering co-operation to Government at this juncture as they would thereby lose not only their respect in the eyes of officials but also their popularity with the public. They should at least wait for Lord Reading's announcement and the debate on it in the Assembly before declaring their intentions. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges the Government of India to make it clear to Lord Birkenhead that it is only by responding to Mr. Gandhi's appeal for the release of political prisoners that he can expect any change of front on the part of Swarajists.

Mr. C. R. Das and Lord Lytton.

Commenting on Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's statement regarding "Wayfarer's" account of the negotiations between Mr. Das and Lord Lytton, the *Leader* writes: It is immaterial what precisely was the nature of the "negotiations" with the British Government and through whom they were carried on and what stage they might have reached at the time of Mr. Das's death. What is of importance at the moment is what policy the *Swaraj* party intend to follow in the immediate present and the near future. On this we regret to say that Mr. Nehru's statement is not reassuring from our point of view . . . The *Swaraj* party are still looking backward, if we may say so. Firmly convinced as we are that their past policy has not made and cannot make for the ordered political progress of India, we can but express again a mild hope that at an early date they may take a bold step forward and declare that their policy is no longer one of preparation for mass civil disobedience or of obstruction leading to

nowhere but of constructive constitutional effort. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—No one can read the contradiction of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru without feeling that Gandhi was right in handing over his political self, body and soul, to such a body (Swarajists). The extracts from the letters of the late leader, quoted in that letter, are inspiring. They lift the position of the Swarajists from the plane of humble negotiations with the bureaucracy to that of heroes and selfless patriots, as ready to suffer for their country now as four years ago. The *Aj* says that the charge against Mr. C. R. Das that he had secretly negotiated with Lord Lytton and had displayed even mean-mindedness in forgetting political prisoners is utterly baseless and has been made only with a view to discredit the departed leader of the *Swaraj* party.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu papers publish instructions issued by the All-India *Hindu Maha Sabha* for the proper celebration of the next *Janmashtami* in the course of which it is urged that Sri Krishna, as Gopalji, being the chief protector of the cow, it is the duty of every Hindu to take a vow on the *Janmashtami* (the birthday of Krishna) that he would do his best for the protection of cows so that no cow belonging to a Hindu may fall into the hands of butchers and that he would stop all money-dealings with them. The *Abhaya* publishes an article under the heading "Increase of Hooliganism" in which it complains of Muslim outrages upon Hindus and says:—Muslims have forsaken humanity itself. Robbing people, molesting women and kidnapping children, as is done by wolves, are specimens of their civilization. In throwing flesh inside temples, setting fire to buildings and beating two or three men by ten or twenty lies their heroism. Marrying the daughters of uncles is an example of their high ideals. Can anybody sleep peacefully in the midst of such races and such a religion? If not, then all should combine to crush the ~~increasing~~ hooliganism of Muslims. The paper blames the Government for this state of things and warns it that if the hooliganism of Muslims is not checked they may after destroying Hindus put an end to the "proud" Englishmen also. Referring to persistent reports of abduction of Hindu girls by Muslims, the *Arya Patra* appeals to Hindus to take vigorous steps to save the honour of their womanhood from the attacks of the agents of Hasan Nizami. Referring to a speech by Swami Satyadeva at Cawnpore in which he extolled the bravery of the Hindus and also gave some instances of his personal courage, the *Sada-i-Muslim* writes: Swami Satyadeva has become very brave. All the inhabitants of America were so much afraid of him that they fled to hide themselves in the holes of rats at sight of him. Nine frontier men said only "Hun, Hun" in reply to his challenge and went away. He says that Muslims have never fought and can never fight. There is no doubt about it. We also acknowledge that the Muslims have never fought against them, because when Akbar first went to war against the Rajputs, after a few defeats, these people sent their daughters to the royal harem. How could Muslims fight now? Can anyone go to war with his wife's people?

Indian Medical Service.

Referring to Lord Birkenhead's statement that the Indian Medical Service must be maintained under certain conditions the *Pioneer* writes that its maintenance under the conditions outlined will be of a character radically altering its whole outlook and bringing, in effect, a new Service into existence—"It would be interesting to know whether the recent declaration of the British Medical Association regarding the manner in which the Royal Army Medical Corps has been treated has been taken into account by Lord Birkenhead. There seems to be a possibility that the War Office will find itself in the same position as the Admiralty if it persists in the attitude to which the Association has taken exception. If that is so, recruitment of medical officers to India may be markedly affected," The *Leader* strongly protests against the decision of the Secretary of State and says: "Medical" as a transferred subject will continue to be reserved to a material extent, and the abiding interests of India and her people will continue to be subordinated to the requirements, and still more, to the interests of the British Government and their officers . . . Lord Birkenhead has accepted the obligation of providing medical attendance by British medical men for the British Services in India. We affirm with confidence that it is no part of his duties as Secretary of State for India to accept such an obligation in disregard of the interests of the people of India, the guardian of whose interests he should have primarily considered himself to be. But his action is so very like the act

generally perpetrated by self-appointed trustees of powerless peoples. Criticizing the maintenance of the Indian Medical Service the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: For one thing the military service men have been keeping the hospitals and medical college a close preserve for themselves. The best Indian talents find no scope. The *Aj* sarcastically remarks that Lord Birkenhead's action in giving to the high-placed Civilians even more than that recommended by the Lee Commission and in totally ignoring the same Commission's recommendations regarding the Indian Medical Service betrays his inmost desire to co-operate with Indians. We hope Sir Surendranath Banerjea and other Liberals of his class will be greatly pleased at this desire. Co-operationists and "constitutionalists" will do well to bestow some attention on this angle of vision of the Secretary of State.

Bombay Textile Industry.

The *Leader* strongly criticizes the attitude of the Government of India and of Bombay towards the mill crisis in Bombay and says that they ought to intervene without loss of time and grant some relief to the industry in order that, while workmen are saved, the capitalists may not feel a sense of grievance that they have been coerced into a concession which they were not in a position to make. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The Government in this country, faced with such a situation, is unwilling to lift its little finger. It will not interfere. It will only watch on. We have no hesitation in characterizing this attitude of the authorities as a scandal. The *Aj* urges that the solution of the problem of the wages of workmen in the Bombay mills is not to be found in their reduction but in a vigorous agitation for the reduction of the cotton excise duty. If the mill-owners fail to make an impression upon the Government through the ordinary form of agitation they should go one step forward and lead the movement for the boycott of British goods. The *Oudh Akhbar* appeals to the Government of Bombay to intervene on behalf of the cotton mill labourers of Bombay as a reduction in their wages will lead to emigration of labour and disastrous strikes. The mill-owners should clear the stocks by lowering the prices.

Allahabad University and women students.

The *Leader* strongly protests against the resolution of the Executive Council of the Allahabad University that except with the permission of the Vice-Chancellor no female student shall be admitted to any of the B. A. classes along with the male students. It says:—"Apart from the policy and propriety of the rule we should like to know whether the step taken by the Allahabad University is legally justifiable. Did it consult its legal advisers before deciding to compel girls to attend classes separately from boys?" In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"Should women's education be encouraged in every possible way or should new barriers be erected against them? What will be the University's final answer to this crucial question?" In yet another article the paper writes:—"The more we think of it the more does it appear to us that the Executive Council has acted in an inexcusably irregular manner. It seems to imagine that provisions of the law can be set aside when they appear irksome to the majority of the Council. The matter deserves the serious consideration of the Government, the Chancellor and the Court."

Dr. Sudhindra Bose.

Commenting on Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi's communication printed in the paper recounting the difficulties said to have been placed by the British Consulate at Washington and the India Office in Dr. Sudhindra Bose's return to India to see his ailing mother, the *Leader* says:—"No Indian who reads it can, we think, help coming to the conclusion that Dr. Bose has been treated very hardly indeed. What is the justification therefor we do not know. If there is any, the Government owe it to themselves to publish it for general information. The facts as related in Pandit Benarsidas' communication are very damaging to the Government and are bound to evoke for Dr. Bose and his aged mother whole-hearted sympathy from every Indian.

Indians in the Colonies

Commenting on the new Class Areas Bill introduced in the South African Assembly, the *Bhavishya* deplores that Indians who shed their blood in the great war to save Britain should be so badly treated in one of her colonies. When Indians are crushed and robbed in their own country it is nothing strange that they should be ill-treated in South Africa and other colonies. Referring to the refusal of the British Government to interfere in the proposed South African legislation against

Indian residents the *Aj* fails to comprehend the necessity for the existence of the British Empire when the inhabitants of one of its parts are so free to be hostile towards those of another. In another article the same paper remarks that when the British Government cannot interfere to prevent oppression of Indian residents in South Africa humanity dictates that India too should be granted *Swaraj* so that she may be able to adopt counter measures for the protection of her children. But the British Government will never do this. She would be our protector and at the same time refuse to protect us. Indeed this amounts to binding our hands and feet and then throwing us before a pack of wolves. The *Vartman* urges Indians to follow the same path as was pursued by Mahatma Gandhi while in South Africa and to oppose the new anti-Indian Bill there, even if they have to undergo terrible sufferings and face death.

Indian States.

The *Bhavishya* refers to the Viceroy's approval of the action taken by the Alwar Darbar in connection with the Neemuchana affair and says: Maharaja, if you are an Indian and have a heart within your body you will never be able to remain happy in spite of any number of certificates, unless you do penance for the sin. The *Pratap* disbelieves the Maharaja of Alwar's statement in connection with the Neemuchana shooting affair and remarks that the people of the State may take it to be true, but it will only increase the suspicions of the outsiders. The Maharaja should have espoused the cause of his subjects and inquired sincerely into their grievances. The *Abhyudaya* holds that the Maharaja of Alwar has by no means enhanced his self-respect and honour by his decision regarding the Neemuchana massacre and reiterates that it is only through an independent commission of inquiry that he can convince the outside world whether his officials were or were not to blame for the tragedy. The *Nizam-i-Alam* appeals to Muslims in British India to agitate against the oppressions on their co-religionists in Hindu States like Jaipur, Nimwar, Bharatpur and Kashmir in many of which they cannot build mosques even on their own land, cannot call out *azan* and are forcibly converted and deprived of their property.

***Swadeshi* and boycott.**

Referring to the advice of the Premier to Englishmen to purchase only British goods to help British trade out of its present difficulties, the *Aj* inquires whether the eyes of Indians will not be opened even now and whether leaders of all the political parties in this country will not take a vow not to use foreign goods. It hopes that the Liberals will no longer hesitate to make *Swadeshi* one of the items of their programme. The *Bharat Dharma* refers to the movement initiated by Admiral Jellicoe for the boycott of foreign goods and urges that such a boycott in India will be more useful than the effeminate *Khadi*.

Sir Surendranath Banerjea's death.

The *Leader* says that in Sir Surendranath Banerjea's death another national institution has passed away. He lived not only for himself but for his country and countrymen. His public life was one of the finest examples of courage and endurance, love and patriotism, service and sacrifice. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:— Old age had clouded his vision and loosened his sinews for active warfare. He grasped at peace and rest after a life of unremitting strenuousness. But young Bengal has imbibed his spirit. Young India will draw its greatest source of strength in its coming fight against the bureaucracy from the story of his life.

The Next War.

The *Vartman* says that the defeat of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's motion in the House of Commons regarding the construction of new warships shows that the deluge of a war greater than that of the last war is going to submerge the great Powers of the world and that the responsibility for it will lie on the head of Britain as she is the first to increase her armaments and thus to give alarm to America and other Powers.

Hindu Sabha and Elections.

In a signed article Swami Vicharanand Saraswati complains in the *Abhaya* that the Hindu members of councils elected by the Congress and other political bodies are Hindus in name only and do not represent the interests of their community and urges that true representatives of Hindus for councils and local bodies can be elected by Hindu Sabhas only.

Jail administration.

Commenting on the judgment in the defamation case against the *Bande Mataram* of Lahore, the *Patriot* writes:—Now that the ghastly facts about prison administration have been brought into public view, it is to be hoped that Government, instead of screening the jail officials, will cause a thorough investigation to be made into the matter and introduce the necessary reforms. It is disgraceful for a civilized Government to allow prisons to be turned into "regular hell" under their very nose.

Protection to paper industry.

The *Leader* thinks that the Indian Tariff Board's proposals with regard to the protection of the indigenous paper industry are eminently reasonable and moderate and deserving of acceptance.

United Provinces Zamindars.

The *Hamdam* has a contributed article urging the establishment of a technological institute to impart industrial education to the sons of Zamindars in United Provinces and of a bank to relieve indebtedness among them.

Railway administration.

The *Hindustani* complains of open bribery among railway officials, their rude behaviour, thefts from parcels and herding of passengers in carriages and hopes that the higher authorities will take early steps to remedy this scandalous state of affairs.

High prices of foodgrains.

The *Rahnuma* appeals to the Government of India to stop the export of grain from the country to alleviate the suffering caused by the prevailing high prices.

ALLAHABAD:
August 8, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 32 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 15, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* asks what the League of Nations, which was created for upholding the rights of small nations, is doing to protect the Riffs, and says: The fact that it is not intervening in the disputes between the great Powers and the minor down-trodden nationalities, proves that its functions are carefully handled so as to serve the interests of the great European Powers. Another great war is needed to open its eyes to the glaring iniquities and injustice done to subject nations. The *Aj* writes: We have to hang down our head in shame at the fact that Indian sepoys fired at unarmed Chinese students in Shanghai. It is our duty to start such an agitation in this country that the practice of getting such demoniacal and detestable work done by Indians in foreign countries may be put to an end. British officers may well perpetrate any brutal deeds for the Empire but they have no right to get Indians into disrepute in this manner. The same paper opines that the Mosul Commission's report can satisfy neither the British nor the Turks. It thinks that the Commission has attempted to satisfy the British, although the arguments are mostly in favour of Turkey. This explains why the Commission has had to make so much use of "ifs" and "buts." Nothing more could be expected of the League of Nations. The *Medina* entertains grave suspicions about the *bona fides* of the Hedjaz deputation and inquires what right Tahir and his companions have to represent the Hedjazis when they are not themselves inhabitants of the Hedjaz.

The Panipat disturbance.

Commenting on Lala Duni Chand's account of the Panipat disturbance the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: "Mr. Duni Chand's description carries on its face the stamp of truth. We have no doubt now that it was the pusillanimity of the local officials that created a situation which otherwise might never have arisen. It constitutes a scandal, now that we see facts in their true perspective." In his "Hindu Notes" in the same paper "Pampadi" writes: "And what is it but that thousands of pious Hindus, wending their way to the Jumna for the sacred bath, were charged with bayonets so that Muslims might use a particular road which hitherto had not been closed to Hindus? We had Kohat, we had Malabar; we had Dera Ismail Khan. And now we have Panipat. How many more, oh Lord Krishna, before Hindu *Sangathan* will be an accomplished fact!" The *Advocate* fears that innocent Hindus may become the victim of prosecution and urges the Government to make a thorough enquiry into the matter. Discussing the various reports of the disturbance the *Bhavishya* comes to the conclusion that the real sufferers were the Hindus. It is they who were wounded, robbed, beaten and arrested. It is their temples which are lying closed. All this is the result of their weakness and disorganization. The Hindu leaders of the Punjab ought to have the whole affair investigated through an inquiry committee. The *Abhyudaya* tries to make out that the official version of the disturbance is altogether unworthy of credence and says that it was owing to the inaction and incapacity of the officials that this replica of the Kohat tragedy was enacted on a small scale. If correct facts are to be elicited the matter should be investigated by an independent non-official body.

Indians in the Colonies.

In the course of two leading articles recounting the various disabilities imposed upon Indians in South Africa the *Leader* writes:—"The story of the long and severe persecution of our industrious, law-abiding, and helpless countrymen in South

Africa forms one of the most painful chapters in the history of the British connection with India. A bare recital of the wrongs wantonly inflicted on them is sufficient to lacerate the heart of any Indian." The paper then draws attention to a number of " persistent and heartless attempts " that are being made to render Indians in South Africa " homeless and penniless " and deplores that the Government of India have not taken action to implement the Immigration into India Act of 1924. They have taken no steps so far to frame rules under the Act to give effect to a policy which was accepted by the Imperial Conference as far back as in 1918. " There is time yet for the Government of India to rise to the height of the occasion and protect Indian honour by retaliating against South Africa, particularly through her coal trade which adversely affects Indian interests and facilities for the growth of which are an insult to the whole nation. The princes and the people of India have the same feelings on the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa. It is the primary duty of the Government of India to act as a national Government at this juncture. . . . An Empire in which we are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water can be nothing but a bitter mockery to us." The *Mahashakti* writes: If India had a national Government there would have been more of retaliatory measures than of arguing and pleading in vain. Commenting on the growing ill-treatment of Indians in the colonies the *Aj* writes: Englishmen may or may not comprehend it, but it is true that the Empire has these days become a mark of disgrace for us. The flag of the Empire has come to be the flag of subjection for us. For the good administration of India and for the promotion of goodwill between whites and non-whites it is imperatively necessary for British statesmen to warn the white colonists not to lay the axe at the root of the Empire. If they cannot do so they should allow the Indians to retaliate against their oppressors. The *Anand* urges the necessity of raising Indians in the Colonies from the status of a coolie to that of a citizen to prevent their subjection to unjust treatment in various British Colonies and appeals to the Hindu Maha Sabha to take up this work.

Hindu organization.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* strongly protests against the prohibition of the Bhagwad Gita procession on the *Janamashtami* day at Lucknow and fears that unless the position is explained the Hindus might construe the official opposition to the procession as British hostility towards *Sangathan* . . Hindus must put their house in order. If Hinduism is to be a living force, the spirit of the Bhagwad Gita must spread. The paper wants to know if Hindu organization is to be discouraged by Government. " Hindus must know, so that they may decide on their future action, which must extend to civil disobedience if Hinduism is at all to live." In the same issue " Syngal " writes: I look upon the enthusiasm raised by the name of Nepal among the Hindus as a happy augury for the success of the *Sangathan* movement. There is no reason why the Hindus should not feel the same enthusiasm for Nepal as Muslims feel for Turkey.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Bhavishya* says that if realising the true meaning of *Janmashtami* and the teachings of Lord Krishna the Hindus fearlessly come forward to protect their religion all their troubles will come to an end. In the course of an article on *Janmashtami*, the *Hindu Sarvaswa* exhorts the Hindus to protect cows and tell those who oppose them that as this country belongs to the Hindus they should remain here as pro-Hindus. The Hindus are not prepared to harm them in any way, but if they wound their (Hindus') afflicted hearts it would not be productive of good. Referring to a report in the *Hamdard* about the expenditure of Rs. 30,000 on secret service through the Collector of Bijnor during the year when the Malkanas were being reclaimed, the *Najat* states that suspicion is growing among middle class Indians and is being strengthened by circumstances that the United Provinces Government are helping the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements with funds. Will the United Provinces Government issue a detailed statement to make it clear whether " Secret service " includes aid to the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements and thus clear a popular misapprehension?

The Viceroy.

Commenting on Lord Reading's return the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: " Lord Reading has never been known as particularly friendly to Indian aspirations. But it was not before he had taught the Secretary of State for India to make that speech that India knew of the extent of the dangerously retrograde views of

its Viceroy who assumed charge with the proud boast of doing justice to India and now shines with the Bengal Regulation flashing its lurid colour from his forehead." The *Abhyudaya* remarks that Lord Reading has the chance of a life-time to immortalize himself in Indian history. It is to be seen whether he follows a path covering him with glory or with infamy. A master-stroke of statesmanship can do everything. We wait to see whether he now possesses the ability to make such a stroke. The *Aj* writes: This time people will keep a strict eye on Lord Reading. India had to spend lakhs of rupees on his visit to England. But what will be the gain? Certainly there is now greater apprehension of repression and "Readingshahi" justice being done. India has got a singular pair in Lord Reading and Lord Lytton.

Ministry in Central Provinces.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* commends the action of the Central Provinces Swarajists in refusing to form a ministry and says that it would have been a fatal blow to the prestige of the Swarajist party if they, in Nagpur, had offered to work dyarchy at the point of the bayonet of Lord Birkenhead. The *Aj* expresses satisfaction that the Central Provinces Swarajists were not taken in by the sweet words of the Governor to accept Ministry and decided to cast in their lot with the rest of India. They deserve congratulations on it. In another article the same paper says that the Swarajists in the Central Provinces should not fight shy of the suspension of dyarchy. If the Swarajists remain firm the reforms will be scrapped before 1929. If the bureaucracy still displays obduracy we shall have to prepare ourselves for civil disobedience, which appears to be the only way for the salvation of India.

Muslim affairs.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* suggests that the *Tanzim* movement should aim at amalgamating into one organization all Muslim educational and charitable institutions so that the community may become well-knit and be able to act as one body. A subscription of one pice per head per mensem should be collected from all Muslims and this would bring in about a lakh of rupees every month which should be sufficient to cover the expenses of all Muslim institutions. The *Al Bashir* condemns the action of Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Deoband Alims in not joining the All Muslim Parties Conference because the Qadians were allowed there and says that if the theologians adopt such an intransigent attitude the temporal leaders should continue their patriotic work according to their lights. The *Medina* considers the resignation of Dr. Kitchlew from the office of President of the Khilafat Committee as a great loss to the community and implores him not to deprive the Muslims of his guidance. Referring to the resignation the *Sada-i-Muslim* takes Mr. Mahomed Ali to task for attacking the *Tanzim* movement and points out that the *Quran* never enjoins the Muslims to forgive and forget when the Hindu community is ranged against them. The *Hamdam* invites the attention of the higher authorities to the small number of Muslim holidays in the engineering section of the Military department and urges that at least gazetted Muslim holidays should be allowed.

Allahabad University and women students.

The *Leader* writes: Several Indian papers have more or less strongly expressed their disapproval of the resolution of the Executive Council of the Allahabad University in connection with the education of women students. The consensus of enlightened and progressive opinion all over the country is against the reactionary step of questionable legality but unquestionable unwisdom taken by the University Executive Council and we feel a sense of humiliation at its having been taken by our reformed University. The *Advocate* writes: This new move of the University is most unjust and inhuman and amounts to an insult to womenfolk. There should be no discrimination between the two sexes in matters of education; women are entitled to the same privilege as boys.

New Commander-in-Chief.

Referring to Sir William Birdwood's statement that his speech before his departure for India had been wrongly reported the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—As at present explained, we cannot really call Sir William Birdwood a friend of India, but he does not come in our midst as our enemy as the first report made it appear. All the same, his views on the Indianization of the army are not advanced enough for Indian politicians, and that must considerably cool all enthusiasm for him in the Indian public.

Political propaganda.

The *Hamdam* is surprised at the Secretary of State's refusal to accept Mr. Gandhi's suggestion regarding the release of political prisoners and says that no better suggestion could have been made to soothe the feelings of Indians. While congratulating Government on its decision to extend exemption from disabilities in connection with Council election to persons sentenced up to one year's imprisonment for political offences, the *Sada-i-Muslim* suggests that the disability should be removed altogether irrespective of the term of imprisonment.

Unemployment among educated men.

The *Rahnuma* accords its hearty support to the resolution to be moved in the local Council about the appointment of a committee to inquire into the question of unemployment among educated men in the province and points out that while an illiterate artizan can earn Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 a month hundreds of matriculates knock about for posts of Rs. 15. It would be better to grant scholarships to such matriculates and to provide facilities for technical education for them.

Bombay Textile Industry.

The *Aj* refers to the grant of a subsidy by the British Government to avert a strike by miners in Britain and remarks that this action of the British authorities is quite in striking contrast with the attitude of the Indian authorities who are not moved at all at the prospect of the ruin of the Bombay cotton mills. There is not the least doubt that if the Government of India were to abolish the cotton excise the textile industry would get much-needed relief and the workmen would not be thrown out of employment. But this will never be done; for the Finance department of the Government of India is more concerned with the unemployment problem of England than with the troubles of Indians.

The Contempt of Courts Bill.

The *Bhavishya* writes:—If to-day India were not stretched in the powerful steel stocks of the avaricious foreigners her liberty of speech and writing would not have been taken away to such an extent. If the Contempt of Courts Bill is passed any paper which happens to incur the displeasure of local officials will be in peril. If subordinate courts are empowered to inflict punishments prosecutions will be started on newspapers one after another, with the result that there will be increased bitterness in the relations between the Government and the people and co-operation will become very difficult.

Indian States.

The *Pratap* writes: When the Maharaja of Nabha was deposed Lord Reading made loud professions about protecting him and his State and promised to pay him Rs. 25,000, but this promise began to be broken after three months. Now the plight of the Maharaja is very pitiable. On the one hand the property of the State is being auctioned gradually and on the other the Maharaja's Mussoorie buildings were to be auctioned. What a good protection is being given? The *Aj* refers to the lavish expenditure of money by the Maharaja of Patiala in London and remarks that this is a misuse of the money of his subjects and no Maharaja has a moral right to do so.

The Oudh Chief Court.

The *Anand* invites the attention of the Viceroy to the fact that it would be a great injustice to the Hindus if out of the five Judges of the Oudh Chief Court even two are not Hindus and hopes that His Excellency will deem it his duty to do justice to the Hindu community.

Board of Vernacular Education.

While expressing satisfaction at the establishment of a Board of Vernacular Education in the United Provinces the *Hamdam* complains that the powers of the Board are too limited and that the official and nominated members form a majority. It hopes that in course of time these shortcomings will be remedied.

Rules regarding interview with the Governor.

The *Awaz* protests against the rule requiring persons seeking an interview with the Governor to obtain the permission of the Collector and says that while it adds to the autocratic powers of the Collector it widens the gulf between the public and the Governor.

ALLAHABAD:
August 15, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 33 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 22, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Abhyudaya* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Pekin in which he says that he, along with others, delivered speeches there urging that Indians should show sympathy with the Chinese agitation. The necessity for co-operation among the Chinese and Indians at the present time has been recognized everywhere. Friends often say that Britain alone is opposing the interests of China and India and, therefore, both of these countries should unite to face her. It is also stated sometimes that China should help India in emancipating herself from slavery. The awakening in China is bringing the British to their wit's end. Indians should learn some lesson from the Chinese agitation. Referring to the recent American attempts to deprive the Japanese settlers of their right of citizenship in California the *Vartman* urges the necessity for the establishment of a federation of all the Asiatic powers to solve the question of the rights of Asiatics to settle in foreign countries. By closing the doors of immigration the western nations have fully resolved to crush the Indians, the Chinese and the Japanese. The Muslim press continues to take keen and sympathetic interest in the struggle of the Riffs against the French and to suggest that while the former should be given financial and medical aid the latter should be hampered by means of boycott and propaganda to induce the British to intervene against them. The *Najat* publishes a letter from Sheikh Sennoussi to Maulana Kifayat Ullah, President, *Jammiat-ul-Ullema* in which he appeals to Indian Muslims to help with funds their co-religionists in Tripoli in their struggle against Italy. In another article the same paper protests against Britain's action in transferring Akabah and Ma'an from the holy land of the Hedjaz in spite of her protestations of religious neutrality and hopes that Indian Muslims will withdraw their sympathy from Emir Ali after this his last flagrant un-Islamic act in agreeing to this transfer. The *Medina* indignantly writes:—This action has brought us face to face not only with the helplessness of the old Sheriff in being driven out of his last refuge to pay for his deeds but also with the extremely terrible spectacle of the madness and land-hunger of those tricksters of the wizardry of politics and deceivers on the chests board of imperialism who, like the armies of Anti-Christ, have occupied and consolidated the whole of creation, but whose extreme hunger cannot yet be satiated by any diet, territorial or monetary. When we think of the political, historical, military and economic importance of Akabah and Ma'an we are convinced that slaves of greed and avarice can never be prepared to give evidence of right human morality. Their (vows of) services, friendship, loyalty, aid and support and promises, assurances and agreements are only time-serving and selfish manifestations which possess significance only till the needs of the moment and the aims and objects in view are served. After this they all become useless, rejected and unacceptable documents fit only for waste-paper basket and for being crushed under the heels . . . Merely because these two places formed part of Egypt in Lord Cromer's time they have been tacked on as patches to the torn cloak of the Jewish home. We want to say this much only on this occasion that Europeans generally and Britishers specially want to conquer and annex not only the Near East but the whole of Asia and are employing for this purpose the old military and political device of occupying all noted military and trading centres and thus drawing Asia within a circle which would in course of time make her helpless and there would then be no fear of any obstacle or opposition in the path of the encroachments of imperialistic lust. Akabah,

INDIA OFFICE
15 SEP 1925
RECORDS BRANCH

standing as it does at the head of the gulf of that name, occupies a very important strategic position in the Red Sea, commanding the whole expanse from the Suez to Aden. Ma'an is an important city on the line of the Hedjaz railway. How then can these be allowed to remain under any Muslim ruler? In the light of these facts there is nothing to justify the annexation of Akabah and Ma'an. But British interests in East Jordan, the mandate for Palestine and the defence of Egypt and the Suez Canal all demand that some trickery of British diplomacy and some deception of land-hunger should come into play and bring under its sway these two important military centres of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. To-day the war between the Sheriff and Ibn Saud has afforded occasion for this and the evil deeds of the Sheriff have led to this result that an important portion of the Hedjaz territory has passed out of possession. British statesmen can produce no historical or economic justification for this action. But there is no remedy against high-handedness. There is, however, no doubt about this that every rise has a fall and every perfection has a decline. To-day British diplomacy has gained power and control over Islamic lands but it will be (eventually) seen that this was a very bitter morsel. Articles continue to appear in condemnation of the Hedjaz deputation. The Muslim papers generally favour the Turkish claim over Mosul in discussing the Mosul Boundary Commission's report. The *Oudh Akhbar* contends that Iraq has no claim over Mosul and it should go to Turkey even if such a step might ultimately lead to the absorption of Iraq itself into Turkish territory. It says that at the most the League of Nations may exercise a general supervision over Turkish administration of Mosul. The *Hamdam* wonders why in spite of Turkey's claim to Mosul being established by the law the Commission has decided to annex it to Mesopotamia. The decision cannot satisfy the Turkish Government and is likely to lead to further complications. The *Medina* regards the decision as a great political blunder which taken together with the events in China and the activities of the Bolsheviks forebodes disaster for Europe in Asia in the near future. Britain's tactics in regard to Palestine and East Jordan had already created an anti-European feeling in those countries and this decision which is sure to result in a strong Turko-Persian alliance will compel the Turks also to harbour similar feelings. In another article the same paper apprehends that now that the term of the Anglo-Afghan treaty is about to expire imperialistic and proud Britain will make an imposing demonstration of force to overawe Afghanistan to concede better terms in the new treaty. Such a procedure would be fraught with serious danger as Afghanistan is now much more sensitive and daring and a counter-demonstration might lead to a clash. War would be disastrous for India and Britain would be well advised not to brood over her past defeat at the hands of Afghanistan or to regard its independence as a grievance; otherwise she might be tempted into some aggressive act.

The Panipat disturbance.

Hindu papers strongly criticise the action of the authorities in connection with the Panipat disturbance and urge an impartial inquiry. The *Leader* writes: That there is a case for an inquiry is undeniable. The continuance of the *hartal* and the excitement of feeling among the local Hindus indicate that they feel very much aggrieved. The Government ought to take prompt action to investigate the whole affair and if they find that any officials were to blame they should not hesitate to take suitable disciplinary action. The *Patriot* writes: "The latitude and licence given by the Government to the Muslim rioters in Kohat last year is bearing evil fruits in other places also. The Muslims seem to be under the impression that the Government is on their side and any aggression or excess that they might commit against the Hindus would be overlooked and lightly treated by the Government. If such an impression has been created in the minds of the Muslims the Government cannot be wholly absolved of it." Proceeding, the paper says: "The non-official version confirms the view that the officials were responsible for the Panipat tragedy. If the Government fails in this case to bring to book the official or officials responsible for it the belief of the Muslims all over India that the Government is on the side of the Muslims would become more deep-rooted. If the Government cares a whit for maintaining its claims of impartiality and even-handed justice, it should not allow matters at Panipat to stand where they are at present." The *Arya Mitra* says that the action of the local officials was extremely shameful. The *Anand* remarks that if the authorities hush up the Panipat incident people will think that there is something rotten in the state of Denmark. The *Bhavishya* writes: The Jats were treated with extreme mercilessness,

cruelty and brutality. Inebriated with the wine of power the authorities are enjoying themselves. They have no time to talk to the people who are in distress. It is, however, fortunate that this sad incident has roused the Punjab Hindus and has generated an extraordinary feeling of brotherhood among them. The *Abhyudaya* urges the transfer of local officials which alone will smooth the path of justice. It welcomes the prosecution of the Jats inasmuch as it will disclose the truth and expose the incapacity of the local officials. The *Vartman* holds the authorities responsible for the outbreak of communal riots in various parts of the country and referring to the Panipat incident says :—The Hindu naib-tahsildar of Kohat was transferred at the request of the Muslims, but why is not the Muslim Tahsildar of Panipat transferred at the request of the Hindus? This proves that the Government is showing something like partiality to the Muslims. The Hindus and Muslims should bear in mind that their welfare does not lie in mutual ill-will. If they want to remain as slaves for ever they are free to fight to their heart's content, otherwise they should put an end to their hostilities. Referring to the alleged combined attack on Jats by Muslims and the police at Panipat the *Hindustani* says that the reports received from Hindu leaders tell a very harrowing tale and hopes that the Governor will order an independent inquiry and will adequately punish those who have been responsible for these terrible atrocities on the Jats. We fail to understand why there is such *Nadirshahi* that though such serious oppressions are perpetrated on the innocent Hindus no one listens to the complaints of these poor people. Last year such untold atrocities were perpetrated on the Hindus at Kohat that their recital makes one's hair stand on end. But in spite of their loud lamentations and complaints no one listened to them. On the other hand, Government held them to be the wrong-doers and mischief-makers. We do not know how all this is going to end. If the Government refuses to listen to the prayers of the Hindus they can only indulge in lamentations and carry their complaints to the court of the Almighty.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Anand* criticises the action of Mr. Gwynne in prohibiting the Bhagwat Gita procession at Lucknow and deplores that without paying any regard to the fact that unlike Muslims and others the Hindus look to the British only for their support, officers sometimes pass such orders as lead the Hindus to believe that in matters of administration they are accorded harsh and unjust treatment. The *Hamdam* observes that this year the Hindu press has taken special advantage of the *Janmashtami* festival for propaganda work for the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements. Nearly all the special numbers are full of articles inculcating military spirit among the Hindus. Krishna's teachings to Arjun asking him to murder his kinsmen mercilessly have been specially stressed. The *Pratap* (Lahore) has published a speech alleged to have been made by Guru Govind Singh exhorting Hindus to bear arms and to fight against the Muslim kings. Referring to the speeches at the Hindu Sabha meeting at Cawnpore to protest against the application of section 144 to Swami Satyadeva the *Sada-i-Muslim* takes exception to the Hindu imputation that Muslims alone are responsible for the abduction of Hindu women. This is only meant to incite the Hindus against the Muslims, otherwise if inquiries were made the Hindu propaganda in this direction would prove to be utterly false. If the Hindus are wise, they should, instead of dreaming of Hindu Raj, seek unity with the Muslims. Islam condemns sexual laxity in no uncertain terms and if any Muslim is suspected of it the Hindus should prosecute him in the law courts instead of carrying on propaganda in the press. We must warn Muslims that the main object of the Hindu Sabha is to oppose them and injure them in every way and they should therefore keep themselves informed of its activities so that they may be able to combat its deceitful propaganda. The *Arya Patra* publishes a contributed article in which the writer inquires whether self-respecting Hindus are prepared to submit quietly to Khwaja Hasan Nizami's infamous campaign of abduction and forcible conversion of Hindu women and children and to look on helplessly while Hinduism is being effaced. Hinduism is in such a parlous plight because it is hopelessly split up by sects and is not prepared to do justice to the untouchables and reclaimed persons. If Hindus want their salvation they should free themselves from the baneful influence of their unthinking orthodox pandits. The *Bir Hindu* complains that simply because the Jats are brave and strong enough to ward off the unlawful attacks of Muslim hooligans, there is a conspiracy among Muslims to harass them so that their spirit might

be crushed. In Jalalabad (Meerut) the Muslims are helping the *chamars* in their quarrels with the Jats and in Panipat poor old Jats going with their women and children to bathe in the Jumna were attacked by Muslims with knives and sticks. Hindus should help the Jats so that they may not lose heart. Referring to a couplet in the *Krishna* insinuating that the arms of Muslims can raise neither sword nor dagger, the *Sada-i-Muslim* writes :—Can we inquire of the *Krishna* when it has tested the arms of Muslims? We fear it will again start reciting tales of Rajput women before the charm of whose curly locks and the terrible lifting of whose henna-stained hands every head must bend. If it has tested Muslims through a display of beauty and silver-bodied belles then we must acknowledge its bravery, otherwise we would sincerely advise our contemporary to study history. In another article the paper writes:—An empty-headed Hindu very jocosely objected to a Muslim who was possessed of the gift of repartee: "Why, Sir, why does Syed Salar Ghazi Mian's marriage take place every year?" The Muslim listened to the objection and unhesitatingly retorted forthwith: "Mahashayaji, if Ghazi Mian's marriage had not taken place every year, how would the birth of your Kanhaiya Krishna have taken place." Mahashayaji pondered over the nature of the reply and the philosophy of Krishnaji's birth and helplessly kept silent.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* is grieved to find that as a result of the All Muslim Parties Conference at Amritsar the community is now hopelessly divided by political and religious factions. The *Najat* refers to the growing unpopularity of the Khilafat Committee and the frequent resignations from it and wonders why the working committee does not adopt such an attitude as might enable it to attract all Muslim parties. The *Sarfaraz* protests against the action of Sunni papers in condemning Taziadari during Muharram and states that only recently a Sunni Maulvi even preached violence at Ludhiana with a view to stop Shia Taziadari. In the circumstances unity between Shias and Sunnis is impossible.

The Swarajists.

Referring to the proceedings of the Indian National Liberal Federation held at Calcutta the *Leader* compares the results of the policies of the Liberals and the Swarajists and says: The Liberals while they were in office showed that the reforms were capable of yielding tangible results. This fact will be borne out by a dispassionate study of the proceedings of the various legislatures before the party of would-be wreckers entered them. The record of those councils in which the Swarajists have been able to exercise a dominating influence has been a barren one. The Swarajist policy has not only been barren of results, it has also strengthened the hands of reactionaries and has served the purpose of the opponents of India's national progress. Referring to the statement issued by the Swarajists in the Bombay Legislative Council the same paper writes: The statement is not only a confession of failure, it is worse; it is an admission that instead of promoting the general interest they have been really acting as the cat's-paw of sectional and communal interests. The Sindh Muslims and the non-Brahmans have secured, with the help of the Swarajists, one concession after another, 'either communal or personal.' Is this not a very damaging confession, and yet the Swarajist members have advertised the fact that they have been used as powerful levers for obtaining from Government communal concessions. They have condemned themselves out of their own mouths. We may tell the Bombay Swarajists and others of their party in other provinces that unless they revise their policy they will drive other patriotic sections in the legislatures into the arms of Government. The *Oudh Akhbar* appeals to Central Provinces Swarajists not to consent to work dyarchy for if they do they would be giving it a fresh lease of life. It is a pity that the Liberals do not realize that the best interests of the country demand that dyarchy should be ended and replaced by a new system.

Political propaganda.

The *Bhavishya* republishes from the *Milap* of Lahore an article written by Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) in which he deplores that the non-co-operation programme was abandoned merely because of a few disturbances. The writer places the following programme before the country and suggests that it should be adhered to under all circumstances till the goal is reached. We should organize the Hindus, open schools in every village for cultivators, diffuse Sanskrit education in the Punjab and a knowledge of history among the people at large. We should rouse the nation by delivering lectures on politics and economics and

by pointing out the evils of the British Government. Referring to the Alwar affair where "hundreds of innocent persons became victims of bullets for merely deliberating upon an unjust order of the Maharaja" and to reports of several villages being burnt by the Bharatpur Darbar the same paper writes:—In order to be able to continue and at the same time conceal its own repressive policy the bureaucracy wishes that atrocities should remain rampant in Indian states. If the bureaucracy were not in itself tyrannical good administration would have been established in Indian states long ago. It would not be an exaggeration, therefore, to say that the crooked policy of the bureaucracy is at the root of the atrocities perpetrated by Indian Chiefs.

Communal representation in the Lucknow University.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* takes strong exception to the introduction of communal representation into the Lucknow University Union and says:—"It was given to a Muslim professor and a European educationist to inject the poison into the very blood of the University students, so that, we suppose, they might accustom themselves to the communal outlook in the larger sphere of activity that awaits them as soon as they leave the University Union. We are shocked at such narrow-visioned men placed over our students."

Development of Indian agriculture.

Referring to Lord Birkenhead's statement regarding the need for the development of Indian agriculture the *Pioneer* writes:—The most effective measure would seem to be whole-hearted acceptance by the Central and Provincial Governments of the lead given by Lord Birkenhead. The appropriation of more money for disposal by the Agriculture departments and a searching examination of the problems of rent and land tenure in certain provinces would probably do more to help the ryot and zamindar than any Royal Commission.

President, United Provinces Council.

Commenting on the election of Rai Sita Ram Bahadur as President of the United Provinces Council the *Leader* writes: We regret that Rai Sita Ram Bahadur should be lost for a time as an able advocate of popular causes. But have every confidence that he will be an eminent success in the President's chair as he possesses the requisite qualities in abundant measure and besides, enjoys the confidence of all sections of the house. We congratulate both the Council and the President, with the reservation that another suitable selection might have been made with less loss to the public.

Rates of press messages.

The *Leader* strongly opposes any increase in the rates of press messages and says that it would be a very short-sighted policy to make the telegraphic service more costly for it would react on the department itself by diminishing the traffic and checking its expansion. Only recently a new charge has been made on newspapers on account of preparing bills for press messages delivered to them and any further increase in the rates will be an intolerable burden to many of them. They will be forced to cut down their service proportionately.

Municipal election rules.

The *Oudh Akhbar* protests against the action of the Lucknow Municipal Board in excluding from the voters' lists the names of all persons who have not paid up arrears of municipal taxes and points out that the Government order on the subject relates only to income-tax and not at all to municipal taxes. It apprehends that the electorate will be unduly thinned by this procedure and the members elected in these circumstances would not be fully representative of the public and appeals both to the Municipal Board and Government to act with generosity in the matter.

Action against "Swami" Satyadeva.

The *Bhavishya* protests against the application of section 144 against Swami Satyadeva and says that there was nothing objectionable in his speeches. India is a slave country. Legal restrictions are, therefore, imposed upon Indians even in the observance of their festivals and in their explaining to the masses the measures which they ought to adopt for their protection.

Labour and capital.

The *Aj* refers to the struggle between labour and capital in Europe and urges that to avoid labour trouble in India for the well-being of the people legislation should be undertaken in time to improve the lot of labourers.

Bombay textile industry.

The *Oudh Akhbar* has an article in which the writer says: Although it is apprehended that the mills of Bombay may have to stop work and more than one lakh workers may be thrown out of employment, the Government of India, with all their platitudes about trusteeship, will not abolish the excise duties. Is this how Indian interests are being safeguarded? Does not this callous indifference of the Government of India painfully remind us that we are under a foreign administration which can act only according to the behests of Lancashire.

Anglo-Indians.

The *Pratap* deplores the selfish attitude of Anglo-Indians in alternately identifying themselves with the public and the Government to serve their purpose and states that as their community commands no respect in the European circles they will have to mix with people of other nationalities in India. Their perpetual desire to depend on the favour of the Government is causing their moral degradation and weakening their power of resistance. They will do well to ally their lot with the destiny of India.

Unemployment among educated men.

The *Oudh Akhbar* suggests that while the curriculum in educational institutions should be so modified as to fit students to follow their hereditary profession, colonies should also be established at the headquarters of every district where educated men without employment may be settled.

ALLAHABAD:
August 22, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 35 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 5, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Vartman* condemns the action of the Wahabis in damaging the Prophet's tomb at Medina but impresses upon Muslims that they too should not do to others what they want others not to do to them. Their action in destroying the idols of the Jews (*sic*) and of the Hindus cannot be viewed with approval. The bombardment of Medina should teach the Muslims to respect the religious susceptibilities of other people. Commenting upon the action taken by the Italian Government against Afghanistan the *Bharat Dharma* says that the Afghanistan Government acted in accordance with the law, but the Italian Government did not care to do so because the European powers deem it their duty to repress the Asiatics and believe that every European possesses extra-territorial rights. In these circumstances it is but natural for the Asiatics to lean towards Bolshevism. The news of the bombardment of Medina has been responsible for a sharp cleavage of opinion in the Muslim press, and while the pronouncedly Khilafatist papers are generally inclined to question the authenticity of the news, feeling against Ibn Saud is gathering in the remainder of the press which is now more outspoken against him than it was during the Haj controversy. The *Haqiqat* asks Indian Muslims to start a vigorous agitation against the action of the Nejdis in damaging the tomb of the Prophet and not to rely on the Khilafat leaders who are blindly supporting Ibn Saud. The *Hindustani* observes that in view of the painful impression created among Indian Muslims by the bombardment of Medina Lord Reading should press on the British Government the advisability of taking punitive action against the Nejdis. The *Sada-i-Muslim* however opines that the bombardment of Medina is being widely advertised only to divert the attention of the Muslim world from the inclusion of Akabah and Ma'an in the mandated territory of Palestine. The Nejdis would have claimed these two places and so diplomacy demands that they should be sufficiently discredited beforehand. How long are Indian Muslims going to be fooled by the fraud and deceit of selfish people? Will they not realize that it is only to strengthen their hold on India that the English are occupying Akabah and Ma'an. Mr. Khaliq-uz-zaman writing in the *Hamdam* condemns the use of the news to defame Khilafatists and to create a split among Muslims. The writer hopes that this hostile propaganda will rejuvenate the Khilafat committee which will emerge from this campaign of calumny a more vigorous and active body. The *Medina* advises Indian Muslims to wait for satisfactory confirmation of the news and condemns their hasty action on the basis of the reports in circulation. It suspects Emir Ali's propaganda to be at the bottom of these reports.

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Hindi Kesari* says that the impression the Viceroy's speech has produced in the country is best illustrated by the election of Mr. Patel as the president of the Legislative Assembly and the recent repeated defeats of Government in the Bengal Provincial Council. These are only minor preludes to the tremendous opposition which Government will henceforth have to face in the country. Referring to the Viceroy's statement regarding the proposed agricultural development of India the *Bhavishya* remarks:—For fifty or sixty years we have been insistently crying for agricultural progress. If our demands take so long to reach England it will be three or four thousand years before our various other problems will be solved. Along with the agricultural development of India the condition of those British labourers will also be improved who are knocking

about in England for want of employment. They will be brought to this country and given the monopoly of agricultural improvement. What still remains of agricultural produce in this country will thus be sent out to England. The *Hamdam* holds that by his speech the Viceroy has neither eased the political situation in the country nor given any message of hope to India but has made all possible efforts to injure the best interests of India in spite of her professions of loyalty and devotion. Criticizing the Viceroy's call for co-operation, the paper remarks that co-operation is demanded not for the material and moral well-being of the country, but for strengthening the bureaucratic hold over it. It remains to be seen whether even after their last hopes of political concessions being thus crushed under foot Indians come to their senses and whether Hindus, Muslims, Liberals, and Swarajists direct their attention towards a united plan of action after ending their quarrels. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that Lord Reading had no justification for asserting that Indians wanted to extort liberty from England by threat and force. The non-co-operators never meant to overawe England by a display of force; they only wanted to invite attention to the justice of their claims. It is a grievous wrong to accuse the non-co-operators of any tendency towards violence. The *Oudh Punch* has a cartoon suggesting that His Excellency is needlessly deluging India with a fresh torrent of eloquence when she had already heard from Lord Birkenhead all that she had to hear. In another article, the paper says that Indians are loyal at heart and would be satisfied even if the powers of certification allowed by the Government of India Act are restricted.

Lord Birkenhead's statement.

Discussing the Secretary of State's statement in the Lords in its usual style of pungent satire, the *Oudh Punch* says that Indians are determined to remedy their poverty or die in the attempt and can never be expected to co-operate in working the Reforms. Lord Birkenhead had better resume the transferred subjects and then declare in 1929 that the Reforms have been a success. His Lordship has talked of peace in the United Provinces. If His Lordship means that the people here are not agitating against the Government, the whole of India is just now as quiet as if it had been drugged with opium. If the British Government had been wise they would have removed the restrictions about opium and no voice of dissent would have been heard. A decapitated cock never crows. Lord Birkenhead's speech is no doubt very closely reasoned but it is altogether devoid of honesty. Our province is like a senseless invalid lying inert on his bed. If this is what goes by the name of peace and contentment may Your Lordship's nation have it. Say, Amen. His Lordship has referred to the courage and warlike spirit of Indian Muslims. These remarks fall under the head of communal (propaganda). These words are meant to scare away those Englishmen who are sympathetic towards Indian aspirations as well as the Hindu community. They mean that Muslims are turbulent and mischievous and grossly libel them. Communal writings are now-a-days very frequently transgressing the limits of the law, but Government take no notice of them, feeling that they themselves do not stand to lose by them. In short the success of the Reforms means that not only up to 1929 but even up to 2019 the system introduced in India by the forefathers of present day Englishmen will continue. Now the Swarajists can either boycott the councils or adopt the policy of their ancestors.

The Panipat disturbance.

The *Jat Vir* deeply deplores the disappointing reply given by the Punjab Government to the Jats in connection with the Panipat affair and appeals to Sir Malcolm Hailey to appoint an inquiry committee consisting of impartial official and non-official members and transfer the officials responsible for the wrong. Proceeding it says:—Is our dear Government not prepared to do justice, as against a Muslim Deputy Commissioner, Tahsildar and Sub-Inspector, to the Jat community which underwent great sacrifices for the protection of the Crown? His Excellency the Governor should do something to convince the Jats that the Government are doing their best to redress their grievances. If this is not done it is to be apprehended that a situation may arise which would be beyond control and the loyal Jats may be compelled to take the law into their own hands. Referring to the Panipat trouble the *Abhaya* writes:—The Hindus made a great mistake in that on being stopped by the Tahsildar they remained standing for three hours awaiting the arrival of the Deputy Commissioner. If they did not want to go back they ought not to have waited even for King George, but shouting *Jumna Maiya ki jai* they ought to have rushed through the police force and the Muslim crowd . . . We

shall not say anything of the articles which Dr. Kitchlew has written eulogising the bravery of Muslims and insulting the Hindu *sangathan* and Hindu leaders. But we shall certainly say this much that it does not become Dr. Kitchlew to indulge in exultation on the strength of that satanic Government and *kafir* Englishmen. The *Hamdam* thinks that the entire agitation of the Hindu press and leaders in respect of the Panipat affair is meant to harass the Muslim officials of that district. The agitation would never have been so furious, had there been in that district some European Deputy Commissioner instead of Mr. Latifi.

The Bombay textile industry.

The *Aj* says that the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Bombay mill-owners leads one to the conclusion that the Government of India has either of itself decided to injure the Indian textile industry and thereby help Manchester or is compelled to dance at its (Manchester's) bidding and urges that mill-owners of Bombay will be well-advised to support the boycott of foreign goods and join the nationalists in their agitation for the early attainment of *Swaraj*. The *Sainik* exhorts Indian traders to strive for the attainment of *Swaraj*, remarking that it is vain for them to expect the present Government to sacrifice the interests of England to the well-being of India. When the British came to India Indian cloth held the market all over the world, but now every child of the soil knows the black tale of the ways in which these outwardly white but inwardly black traders ruined this industry. The *Abhyudaya* urges Indian leaders to strive hard to get the cotton excise removed, if the Bombay textile industry is to be saved. The *Pratap* points out that it is clear from the Viceroy's reply to the mill-owners that the Government of India is not going to espouse their cause or that of the labourers. If there is a strike it may well come to fire upon the strikers under the pretext of preventing a breach of peace, but it will never care to save the situation, for the very principles on which the British Government is established in India are opposed to the advancement of the indigenous textile industry. The *Bharat Jiwan* writes :— Lacs of Bombay labourers may get out of work, the textile industry may be ruined, but the excise duty cannot be removed. Why should it be removed? What does anyone lose if India is ruined? The Government can afford to make an addition of one crore and a half of rupees in the salary of the Civil Servants but it cannot afford to lose two or four crores for protecting an Indian industry or for providing livelihood to lakhs of starving men. The *Oudh Akhbar* is bitterly disappointed with the Viceroy's refusal, in reply to the Bombay mill-owners' deputation, to abolish the cotton excise duty immediately. The Government cannot forego their excise duty and the mill-owners cannot pay full wages, are then the labourers alone to suffer? If the Government had been responsible to the Assembly the Viceroy could not have put off such an important industrial question in such an off-hand manner. The Lee Commission's recommendations have been accepted and if the excise duty were abolished where would the money for the fat salaries of the European officials come from? This is the trusteeship of which such paeans of praise are sung to fool Indians. Even after this our liberal friends are dying for co-operation. Are not these and similar acts deserving of the severest reprobation and should not Government be told that mere lip-claims of trusteeship would not avail? If they want to rule India they must first have dominion over hearts and should adopt the popular view-point in such matters. Until Government become imbued with this spirit they have no right to call themselves trustees.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* urges the All-India Congress Committee to accept at its forthcoming session at Patna the resolution of Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta and others regarding the need for India taking the initiative in inviting the representatives of various Asiatic countries to the Cawnpore Congress with a view to form an Asiatic Federation for the preservation of the culture of Asia and of the political and economic life of its peoples against the aggressions of the western nations. The *Bhavishya* publishes a letter from Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) in the course of which he exhorts Hindus not to use any other word than "Hindu" to denote their nationality as that word has a magical effect. He deplores the confusion in India caused by the difference of religions, races, and languages, and says that only Nepal gives him real pleasure as it consists of a true and living race. He exhorts Hindus to work through provincial Hindu *sabhas* and to transact their business in provincial languages. In the course of an article the *Aj* says that the exercise of world-wide autocratic

authority has begun to demoralize the ruling class in Britain itself. In order to mislead the British public the ruling class in India makes free use of generous phrases to conceal repression of the people. When coercion can no longer be hidden charges of sedition, anarchism and Bolshevism are made against the people in order to justify their repression. It is by such methods that the ruling class maintains and protects its power in this country. These ways could not but react on the ruling class in England which has begun to be restive of popular control in its own home. The *Vartman* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap (America) in the course of which he says:—Indian brethren, you belong to one and the same country. Banish your feelings of mutual hatred and anger, and find out those who are sowing seeds of evil in the world to-day. In what ways are they rendering our kinsmen miserable? Which communities claim their descent from some particular stock and oppress other nations? Who are they that have forgotten their religion and simply to fulfil their desires are oppressing others in various ways? We ought to establish *Dharma* again in this world and make it happy and teach a lesson to those who on account of their false notions of racial superiority oppress the blacks. In an editorial headed "The cunning of the ministers of the British Government" the *Awaz* institutes a comparison between conditions in India and Mesopotamia and contends that the former is in every way more advanced and fit for self-government but cannot be granted freedom even after 150 years as she is rich and productive. The latter, however, whose deserts yield no profit will get autonomy within 5 years.

Indians in Indian Medical Service.

The *Leader* strongly supports the resolution moved by Dr. Lohokhare in the Legislative Assembly for the recruitment of the Indian Medical Service by simultaneous examination. It says: The arguments urged by its opponents were weak and inconvincing to a degree. The difficulties pointed out are not at all insuperable and we believe that it is thoroughly feasible to hold the suggested simultaneous examination without in the least affecting the standard of the service by recruitment in India. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—If a sufficient number of Indians is not recruited to the Indian Medical Service the Government would be guilty of keeping high-paid European doctors in India for the benefit of Europeans here at the expense of the Indian tax-payer and to the detriment of the growth of Indian talent. Europeans in this country are certainly rich enough to attract private medical men from their fatherland. Indian talent need not be denied opportunities. It is the cruel fate of a subject nation that it cannot attain its full intellectual growth.

***Swaraj* party.**

Criticising the programme and activities of the *Swaraj* party the *Leader* writes: The Swarajits entered the councils with the object of carrying non-co-operation a stage further. They are being gradually overpowered by the constitution they vowed to destroy. They are becoming co-operators and constitutionalists. The fact is that their policy was purely one of bluff and they have found that the Government could not be cowed down by it. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* warns the Swarajists that they are fast drifting to a corner whence they cannot be easily distinguished from the Liberals. They are "co-operating" instead of obstructing and are rapidly going down the current, violently gesticulating all the time that they are manfully holding on. The *Aj* contends that despite the specious arguments of the Liberal press to the contrary the Swarajists still maintain their influence over the country, otherwise fresh elections in the Central Provinces and Bengal would surely have been ordered by Government after its repeated defeats in the provincial councils. The election of Mr. Patel as the president of the Legislative Assembly is a further indisputable proof of the supremacy of the *Swaraj* party over all other political parties in the country.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Abhyudaya* says that the new Asiatic Bill in South Africa is not only insulting to India but will also strangle millions of her children. If this Bill is passed the condition of Indian residents there will become worse than that of *pariahs*. The paper urges that the Government of India should not put up with such an insulting legislation and if it fails to get this Bill withdrawn it should adopt the policy of retaliation. The *Hindi Kesari* welcomes the report of Kunwar Maharaj Singh on the Indian labour in Mauritius and his suggestion that Indian emigration to that island should be stopped, but apprehends that like other reports this report also will be consigned to the waste-paper basket. It remarks that the ultimate

solution of all Indian problems depends upon *Swaraj* alone towards the attainment of which Indians should direct all their energies.

Britain's contribution towards Indian military expenditure.

Referring to the fact, as revealed by an answer to a question in Parliament, that Britain spends about £10 millions in contributing to the defence of the self-governing dominions but nothing to that of India the *Leader* writes:—The army in India is maintained for Imperial purposes, and equity and justice require that Britain should contribute a portion of the Indian military expenditure. The gross injustice of saddling India with expenditure which ought to be borne by the Imperial Exchequer has been pointed out for decades, but without any effect. And yet India is asked to admire British justice and fair play.

Abolition of Divisional Commissionerships.

Referring to Sir Alexander Muddiman's announcement in the Assembly regarding the question of the abolition of Divisional Commissionerships, the *Leader* writes:—"The public would like to know the weighty reasons which led the Government of India to come to the decision they have arrived at. A sort of compromise was arrived at in the United Provinces on the subject. Will the Local Government now make proposals based on the recommendations of the committee appointed to consider the question of the abolition of posts of divisonal Commissioners?"

Royal visit.

Referring to the reply given to Mr. Venkatapathi Raju's question in the Legislative Assembly regarding the King's visit to India, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—"Because officials took advantage of using the name of the Royal House to boom dyarchy in India, the impression is getting abroad that they would 'send for' the King to inaugurate any kind of reforms in India. Even now with the reply of the Government before us, we are unable to assert distinctly that there is no likelihood at all of the King visiting India in the near future. The reply is vague, we hope not deliberately."

The Bombay Liberal Conference.

Commenting on Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's presidential address at the Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference the *Aj* contends that his arguments against the policy of the *Swaraj* party or the Congress cannot hold water, specially when it is realized that the old policy of the Congress produced no substantial results. The experience of the liberals after their separation from the Congress must also convince them of the futility of the old methods of agitation. Mr. Chintamani's arguments against dyarchy, however, deserve serious consideration. His suggestions for reforms in the Provincial Governments and the Central Government will never be carried out unless the bureaucracy is compelled by an unconstitutional, although peaceful method to do so, for disregard of public opinion has become its second nature.

Proscription of the Poem "Vinaya."

The *Abhyudaya* protests against the proscription by several provincial Governments of the poem "Vinaya" in the book, Bharat Bharti and contends that there is nothing objectionable in it. Surely to pray to God to remove our dependence and to make us self-reliant, happy and prosperous is no sedition or anarchy. Does the Government now want to repress the tongue as well as the heart of the people?

Racial distinction in Indian Courts.

Referring to the judgment of the Madras High Court in the Higginbottom Bookstall assault case acquitting the European accused, the *Hamdam* says that in spite of Lord Reading's promise of equality and justice, a distinction between a European and an Indian exists in Indian Courts. We draw the special attention of the late Lord Chief Justice of England, who has recently returned from the free atmosphere of England, towards this case.

Indian States.

The *Medina* wonders why the Government of India have not yet decided the question of succession in the Bhopal State. Both in view of the Islamic *Shariat* and the laws of the State, Prince Hamid Ullah is the rightful successor and Government should not hesitate in declaring him the heir-apparent. The *Mashriq* also deplores the attitude of the Government of India and appeals for a settlement of the question by them so as to save the old Begum the serious trouble of a journey to England for that purpose.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the recent refusal of some Moplah women to proceed to the Andamans, the *Oudh Akhbar* wonders why the Madras Government insist on driving this martial

race out of their province. They would prove a valuable asset for the army and it would be better if Government took up some scheme for their enlistment in the army. A writer in the *Aziz-i-Hind* complains that since the appointment of the Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad as Home Member *Shias* are being flagrantly favoured at the expense of *Sunnis* in the matter of official patronage.

Akali prisoners.

While not sharing the view of those who regard the condition laid down for the release of Gurdwara prisoners as involving humiliation, the *Leader* thinks that if the condition is withdrawn it will furnish another evidence of the broad-mindedness and the conciliatory policy of Sir Malcolm Hailey. Urging the release of Akali prisoners the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The best way to conciliate heroes is to trust them, not to humiliate them. The might of British India need not be displayed by forcing martyrs to purchase liberty by promises which they consider humiliating.

Supply of coolies for survey work.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* urges that the practice of forcing the zamindars to pay for the coolies employed by the amins for doing survey work, or to supply such coolies at their own expense, should be stopped. The paper supports Rai Bahadur Mashal Singh's resolution on this subject which could not come up for discussion before the local council for want of time.

Appointment of Hon'ble Mian Fazl-i-Husain as Education Member.

The *Abhyudaya* opines that in view of what Mian Fazl-i-Husain has done in the Punjab it is to be apprehended that his promotion to the Government of India cannot but brew some trouble in the country. It will be no wonder if Hindu rights and interests are jeopardised under him. In case Sir Habibullah does not return the appointment of Dr. Zia-ud-din to succeed him will also not be conducive to the good of the country.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* deplores that thet *Bhavishya* has been stirring up communal feeling by calumniating Afghans as a race as robbers and murderers in connection with the recent kidnapping scare in Lahore.

ALLAHABAD:
September 5, 1925.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 36 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 12, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Newspapers strongly criticize the British policy with regard to the problems of the Middle East. The *Leader* writes:—In its own interest and in that of peace in the Middle East the wisest policy for Britain would be to get out of Iraq after the period fixed in the Anglo-Iraq treaty . . . Any conflict in Iraq between the British and the Turks is bound to have its repercussions in India and may set in motion disturbing forces on the frontier. While sympathizing with the Indian Muslims on the bombardment of Medina the *Aj* urges that this incident should teach them to respect the religious sentiments of the followers of other creeds. If Muslims gave up cow-sacrifice they would make Hindus their brethren. Then the two communities developing the power of the country could remove the obstacles in the path of freedom and protect their holy places against the aggressions of Europeans. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that if Indian Muslims treat this country as their motherland and combine with the children of the soil to form one nation they will be able to protect their holy places, but if they continue to dream of re-establishing a Muslim Raj with the help of other Muslim powers they will become helpless spectators of the destruction of almost all their holy places one after another under the pressure of various interests. The *Pratap* exonerates the Wahabis from the responsibility of damaging the Prophet's tomb at Medina and deplores the present growth of religious frenzy among the Muslims. It exhorts the Muslim leaders to curb this frenzy for if they go on trifling with it it would prove detrimental to their own community. The *Al Bashir* condemns the action of those Indian Muslims who are demanding British interference in regard to the protection of Medina. They seem to be unaware that the British Government are seeking to undermine the influence of the Khilafat Committee and they (Muslims) are unsuspectingly acting as the Government's tools. The opponents of Ibn Saud should not go so far as to disregard the best interests of the country. The *Najat* says:—Maulana Abdul Bari who has never beeen a friend of Sheriff Husain, whose changes of views are well known, who owes his fame mostly to a daily paper of Lucknow and who regards himself as a religious and political leader of India, demands the repair of the demolished domes in the Hedjaz. The Maulana should first publish a statement about the religious position of domes as many Muslims regard the construction of *pucca* tombs and domes to be forbidden by *Shariat*. In another article the paper regrets that influenced by the agents of the Sheriff and of a third power which is jealous of the growing strength of Ibn Saud a certain section of the press has caught upon the Nejdian offensive against Medina as a suitable pretext for a vigorous propaganda. A famous daily of these provinces, influenced by the gold of Budaun and Firingi Mahal, has joined the ranks of the propagandists. This journal has always claimed to be a sincerely nationalistic organ, but its non-descript politics during the eight or nine years of its existence fully justify its present attitude. This paper carried on a vigorous anti-Bolshevik propaganda during the war at the instance of the Publicity Board, it co-operated with the Government to the full during the non-co-operation days, it filled columns after columns with descriptions of the Prince of Wales' visit and its representative motored with His Royal Highness throughout Lucknow and it gave evidence on behalf of the Crown in the cases of the political prisoners in the Lucknow District Jail. In view of all these facts, its views possess no political or religious significance and should carry no weight in such matters. We refuse to believe that any injury has been done to any religious structure in Medina, and even if there has been any injury that it has been at the hands of Ibn

Saud's men and not Emir Ali's. It is a pity that Indian Muslims are proving to-day to be so gullible to news specially from so suspicious an agency as Reuter's.

Reforms.

Commenting on the passing of the non-official amendment to Sir Alexander Muddiman's motion regarding the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee the *Pioneer* writes:—"The result will help to clear the air. It is obvious that many legislators, who, in their hearts, are out of sympathy with the Swarajists, have been manœuvred into supporting them, and these will no doubt have serious qualms of conscience when they come to consider the implications of their action. The coarse and preposterous attacks on the British which were made in the course of the debate will excite the contempt they deserve among reputable people in India." Commenting on the amendment the *Leader* writes:—"It provides sufficient safeguards for the security of the country and for the protection of the interests of Indian states. Its acceptance will not result in immediate establishment of full self-government, but it will go a long way in meeting the wishes of a very large section of the people." In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"We regard the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the question of constitutional advance as a historic one. It signifies the triumph of sane, sturdy and progressive nationalism over the forces of reaction and obscurantism. We may add that it is a call to unity. It represents a compromise which renders united action on the vital issue, to which almost every other issue is subordinate, much easier. It marks, we hope, the beginning of an era of concerted action and of the termination of a period of political disunion which benefited none but the opponents of Indian progress." Under the heading "Civil Disobedience" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* asks what the reply of the Liberals will be "if all that the authorities would reward them with for years of faithful co-operation is to bless them with the Muddiman majority recipe" and says that the country will execrate them if they humbly co-operate again. "Their duty is to stand shoulder to shoulder with Pandit Moti Lal Nehru in preparing the country for civil disobedience. . . . It would be a national disgrace if our representatives would be content at this crisis, by yelling out a few loud barks and then wait on the bureaucracy with the tail between the legs. Pandit Moti Lal has sounded the alarm. The country will rally to his side".

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on the text of the Anti-Asiatic Bill and the speech of Dr. Malan in introducing it in the Union Parliament, the *Leader* says: "The Bill raises a fundamental issue which cuts across the whole conception of the Empire and will proclaim, if passed, that the Empire stands for race domination. If the Imperial Government refuses to protect the rights of Indians in South Africa, it will be a party to the gross injustice and the cruel wrong which will result from the passage of the Bill." Proceeding, the paper says:—The white settlers may triumph for a moment, but the 300 millions of India will not acquiesce in the wrong done to their countrymen abroad and will insistently call for the vindication of right. And there will be no peace so long as justice is not done. Referring to the various anti-Asiatic measures adopted in South Africa the *Bhavishya* advocates the acceptance of a policy of retaliation by the Government of India and says:—The white men who perpetrate inhuman atrocities on Indians in South Africa come to India and rule over Indians in an autocratic manner. This the Indians can no longer tolerate. The *Aj* observes that the Australian Ministers displayed great ingenuity at a recent dinner in proving that their policy to keep Asiatics out of Australia was not based on racial hatred and wonders whether, when this is so, Indians can be justifiably accused of acting from motives of racial hatred in refusing to help in the maintenance of the domination of the whites over them in their own country. Indians will have to run to the rescue of Australians in case they are attacked by a great power but when they enter Australia to earn a livelihood they are excluded as coloured people. This is the relation betwen the blacks and the whites within the British Empire.

Political propaganda.

Under the heading "The Call of the Jail" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: There are ominous signs all round that we are on the eve of a great movement that will once again send forth to our brave and true children the cry of the jail . . . Young India, that has no faith in the Government will certainly not have faith

in the kind of Swarajist co-operation that we have as yet seen. Such cooperation, we fear, cannot by any stretch of imagination, be called "honourable." In a subsequent article under the heading "The Swarajists on Trial," the paper says: Pandit Moti Lal Nehru has threatened civil disobedience. He has definitely challenged the Government to rule the country by force. Are these to be empty threats or have they any definite programme of work before the country? The country has lost all faith in British justice and fair play. We believe that there is enough spirit in the country for the Swarajists to harness against a Government that would not yield to the persuasions of reason and experience . . . Many of them are battle-scarred veterans. They must give battle once more. The *Aj* says that the life of an Indian has no value. Indians continue to die of ruptured spleen and can be imprisoned without trial. The Jallianwala tragedy is a striking example of the cheapness of Indian lives. Again the opposition offered by Sir Alexander Muddiman in the select committee to Mr. Rangachariar's Bill to regulate firing on crowds also shows that the bureaucracy attach very little value to the lives of Indians. In another article the paper remarks that the message of sympathy recently sent by the British Independent Labour party has no value in view of the fact that the Labour party when in power supported repression in India and that it also associated itself with the reactionary policy of Lord Birkenhead in regard to the question of constitutional advance in the country. We have to admit, in the words of Lala Lajpat Rai, that no political party in England can do real justice to India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the Kohat and Panipat tragedies "Pampadi" writes in the *Indian Daily Telegraph*:—"The more one comes to think of the plight of the Hindus the more is one faced with almost a sense of despair about its future. And yet the political future of this country depends on Hindu *Sangathan*. There can be no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity and there can be no Hindu-Muslim unity unless the Hindus are powerful enough to face an organized minority and an alien administration." The *Sainik* contends that the real cause of the outbreak of Hindu-Muslim disturbances is the religious fanaticism of Muslims and not any particular anti-Hindu feeling among them and says that so long as this fanaticism does not abate there can be no peace. The *Bhavishya* says that as a result of the abominable methods of Agha Khanis and the reprehensible scheme of Khwaja Hasan Nizami it has become difficult for Hindus to protect their women or children. Similarly owing to the atrocities of some Muslim *goondas* the lives and properties of the Hindus are in great danger. If a case is brought against these *goondas* Muslim vakils and officials help them in every way, with the result that either they are let off or escape with light punishment. There is no room for doubt that there is a well-organized Muslim body with its ramifications all over India which wants to devour Hindus uncooked. The paper, therefore, exhorts the Hindus to organize themselves for self-preservation.

The Panipat disturbance.

The *Abhyudaya* points out that the reasons advanced by the Punjab Government for refusing to appoint an impartial inquiry committee are not at all convincing and compel one to the conclusion that the Government does not want to hold an inquiry into the doings of its officials. It says that if the Government loves truth and is anxious to do justice it should have no objection at all to the appointment of an independent inquiry commission. The *Abhaya* complains that in communal disturbances justice has never been done to the Hindus and says:—"The Collector of Saharanpur, who was responsible for such a big tragedy there, was promoted and then retired on pension. This wicked man should have been hanged before the public. To-day owing to the short-sightedness of officials Hindus are being robbed and beaten at various places and attempts are made to repress them . . . Considering the atrocities that are being perpetrated on them at various places it has to be said that the Government has now become powerless for it cannot restrain the *goondas* in any way. If this is not so, then it must be said that it deliberately gets Hindus robbed and beaten. Hindus are under a delusion as they ask for justice at the hands of Government. Those who expect that Government will protect Hindus are terrible enemies of the Hindu community." Proceeding, it says: The remedy lies in Hindu *Sangathan* which should keep aloof from Rai Bahadurs, Raja Sahibs and the like . . . For Hindu *Sangathan* there is need of Hindu young men who are ready to sacrifice their lives for protecting the honour of their mothers and sisters and who feel for the cow, the temples and the community.

The Viceroy's speech.

Discussing the Viceroy's speech, the *Najat* says that it was only an echo of Lord Birkenhead's utterance. No doubt, as asserted by His Excellency, the decline of Indian industries was inevitable, but that was because English industries could prosper only at the expense of Indian industries. In order to enrich England India had to be reduced to a condition of poverty and starvation. The Viceroy has asked us to ponder calmly over the Secretary of State's statement. Well, Indians have submitted to the harsh words of British statesmen, the rigours of jail life, and the shooting of their unarmed brethren, but they are not to blame if they cannot remove the bitterness that has been left in their hearts by these events. We all know that the Reforms will be reconsidered in 1929 and the inquiry will take ten years and in 1939 we shall again be where we are just now. The Viceroy's speech is as completely disappointing as Lord Birkenhead's and if the present Hindu-Muslim struggle and *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements continue neither the Government nor their supporters will have to make any effort and India will remain a subject country as before.

Abolition of divisional Commissionerships.

Referring to the Government's refusal to abolish the posts of divisional Commissioners the *Sainik* says :—Why should the posts of Commissioners be abolished ? The Government surely do not want to increase the number of the unemployed in England. Poor Liberals ! They think that they will be able to make the Government do as they like by means of the recommendations of committees, resolutions of public meetings and articles in newspapers. The attitude which the Government have adopted after the failure of the non-co-operation movement shows that such dreams can be dreamt only under the influence of opium. The *Aj* writes :—Why should the Commissioners not be retained ? Where else would be found the opportunity to provide so much comfort to so many Europeans at the expense of others ? This is the love of the Government of India for Indians on the strength of which the Liberals dream of swaraj.

Capital of the United Provinces.

Referring to the resolution passed by the Allahabad Municipal Board viewing with the " gravest concern " the action of the Government of the United Provinces and strongly protesting against the policy adopted " which has resulted in the removal from Allahabad to Lucknow of the chief Government offices and incidents which betoken a capital city, " the *Leader* is glad to note that the board has at last become alive to the danger to its own interests involved in the insidious move of the Government to transfer the incidents of the capital of the province. Proceeding, the paper says :—" In this connexion the policy of non-interference adopted by the Government of India is exceedingly unsatisfactory. It appears from a reply given in the Assembly by Sir Alexander Muddiman that the Government of India called for a report from the local Government and it seems that it was satisfied by the assurance of the latter that there was not and never had been any question of the transfer of the capital from Allahabad. Are the Government of India so unsophisticated as not to know what the essentials of a capital are ? Is not Allahabad being deprived of these one by one ? We would invite their attention to the resolution passed by the Allahabad Municipal Board and would urge them to treat the question more seriously than they have so far done."

Political prisoners.

The *Vartman* refers to a *communiqué* issued by the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee showing that about a dozen and a half Akali prisoners succumbed to cholera in the Rawalpindi jail and urges that arrangements should be made to provide against the untimely death of prisoners and to see that the members of the families of those who have already expired do not suffer for want of food and clothing. The *Pratap* publishes a letter from Srimati Parvati Devi who urges that an All-India Political Prisoners' Conference should be held at Cawnpore during the Congress week to look after the well-being of the political prisoners who are still rotting in jails and to help their dependents and says that by organizing the ex-prisoners we can exert pressure on Government and prevent them from harassing political prisoners in future.

The Agra Tenancy Act Amendment Bill.

The *Sainik* deplores the action of the Government in not publishing the Hindi version of the Agra Tenancy Act Amendment Bill in the *Government Gazette* and thereby ignoring the interests of crores of Hindi-speaking persons of these provinces and says that the Government has thus furnished an example of its

innate wisdom. It exhorts the public and the members of the Council to sink their party differences and give serious consideration to the Bill as it affects the interests of 90 per cent. of the population of these provinces. They should not allow political designs and narrow self-interests to cut the throats of tenants, to sacrifice the rights of zamindars and to sow seeds of dissensions between these two parties.

The Bombay textile industry.

The *Abhyudaya* says that unless strong reasons are advanced to the contrary India can only interpret the Viceroy's reply to the Bombay Millowners to mean that the Government of India do not want to impose any taxation on the Japanese goods, because they have to humour Japan, surely not in the interests of India but of those of England. And they do not want to abolish excise duty, for the Lancashire manufacturers will not allow them to do so. The paper contends that if the Government are really in earnest to do justice to India there cannot be insuperable difficulties in the abolition of the cotton excise duty.

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* strongly supports Mr. Haroon Jafar's proposal about the utilization of the accumulated interest on the deposits of the non-interest-taking Muslims in the Savings Banks and says that as the amount is spent on the Salvation Army whose chief object is to convert Hindus and Muslims to Christianity, no Muslim will have any objection to its being spent on the education of Muslim children.

Future Viceroy of India.

The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that the appointment of Lord Ronaldshay as Viceroy would be very welcome as he proved himself a peace-loving, far-sighted and reasonable person as Governor of Bengal.

The depressed classes.

The *Jatava* publishes a letter in which the writer complains of the sad plight of the communities known as untouchables in this country and appeals to the Government to appoint a commission for inquiring into their grievances and to take steps to redress them.

ALLAHABAD:
September 12, 1925.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 37 of 1925.**

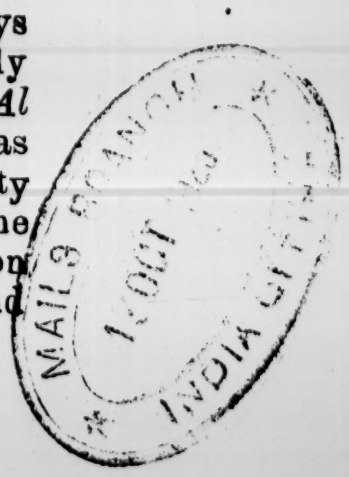
NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 19, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The papers strongly condemn the joint Franco-Spanish offensive against the Riffs. The *Leader* writes: A more unrighteous war has perhaps never been waged in history in the cause of imperialism except when Carthage was destroyed by the Roman legions. How is it that the League of Nations views with equanimity the perpetration of a huge tragedy in Morocco? Does it exist only to safeguard European peace and does it think it can succeed in doing so unless it is able to curb the cruel and rampant spirit of imperialism? The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says:—The menace to the existence of coloured free people amidst the whites, indeed the impossibility for any coloured people to shake off the shackles of the Western powers, is the greatest problem that confronts Asiatics in Africa and America. The struggle in China is to be traced to the same "benevolence" of the west to improve China against her will . . . The same pathetic story comes from Iraq and Mosul—the British in their mission of upliftment of the coloured people, willingly shoulder the ungrateful burdens of Mosul. The *Aj* remarks that under the stress of King Faisal's anxiety for his throne, Britain's eagerness to do a good turn to the Arabs by "civilizing" them and her desire to possess Mosul oil fields, Mesopotamia will have to bid farewell to its liberty for an indefinite period. *Al Barid* says that the Mosul Boundary Commission's report has set another seal on the black record of Britain's land-grabbing policy. The matter is now before the League of Nations, but from past experience it may be confidently asserted that the decision will not be unfavourable to Britain. The *Medina* points out that the Turks are dissatisfied with the delay in the settlement of the Mosul question and regard it as an attempt to give it to the British. The British are very liberal in scattering gold when they want to acquire a territory, but they will show themselves in their worst imperialistic light once they get hold of Mosul. The dissatisfaction of the Turks is ominous and they are determined not to allow the robbers of Europe to deprive them of Mosul with the aid of their make-believe constitutionalism. If the European Powers do not act with wisdom the Near East will witness a war which will lead to the disappearance of the League of Nations and of those who utilize it as a screen behind which to play their games. The *Najat* also is suspicious of the League and hopes that saner counsels will prevail in it for otherwise war is inevitable. The *Hindustani* asserts that since the establishment of the British mandate neither Mesopotamia nor any other part of Arabia has known a moment's peace. The Hedjaz after suffering so long from Sheriffian misrule is now a prey to the excesses of Ibn Saud. Such things were never heard of during the Turkish régime and it would be better if Mosul together with Mesopotamia were placed under Turkish control. Referring to the charges of sacrilege against Ibn Saud the *Ittihad* says that he is another Yezid (the slayer of Hasan and Husain) and his admirers are only self-seekers. There is no doubt about the bombardment of the Prophet's mosque and mausoleum but these admirers are deliberately shutting their eyes to facts and some of them, apprehensive that the truth cannot be concealed for ever, are trying to justify the bombardment as being in consonance with the religious beliefs of the Nejdis. Maulana Abdul Bari, writing in the same paper, says that he does not favour Emir Ali or any other member of the Sheriff's family but he has become disgusted with Ibn Saud also after his acts of sacrilege. *Al Barid* observes that the question of the bombardment of the Prophet's tomb has assumed a highly controversial aspect owing to personal predilections and for party reasons the Sheriffis and Saudis both are exaggerating things and concealing the true facts from the public. The paper, therefore, suggests that a deputation comprising Maulanas Nasir Husain, Abdul Bari, Zafar Ali, Muhammad Ali and



Pir Jamal Ali Shah should proceed to the Hedjaz to see things for itself and inform the Indian Muslims of the real situation. The *Medina* is sorry that Muslims are so absorbed in internecine quarrels that attention is being diverted from the importance of Akabah and Ma'an to the independence of the Hedjaz. Muslims should not play into the hands of their enemies otherwise Jeddah also will be sold to the British and those (holy) places over which they are getting so excited will pass into the possession of "Firingies" and provide hockey, football and polo grounds. In another article the paper says that King Faisal and the Iraqian Parliament are being made to ask for the continuance of British control after 1928 until the complete subjection of Iraq is accomplished. Britain is canvassing for this constitutional support from Iraq to be able to deceive the world. All devices and strategems converge to the same end and that is the retention of Iraq and the consequent acquisition of Mosul by hemming in Turkey on three sides. The grossly lying news being retailed from Palestine is also meant to send Muslims flying at each other's throats and thus to make them forget Akabah and Ma'an.

Reforms.

Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment to the official motion regarding the Majority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee is widely supported by the press although some of the extremist papers hold that it is altogether insufficient to satisfy national aspirations and requirements. The *Vartman* urges the Government to accept Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment and says that as it was passed in the Assembly by a majority including the Liberals, Independents, Swarajists and Zamindars it is clear that it is the demand of a very large number of Indians. If the Government do not accept it, it is certain that Indian leaders who are at present co-operating with it will organize a vigorous agitation. The *Aj* says that it is with a view to create divisions among Indian politicians that Sir Alexander Muddiman has raised the question of the conflict of Western and oriental ideals in opposing Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment. The paper warns the Indian leaders to be on their guard against such insidious attacks of the policy of divide and rule and not to allow themselves to be involved in useless controversies calculated to lead them astray. The only ideal which should inspire them all alike should be the attainment of freedom and a constitution will of itself be evolved in course of time in the light of experience. The *Bhavishya* writes: The passing of Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment has no doubt given us cause for temporary rejoicing but we have to remember that a number of similar resolutions passed by the Assembly are rotting in waste-paper baskets. We are convinced that such resolutions can be of no use to us unless we acquire the necessary strength to compel the Government to give effect to them. And such strength can only come if the vast masses are ranged in an organized manner behind us. The *Pratap* says:—Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment moved in the name of the country is unjust and improper. India wants full rights. The amendment does not contain even a tithe of her demands. The Swarajist demands are improper inasmuch as the Swarajists have not given the Congress time to consider them. India wants to exercise full control over the foreign and military departments. She has seen many times that her armies have been made to commit the sin of crushing the national spirit of other nations like Turkey, Egypt and China and of safeguarding British interests there. She will not be able to put up with this for any considerable length of time. India ought to arise and sacrifice herself to achieve liberty. Commenting on the defeat of Mr. Sethna's motion in the Council of State the *Vartman* says that even if this resolution had been passed by the Council it would have hardly received the Viceroy's assent. It is our frank belief that Councils can benefit us only in small matters but it is idle to expect them to effect any material change in the constitution. In view of the rejection of the national demand by the Council of State which had been passed by the Legislative Assembly the *Aj* urges all political parties to combine and capture all the elective seats in that body on the next election so as to prevent the entry of sycophantic members into it. Criticising Mr. Crerar's speech opposing the "national" demand the paper says that it is against all canons of statesmanship, against humanity and against the divine order of things that the Parliament of a different nation should control the destiny of thirty-two crores of people. It is one thing to owe allegiance to the British Crown and quite another to entrust their future progress into the hands of a Parliament most of the members of which are quite ignorant of the conditions of this country. We want the principle of self-determination to be applied to us. When we have acquired this right we shall heartily

welcome British help and co-operation. Until we get it co-operation for us only means slavery. Mr. Crerar is quite wrong in holding that Indian political leaders have accepted Western ideals. India wants self-evolution on her own lines, but will surely adopt what is best in the Western ideals.

Music before mosques.

Hindu papers are strongly protesting against the orders of the District Magistrate of Allahabad regarding the stoppage of music before certain mosques during the Dasehra procession. The *Leader* writes: The Hindus were on unassailable ground in that there was no precedent for the demand now made upon them so far as the Dasehra procession went and they must have felt justifiable hesitation in acquiescing in the proposition to which they were invited to assent. The Muslims, according to the Unity Conference resolution, ought not to have invoked the assistance of the authorities and the latter would have been well-advised if they had not lent countenance to a novel Muslim demand as they did. Mr. Crosthwaite is both able and considerate and we are certain that he would not have been actuated by any partisan or other unworthy motive. But we think that he acted in haste and was unduly nervous. On the ground of custom and precedent he should in our opinion have dismissed the Muslim claim. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: If the Allahabad Ramlila should be stopped, as the result of executive high-handedness, or we might be more correct in calling it executive weakness before the aggression of Muslims, then all we can exclaim is "perish Hinduism in Hindustan" . . . All that the Hindu leaders can do with self-respect they have done—to stop the entire religious procession as a protest against Muslim aggression and executive weakness. Mussoorie, Lucknow and Unao witnessed this weakness; now it is the turn of Allahabad. This has only one meaning for the Hindus, that their religious feelings do not count either with the authorities or with the Muslims. The *Abhyudaya* refers to reports of rows between Hindus and Muslims at various places over the question of music before mosques and says that it is nothing but aggression and turbulence on the part of the latter to take the law into their own hands. They do so with a view to impress upon officials the strength of their religious feeling over the question and to strike terror into the hearts of the Hindus. We urge officials to take severe notice of their conduct in the name of law, peace and order. If this malady of taking the law into one's own hands continues to grow unchecked in this manner all respect for law will be undermined and other communities will find it difficult to live in the country. Referring to the approaching Dasehra festival when processions with music are taken out in public roads the paper remarks: The official who yields to the unjustifiable demand of Muslims to stop music before mosques encourages hooliganism, anarchy and rowdyism and undermines the foundations of administration and should be prosecuted as being its enemy. When music could be played all these years before mosques there is no reason why it should be stopped now. Authorities who cannot ensure respect for custom should resign their posts and go home. Referring to the question of music before mosques at Allahabad the same paper writes: What has happened this year that Muslims insist on music being stopped? Is this insistence due to the appreciation of their conduct by the officials during the Mohurram? If the Muslims want brotherly treatment from Hindus they too should display a brotherly spirit. The official who supports the unjustifiable demand of Muslims is weak and timid and has not the courage to protect law and justice and should resign his post. The *Bhavishya* points out that the question of stopping music before mosques was never raised before. It has now been raised as Muslims are irritated on account of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. This shows that the question is not a religious one but is a mere excuse for creating disturbance. Referring to the decision of the Hindus of Allahabad not to celebrate the Ramlila unless the District Magistrate revokes his order under section 144, the same paper says: The District Magistrate ought to remember the Proclamation of Queen Victoria and to protect the religious sentiments of the Hindus. In order to avoid a breach of the public peace he ought to allay the discontent against the Government which is increasing in the hearts of the Hindus. In another article the same paper remarks: The question of music before mosques being an All-India question, the Magistrate of Allahabad went beyond his competence in deciding it. Now the Muslims have won the day. By referring to this order they will compel the Magistrates of other places to issue similar orders. If Hindus do not quietly put up with this insult to their religion, then in the name of law and order they will be roasted like sheep and goats and will be arrested

and tried for loot and for being members of unlawful assemblies. The "*ma-bap*" Government is deciding in favour of Muslims. What then are the Hindus of Allahabad to do? Our advice is that they should not celebrate Ramlila and should not allow a breach of the peace.

Excise policy of the Government.

Commenting on the official opposition to Mr. N. C. Kelkar's amendment to Haji Wajih-ud-din's resolution in the Legislative Assembly regarding the consumption of liquor the *Aj* says that it naturally gives rise to the suspicion that the bureaucracy not only wants to allow people perfect freedom to drink liquor but is also eager to place inducements in the way of imprudent people to their ruin and to its own gain. The policy of the Government to encourage drinking for increasing its revenue deserves nothing but wholesale condemnation. The *Medina* says that the mentors of morality ardently advocated the cause of the drink that is universally condemned. Sir Basil Blackett even prophesied the failure of prohibition measures in America and Mr. Bhagwan Das was quite justified in the angry retort that if they could not remedy this evil they should clear out of India. The powers that be in order to deceive the world often assert that they are ruling over Indians in accordance with their wishes. If their claim is correct, they should act according to the decision of the Assembly; otherwise the world will see that they rather prefer to ruin the morals of India than to injure the trade of certain English wine-vendors. Colonel Crawford was responsible for a remarkable piece of grim humour. He characterised prohibition as an interference with the freedom of Indians. We would like to inquire whether Indians are free just now. The Colonel ought to talk sense, or was he himself drunk when speaking?

Political propaganda.

The *Sainik* refers to the remarks of the chairman of the Labour Union Congress regarding the success of British coal-miners and says that the organization of European labourers clearly shows what can be really achieved by people by means of organization. If labourers and peasants of Russia can become rulers of their country and if those of England can become the administrators of the British Empire there is no reason why the peasants and labourers of India should not be able to remove their sufferings by organizing themselves. In the course of a leading article under the heading "It is a sin to co-operate with beef-eaters" the *Abhaya* says: If there is anything in which Hindus can become unanimous it is the question of cow-protection. If any one asks the twenty crores of Hindus why their lips are faded the reply will be: "The demons are killing and eating our revered mother-cow. We are deprived of her nectar-like milk." They are mistaken who think that our rights will be safeguarded by co-operating with beef-eaters. Cow-protection can never be ensured by co-operation with those who eat cows. Even if *swaraj* is won by friendship with beef-eaters, the question of cow-protection will remain unsolved. It is a mistake to co-operate with beef-eaters whether they are indigenous or foreign.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Sainik* says that the extent to which the hearts of the white men who talk so big of their civilization can be black can be judged from the Asiatic Bill before the South African Parliament. The Bill aims at driving out Indians who toiled hard to populate South Africa and to make the selfish white men immensely rich. It is no wonder that those who are treated as strangers in their own homes should be driven out of other countries in this manner. The *Aj* writes: When a most loyal member of the Council of State like Sir Umar Hayat advises that the Commander-in-Chief of India should be sent with his army to South Africa to avenge the oppression upon Indian colonists contemplated under the Asiatic Bill, it must be recognised that the limit of India's forbearance has been almost reached. We are grieved to note that the Government of India do not even now make a clear declaration on the Union Parliament's attitude towards Indians. This is the worst example of their subordinate position. This is why we urge that the Government of India should be made a national Government. The *Bhavishya* remarks that the Indian problem in South Africa, like other questions of a similar nature, can be solved only by the attainment of *swavaj*.

The Rangachariar's Bill.

Referring to the passage in the Legislative Assembly of Mr. Rangachariar's Bill to regulate the use of fireams against unlawful assemblies the *Bhavishya* says:—It will still depend upon the Government's will whether the provisions of the Bill are given effect

to or not. If Indians want that they should not be shot without reason or without a warning they should strive for the establishment of responsible self-government. The *Pratap* remarks that the passage of the Bill does not mean that now it would become impossible to fire on crowds in India. Such petty restrictions do not change the mentality of officials in any way. This Bill will not have the effect of enhancing the value of the lives of Indians.

Muslims affairs.

The *Haqiqat* supports the proposal for holding a Muslim Press Conference at Aligarh on the occasion of the University Jubilee and says that such an association for the organization of Indian Muslims is badly needed. The *Medina* holds that the institution of the Khilafat is the only one which can bring together Muslims all the world over and that similarly the Khilafat committee is the only body which can bind Indian Muslims together. These two institutions should therefore be zealously safeguarded by all true lovers of Islam. Europe realizes that Pan-Islamism alone can fight the world and can make Muslims strong and active by infusing in them a desire for freedom and that the Khilafat is the only foundation on which Pan-Islamism can subsist. In the life and freedom of Muslims lie the death and subjection of Europe and Europe therefore tries every method to annihilate the Khilafat organization. In the days of warfare force was resorted to and when the time for intrigue and diplomacy came these also were utilized to dismember Islamic countries. Now we are face to face with a still more dangerous campaign of propaganda and we must meet it at all costs. The paper has also a contributed article complaining that a Marathi book entitled "Jag Jagriti" written by one Atma Ram Mahipat Jethe of East Khandesh and printed at the Venkatesh Printing Press, contains scurrillous attacks on God, the Prophet and the Quran and urging its withdrawal from circulation as it is bound to inflame the feelings of Muslims.

The next Home Member.

The *Haqiqat* is extremely dissatisfied with the rumour about the selection of Raja Rampal Singh for appointment as the next Home Member and says that the appointment of the head of the *Shuddhi* and Hindu Sabha movements would show that Government have got no sympathy with Muslims and want to serve their own purpose by setting the two communities by the ears. The Muslim press wants an unprejudiced and independent man free from communal taint. The *Aziz-i-Hind* hopes that the Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad will not be given an extension but will soon be replaced by some Muslim like Hafiz Hidayat Husain.

The Age of Consent Bill.

The *Oudh Akhbar* regards the passing of the Age of Consent Bill in the Legislative Assembly as the opening of another avenue for oppression and high-handedness in the name of human sympathy, Alas for those Indians who, dazzled by the glamour of the new civilization, are putting legal fetters on their moral rights. Are these the blessings which democracy is going to bestow on India?

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Criticising the action of the Collector of Mussoorie in stopping the Arya Samaj *nagar-kirtan* Mr. K. C. Bhalla writes in the *Patriot*:—The Arya Samaj does not ask for any special favours from the Government, but demands the just right of the Arya Samajes to celebrate their anniversaries according to the custom established for the last forty years or so. If the Government is pleased to put unnecessary obstruction in their way simply to please the Muslims, the evident result will be that the Arya Samaj will have to revise its policy which has so far been purely religious and social. Will it be an advantage to the Government to have unrest in the Samajic circle?

The Bombay textile Industry.

Referring to the crisis in Bombay textile industry the *Leader* exhorts the Government to help this premier industry of India by the abolition of the excise duty. If they cannot decide to abolish the duty they can at least suspend it for the rest of the year. This industry has helped the Government in times of difficulty and financial stress in a variety of ways. If it is allowed to be ruined the effect will enormously affect the economic position of the country and consequently of the Government.

Honorary magistrates.

Referring to the remarks about honorary magistrates in the latest "Criminal statements of the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad" the *Maha-Shakti* writes: The evil lies in the selection of unsuitable men, the chief consideration in such selections

being, in the majority of cases, anything but the requisite legal training and educational qualifications. Is it not time for this horrible scandal to be done away with for the sake of humanity and the good name of the British Raj as well?

High prices of food-grains.

The *Oudh Akhbar* appeals to the United Provinces Government either to prohibit the export of food-grains altogether or to restrict it to utmost one-fourth of the produce so that prices may be maintained at a reasonable level.

ALLAHABAD:
September 19, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 38 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 26, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Haqiqat* remarks that the oppressive policy of the foreign Powers has excited hatred and animosity among the Chinese youths against the Westerners. The Chinese are much more incensed against the British as Englishmen have been meting out worse treatment to them than other foreigners. In Shanghai and Hongkong not only the English military and civil officers but the ordinary English merchants also treat the Chinese as worse than brutes. The *Hamdam* interprets the co-operation of American air-ships in the French attack against the Riffs as the declaration of a crusade by the Western Powers against Islam. England's offer of help to France against the Jebel Druses in Syria lends colour to this suspicion and Muslims should show by their united front that whenever Christendom will think of launching a crusade there will arise among them more than one Saladin to crush its head. In another article the paper exhorts the Muslims to observe the Riff day with due solemnity so as to show to the world how intense their feelings are against the usurpations and barbarities of the Western Powers. The American and English attitude towards the Riff and Druse struggles respectively clearly shows that the Christian Powers have launched a crusade against Islam and it is the duty of Muslims to oppose this attack of Christians by using all means within their power. From past experience we know that the Western Powers do not proclaim their real aims during a war and deceive the world till the time for the division of the spoils of war arrives. During the Great War the Allies at the time of declaring war against Turkey proclaimed that the war was only political and had nothing to do with religion. But at the conclusion of the war Mr. Lloyd George stated that in reality it was the last crusade in which the Allies had avenged the Muslim victories of yore. Had the Muslims been aware of this, not a single one of them would have consented to be doomed to perdition (by fighting against his co-religionists). If the Muslims can in no other way render help to these brave *mujahids* (the holy warriors of the Riffs) they should strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of their religion by making the 18th of September a success in every way. The paper also publishes a poem lamenting over Nejd-Hedjaz affairs in which the following couplets are worthy of note :—

(1) Turkey has been rendered helpless and the Hedjaz reduced to a state of disorder and confusion. How calamitous the British policy is !

(2) O, Why have you (Britain) girt up your loins for the ruin of Islam ? Why is your sword of greed and avarice so sharp ?

Discussing the question of protection of sacred places in Arabia a writer in the *Dabdabai Sikandari* suggests that the best solution is to entrust the task to His Exalted Highness the Nizam as he commands the confidence of Muslims and can spare troops for management and his election will also be approved by the British Government.

Music before mosques.

Hindu feeling against the order of the District Magistrate of Allahabad regarding the stopping of music before certain mosques during the Dasehra procession is gathering strength. The *Leader* writes :—" In the interests of peace the local authorities have to-day ordered that there should be no music before certain mosques for a brief period. Having thus admitted the justice or the expediency of the Muslim claim in the matter, how can they consistently refuse a further demand that there shall be no music before mosques at any time throughout the year when prayers are being offered ? Are they prepared to order that no social or

religious processions of the Hindus should play music before mosques or anywhere in their vicinity so that the congregational prayers of the Muslims may not be disturbed? Is there to be no freedom for each community to exercise its own customary rights? Thus the order of the District Magistrate involves far-reaching issues which even from a purely administrative point of view are likely to raise difficult problems in the future." "A Christian" writing to the paper, says: "If a Christian church were situated in the contiguity of a Muslim mosque, would not Muhammadans have a right to ask for the cessation of all worship in that church on Sundays at the time of their evening prayers? Decidedly, yes, in face of the precedent established by prohibiting Hindu music before certain mosques. To-day the Hindus have been ordered not to play music before certain mosques at the time of the Dasehra celebrations. To-morrow the order will be not to play music before any mosque at any time of the year or day. One precedent leads to another. In attempting to cope with what appears to the officials the present evil, they are only making matters worse for the future when they will be faced with a greater evil and having bound themselves to one thought or opinion they will have to abide by their short-sighted policy then established by precedent and fettered by law." "A Hindu" writing to the same paper says:—"From a child of three who will miss his grand *tamasha* and little toy presents, to the gray old man who pines for the *darshan* of his deity in human form, all must sit, mourn and burn for being deprived of their grand annual Dasehra. Have the officials lost all sense that they do not realize what feelings such a state of things will rouse? Will it increase the good-will between the Muslims or themselves and the Hindus? Will it be helpful in maintaining the public peace now or in the future?" Mr. K. C. Bhalla, writing in the *Patriot*, congratulates the Hindus of Allahabad on the firm attitude displayed by their representatives before the District Magistrate and says:—"I wish the same attitude were adopted by Hindus everywhere. It will be then alone when we shall be able to live peacefully in our own country." The *Aj* says that the intervention of the District Magistrate has had a contrary effect. In view of the resolution of the Unity Conference which had been accepted by Muslim leaders also the demand of the Muslims of Allahabad is unjustifiable. If Muslims will always raise such controversy it will be impossible even for the warmest advocates of unity to satisfy them. We are unable to support the decision of the Allahabad Hindus not to celebrate *Ramlila*. This is a suicidal policy. If to-day the *Ramlila* procession has been stopped, to-morrow marriage processions will also have to be stopped. The Hindus of Allahabad should strive to take out the *Ramlila* procession somehow or other. The *Abhyudaya* writes:—We congratulate Mr. Crosthwaite on his *Nadirshahi* order. He has immortalised himself at least in the history of Allahabad. Now he should also issue an order for the removal of the sacred mark on the forehead of the Hindus and for the demolition of temples; for it is idolatry which must be painful to the hearts of Muslims. It is the duty of the Hindus at present not to celebrate their festival and let the District Magistrate take pleasure in his autocracy. If a hundred Hindus who can remain perfectly non-violent despite any provocation be available they should have recourse to *satyagraha* and make the District Magistrate's order a dead letter. Commenting on the *communiqué* of the Collector of Allahabad regarding the Hindu-Muslim conference to discuss the question of music before mosques the same paper writes:—Every line of the *communiqué* betrays the official attitude and eagerness of the authorities to hold the Hindus blamable. Its contents clearly proclaim how one-sided and untenable it is and from what view-point it has been written. We challenge the Collector to publish the documents which, according to him, prove that the *Ramdal* was so arranged in previous years as not to be in front of mosques at prayer time. The *Vartman* says:—It is said that the music disturbs the prayer of Muslims; but the question is why it did not disturb it up to this time. How do the Muslims say their prayer in the mosques located along the roads on which trams and motor-cars pass and near railway stations where there is always noise? The *Hamdam* justifies the steps taken by the District Magistrate. To the paper the Hindus seem to be acting upon their firm determination to ignore the feelings of their Muslim neighbours and to make demonstrations of their strength. It is very undesirable that the various communities should be made to respect the religious sentiments of one another through the orders of British officers, but the insistence of patriots like Pandits Kapil Deva Malaviya and Rama Kant Malaviya upon playing music before mosques at the time of prayers

in disregard of the clear resolution of the Unity Conference at Delhi will only strengthen the hands of the authorities.

Hindu organization.

Appeals for *Sangathan* are finding more frequent and impassioned expression in the Hindu papers. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—To the Hindus to-day nothing is more important than *Sangathan*. That alone will once more enable them to live and worship their God in their own way. The sad story of *Ramlila* at Allahabad and the *arti* controversy in Lucknow must convince the Hindus that they have not much sympathy, we might call it justice, to expect from the officials who look upon such questions purely from the view-point of law and order. Commending the speech of Swami Shraddhanand at Lucknow, the same paper writes:—"The simple question is, whether Hindus shall be once again the virile race as of old or shall sink into still lower depths than at present when, in spite of their being the inhabitants of Hindustan, they cannot worship their God in their own way. Is it or is it not possible for the Hindus to combine in one mass movement for social reform, purge all the superstitions that have clustered as pestilential growths during the declining period of Hinduism and be restored to a solid community, organized and speaking with one voice from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin? In that way alone lies the path to *Swaraj*." The *Bhavishya* deplores that taking advantage of the apathy and indifference of Hindus to their interests selfish people have begun to set fire to their houses. The work of kidnapping boys, attacking women, and converting the untouchables by deceitful means is going on almost in every city. What, then, is our duty in these circumstances? We Hindus number twenty-two crores. There is no other community in the world having such a large population. If we organize ourselves solidly who will dare attack us and interfere with our religious functions?

Reforms.

The *Bharat Jivan* views with satisfaction the passage of Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment in the Legislative Assembly, not because it has led to a Government defeat but because this time the Government has not been able to succeed in its deadly deceitfulness on the strength of which it has been able to hold its head high in the civilized world in spite of sucking the blood of Indians and behaving despotically towards them in the name of co-operation. Up to this time it has been declaring in loud terms that if Indians of all parties submit a joint demand, it would consider it sympathetically but its hopes were dashed to the ground when Pandit Motilal Nehru produced the joint demand, because it never expected even in dream that the Swarajists and Nationalists would combine in this way. There is not the least doubt that the present policy of Government is humiliating for us and if we cannot change it we must at least expose it fully. The *Vartman* regards the rejection of Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment by the Council of State as an insult to India's representatives and says that it has shown that those who were opposed to Council entry were right. If any sense of self-respect is left in the members of the Council of State they should hang down their heads in shame and repent of their mistakes. The *Medina* says that Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment is the country's united reply to the high-handedness of Government and the inflammatory utterances of Lord Birkenhead. The remarkable unity displayed in this connexion by all Indian political parties in the Assembly in spite of the official efforts to create a split constitutes a very happy augury. We simply fail to understand the meaning of the official call for co-operation. It must be borne in mind that Indians will not extend the hand of co-operation so long as the Government does not abandon its tyrannical and irresponsible attitude. The autocratic members of Government should know that the demands of the Assembly constitute the irreducible minimum the acceptance of which will indicate a change of heart on their part. If the Viceroy uses his special powers to reject this democratic decision of the Assembly, they (Government) will be disgraced before the world and their deceitful claim of ruling over India with her consent will be thoroughly exposed. The *Oudh Akhbar* condemns the opposition of the Council of State to the non-official amendment and says that the members of the Assembly should seek re-election on this very issue so as to expose the unrepresentative character of the upper Chamber. The *Haqiqat* writing in a similar strain regrets that there was not a single Muslim among the patriots who supported the amendment. By this action the Council of State has further discredited itself in the eyes of the people.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* says that imperialism and militarism such as was exhibited in the Jallianwalabagh massacre and in the recent Shanghai firing is crushing Asia. To promote it the British naval base at Singapore is being constructed. Asia cannot be saved without the establishment of an Asiatic Federation. The time has come when all leaders of Asia should give serious consideration to this question. Dealing with the triumph of labour over capital in Europe, the *Anand* writes: The poverty of India is terrible. The poor in this country should also shake off their lethargy and following the lead of their Western brethren, should fight the rich. Reviewing the last Simla session of the Legislative Assembly, the *Pratap* cites instances to show how the Government of India has insulted Indians by spurning the resolutions of their elected members and says that the Government will not yield so long as it does not make sure that there is some power behind the resolutions. The *Krishna* publishes a description given by "Raja" Mahendra Pratap of his visits to Germany, Afghanistan, etc., during the Great War. He says: The Kaiser repeatedly inquired about Indian States, particularly those near the Afghan frontier. I told him that Afghanistan's entry into the War would afford many possibilities of anti-British rebellion in India and that I would willingly go to Afghanistan and exert in every possible way for the attainment of my object. The German Chancellor gave a written pledge that the German Government would recognize Indian independence and would treat the independent Indian Government as its equal. The Kaiser conferred on me the Order of the Red Eagle. I hesitated to accept it, but my Indian friends pressed me to accept it for the sake of India's good and remarked that it was a ratification of the agreement between independent India and Germany. I got necessary papers prepared by the German Government. The most important ones are the letters written by the German Chancellor to twenty-six Indian princes which were printed in Urdu and Hindi. The letter from the German Chancellor to the Amir of Afghanistan read: "Raja Sahib is working for the independence of India. Any help given to him by the Afghan Government will be fully appreciated by the Imperial German Government." Very good treatment was meted out to Indian prisoners of war.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Krishna* deplores that both the Hindus and Muslims are so foolish as to allow themselves to be duped by the bureaucracy and become blood-thirsty enemies of each other. We do not realize that the false love of bureaucracy every day strengthens the chain of our slavery. When even small nations have already achieved their freedom or are vigorously trying to achieve it, why should not we Indians who are vastly superior in numbers to Europeans, give up our mutual quarrels and exert ourselves for the attainment of our country's freedom? Sher Singh *Shamin* writing in the *Muraqqa-i-Tasawwar* says that the Hindus welcomed British rule because it freed them from Muslim excesses in the shape of forcible conversions and violation of women. Muslims tried peaceful *tabligh* during British rule but could not make much headway owing to the counter-propaganda of the *Arya Samaj*. Now they are kidnapping boys for conversion and every Hindu paper should make it its duty to warn its readers against this new phase of *tabligh* activity. The *Vaishya Hitkari* complains that some Muslim journals have described the communal disturbances at Panipat as the fourth battle of Panipat in which the Hindus have for the fourth time suffered defeat at the hands of Muslims. The paper asks the Hindus to take a lesson from the boastings of Muslims and to realize that in spite of being slaves in India the Muslims still cherish the idea of being rulers and despise the Hindus as worse than slaves. It is shameful for the Hindus to seek unity with Muslims even in such circumstances. The Muslims are anxious to gain victory over the Hindus and in 95 per cent. of communal riots of past years Muslim officials were in some way or other responsible and were in charge of management.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Aj* says that if the Asiatic Bill before the Union Parliament in South Africa is passed it will lay an axe at the foundations of the Empire. It is impossible that Indians despite being kicked on all sides should consider it a matter of pride to remain within the Empire and help it in the time of need. It has become imperative that the colonial whites should revise their policy and they should be firmly told to have some regard for the interests of the Empire. "White imperialism" is the root-cause of all the troubles of the world and it should be our sacred duty to uproot it. The white colonists know neither justice nor logic. They only acknowledge force. The Indian should treat the colonials in this country in the

same manner as they themselves are treated in the colonies. The *Medina* complains of the high-handedness and Pharaohism of the South African Union Government towards Indians and says that besides imposing legal disabilities on their trade and social life they are now expelling Indians from their houses and also interfering with their agriculture by reserving the best lands for the proud members of the white race. Since 1922 the Union Government has determined to get every Indian out of South Africa by every means in its power. The Government of India should now pass retaliatory laws and teach a lesson to the South African Government.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* deplores that Muslims attach so much importance to news from Reuter who is an ordinary agent of Christian wickedness that they have fallen out among themselves simply because the Central Khilafat Committee wants the success of Ibn Saud and the freedom of the Jaziratul Arab. This dispute about Hanafis and Wahabis has been spread throughout the country and Muslims are so credulous about the repeatedly contradicted news of a satanic agency (Reuter) that they even assault their leaders on its strength. As a matter of fact Indian Muslims are in a most isolated and helpless state in India. On the one hand the British Government are straining every nerve, with their propagandist, political and economic forces, to gain control over every department of their lives. On the other, their compatriots regard India as their sole property and want to make life intolerable for Muslims. So far the Hindus had taken possession only of the properties of Muslims but now they want to gain control over their world of morality and reputation also. Between these two (hostile) powers Indian Muslims are passing the days of their fruitless life. To make matters worse, Muslim States are so busy with their internal affairs that they cannot extend a helping hand to Muslim India. Encompassed by two powerful enemies and condemned to such a helpless existence, it is a pity that Indian Muslims are now quarrelling among themselves and are frittering away in internecine strife that power of the pen and the tongue which should have been reserved for others.

Mr. Rangachariar's Bill.

The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that the passage of Mr. Rangachariar's Bill in the Legislative Assembly does not mean that it has become law, for it has yet to pass through the Council of State and then there is the Viceroy's power of veto. The official opposition to the Bill shows that this measure will also be thrown into the waste-paper basket. The debate on the Bill betrays that the bureaucracy attaches very little importance to Indian lives. Referring to the official opposition to the clause in Mr. Rangachariar's Bill regarding the institution of cases against officials, the *Bharat Jiwan* writes: Does the Government of India want that Indians should not have even so much right of self-respect as to complain even on being fired at without any just cause? What a great injustice! What a terrible insult! The refusal of permission to file cases clearly shows that Government realize that in the majority of cases the officials cannot account for their mean actions. Is this the British sense of justice? This is an unparalleled instance of the abuse of power. The *Bharat Dharma* says that the official opposition to Mr. Rangachariar's Bill shows that the spirit of humanity is decreasing and that of brutality increasing among the rulers. The Government which punishes men for killing wild animals without permission does not permit men to institute cases against officials for killing human beings. Can there be greater callousness and hard-heartedness than this? The blood-thirstiness of the bureaucracy is a proof of its weakness.

The Council of State.

Newspapers strongly condemn the action of the Council of State in rejecting a number of popular measures and ask that it should be either mended or ended. Commenting on the Viceroy's "self-gratulatory and congratulatory" address to the Council of State, the *Leader* writes: The Council of State is the favourite child of the bureaucracy in Simla and Delhi. It registers the decrees of the executive with a fidelity which is more pathetic than thoughtful. Naturally the bureaucracy pat it on the back and attribute to it all the wisdom and patriotism of the land. It is no wonder, therefore, that His Excellency the Viceroy as the Head of the bureaucracy should have been very expansive in his farewell address to that Council. Political India's verdict on the Council of State, however, is that it has been a failure and it must be mended or it will have to be ended. In another article the paper says: The Council of State has to its discredit a record of humble obedience to the executive, or reactionary decisions, and of more or less

successful attempts to undo the good the Legislative Assembly has done. The franchise on which the members of the Council of State are elected requires to be radically altered, and so does its constitution. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: If ever there was any doubt in the public mind about the utility of this body in the system of Indian legislature, that doubt stands removed by the studied eulogy of it by the Viceroy and Governor-General who has rendered himself unpopular as the tutor of Lord Birkenhead. If the Viceroy desired to give a certificate of merit to the Council of State, his speech will constitute its severest condemnation. For an Indian to deserve Lord Reading's commendation is to condemn himself as an enemy of India. We must capture the Council of State and endow it with sufficient public spirit to be an effective supplement to popular enterprise instead of, as at present, the poisonous breath that kills all schemes of public utility.

The cotton excise duty.

The *Aj* says that though the Legislative Assembly has passed the resolution of Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas recommending the suspension of the cotton excise duty for six months, there is little hope that the bureaucracy will do anything to give effect to it. The indifference of the officials towards this question, specially in view of the closing down of mills in Bombay and the consequent unemployment of labourers, is simply surprising. Such things are possible only in India, as her rulers are alien and are not the least amenable to public opinion. This incident shows clearly that there is no law in this country beyond the will of the bureaucracy. This is why we repeatedly oppose "constitutional" agitation.

The new Law Member.

The *Leader* disapproves of the appointment of Mr. S. R. Das as Law Member, as he lacks training in public life and is not known to hold very progressive views. "Our anticipation is that Mr. Das, as a member of the Government of India, will be a well-intentioned but weak and unduly compromising man who can give little satisfaction to either of the progressive political parties. We are not surprised that Lord Reading's choice should have fallen upon him; for his lordship's political tendencies and the nature of the recommendations which he has made for high appointments almost excluded the possibility of a robust-minded politician being favoured by him."

Mussoorie *Arya Samaj*.

The *Garhwali* deplores the action of the Mussoorie authorities in forbidding the local Arya Samajists from taking out their *nagar kirtan* procession at the instance of some Muslims and observes that the passing of such orders means an utter disregard of the religious sentiments of Hindus. It asks if the authorities would have stopped the *tazia* procession if the Hindus had requested them to do so and exhorts the Hindus to take a lesson from such incidents and organize themselves for self-preservation.

Indian States.

The *Rozana Akhbar* condemns the huge expenditure on dogs and birds and on his trip to England by the Maharajah of Jodhpur and asks Indian princes to banish from their minds the idea that they are the proprietors of States. They should not squander the hard-earned money of their subjects in this manner.

ALLAHABAD:
September 26, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 39 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 3, 1925.

Foreign Affairs.

Referring to a report that the Spaniards are accusing the British of being anti-Spanish and pro-Muslim, the *Haqiqat* remarks that to hold the British to be pro-Muslim is as untrue as to say that they are hatching a conspiracy against their own nation. The *Hamdam* accuses Britain of indulging in insidious propaganda against the Turks and remarks that it is the British and not the Turks who have violated the agreement regarding the frontiers of Mosul. Reuter's Agency, being controlled by the British, does not send correct reports. In another article the paper adversely criticises the League of Nations for hesitating to give a final verdict regarding the Mosul controversy and opines that the League dare not displease Britain by upholding the just rights of the Turks. To it the International Tribunal at the Hague is as untrustworthy as the League itself which always exhibits cowardice whenever any important question is referred to it, and which has ever been notorious for keeping silent over the tyrannies and oppressions perpetrated by the imperialistic governments over the eastern nations. The *Medina* rejoices that Ibn Saud has declared that Akabah and Ma'an are integral parts of Arabia and cannot be possessed by any nation but the Hedjazis. At the time of the Koweit Conference of 1923 the British Foreign Office had tried to gain control over Arabia by having Al Jouf which is the heart and gate of all Arab States. Ibn Saud put an end to all these schemes and then the Foreign Office tried to win over the Imam of Yemen to gain influence in the peninsula. But the Imam proved obdurate and the British move was foiled. Now Akabah and Ma'an, which are the northern gates of the whole of Arabia, are falling victims to the greedy eye in the wake of the Sheriffian rout. To achieve this object, the people of Asir are being incited to make war on Ibn Saud and the bait of the port of Hodeida is being held out to them. But Imam Yehia is a thorn in the side of Asir and can never allow the Asir people to succeed in their objective. The announcement of Ibn Saud about Akabah and Ma'an is therefore full of portent and Indian Muslims should derive further satisfaction from the news that he is summoning a Muslim Conference to decide the question of the administration of the Hedjaz. The *Najat* also has an article defending the action of Ibn Saud and depicting him as too shrewd to be duped by the British and to hand over any part of the Hedjaz to them. The British are going on with their mischievous activities and in order to weaken the power of the Nejdis they are trying to sow discord between the Imam of Yemen and the Sultan of Nejd so that the latter may not be able to take any action against the British policy regarding Akabah and Ma'an. But Imam Yehia is fully aware of the ways of the British, has discovered their designs and has refused to be enmeshed in their net. Thus the British have disgracefully failed in their design. The malady of Imperialism has developed to a dangerous point in the British who do not shrink from any subterfuge to realize their object. But now even the most ignorant and uncivilized people do not put faith in the promises and pledges of the British in spite of their oaths and high-sounding declarations. They made thousands of promises to the weaker nations during the Great War, but afterwards broke them all. The *Sada-i-Muslim* welcomes the news of the occupation of Medina by Ibn Saud and hopes that he will be able to wrest Jeddah also from the treacherous Sheriffians and thus purge the Jazirat-ul Arab of non-Muslim influence. The proposed anti-Saud conference at Lucknow should not be held now and India should no longer disgrace herself by anti-Nejdian propaganda. The Shia papers and many Sunni journals also, on the other hand, are denouncing in vituperative language the

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sacrileges of Ibn Saud in the holy places of the Hedjaz and demand his expulsion from the holy land. The *Haqiqat* advises Muslims not to tolerate the authority and rule of Ibn Saud over the holy places and insinuates that he is in alliance with the British. It is wrong to say that he declared war against Sheriff Husain for the purpose of maintaining the sanctity of the holy places. He attacked the Hedjaz at the instance of the British who became displeased with Shah Husain when he flatly refused to accept the terms offered by them.

Music before mosques.

Hindu papers of all shades of opinion remain preoccupied with the question of the stoppage of music before mosques during Dasehra processions. They accuse Government of open partiality towards Muslims and exhort the Hindu community to carry on the *Sangathan* movement with redoubled vigour, devoting special attention to the removal of untouchability and the uplift of the depressed classes. A number of papers suggest the adoption of *satyagraha* against executive orders like that issued by the District Magistrate of Allahabad. The *Leader* writes:—"The Dasehra is over and Allahabad is fortunate not to have witnessed another riot between Hindus and Muslims. The former had great provocation in that the Ramlila celebration was virtually stopped by an unjust and unprecedented order of the district officer, and next in the arrangements made for preserving the peace less consideration was shown for the feelings of the Hindus than they had a right to expect." In another issue the paper writes:—"The Dasehra week at Allahabad, which used to be an occasion for rejoicing, has been to the Hindus one of bitter mourning. If the Hindus had been strong, organized and united the authorities would have paused several times before passing the order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, which on the merits of the case was indefensible. It is not sufficient to have a right. One must have the strength to defend it. The Hindus have it not. Governments and officers generally like to follow the path of least resistence. . . What is needed is introspection and a determined effort to make the Hindu community a homogeneous whole." A correspondent writing to the paper strongly criticizes the order of the District Magistrate of Allahabad under section 144 and quotes the judgment of the Privy Council which held that "the worshippers in a mosque or temple which abutted on a high road could not compel the processionists to intermit their worship while passing the mosque or temple on the ground that there was a continuous worship there." Referring to the orders of the District Magistrates of Lucknow and Allahabad with regard to Ramlila processions and the "angry speeches" delivered at a Hindu meeting at the former city the *Indian Daily Telegraph* asks Government to take note of the feelings that have been roused by what lends itself to be understood by the Hindus as its partisan attitude. "Should law and order always mean the Government succumbing to the aggressive gestures of the Muslims? After all Hindus are not aliens in Hindustan." In another article the paper writes:—"This is a triumph of British rule that the great religious festival of Dasehra was not observed by the Hindus so that the local Muslims might rejoice in their sense of power. The police, in fact, had acted to the instructions of the Muslims . . . Before such concerted action of the authorities with the Muslims the Hindus are helpless . . ." In yet another article the paper writes:—"Unfortunately the growing suspicion is difficult to be shaken off that behind all these heartless innovations, sanctified by custom, there is some official understanding. We have seen in the deliberate attempt at Aminabad to stop the Hindu procession to gratify the Namazis what we can expect from the Government . . . Are the Hindus decided to carry on their *Sangathan*? Then let them be prepared to face the active hostility of the British Raj . . . We are only making a laughing-stock of ourselves by merely barking. We need not go to the Ramayan for an example but to the Sikhs at Jaito and Gurukabagh . . . The Hindu Sabha, hereafter, ought not to wait on deputation on Mr. Gwynne but on the sweeper and scavanger, breathe the new spirit in their homes, light the darkness there and throw the golden links of *Sangathan* over the entire community so that in a twelve-month time, before the next Ramlila, the Hindus of Lucknow might be united as one man." The *Arya Mitra* says that the unjust order of the Collector of Allahabad has created discontent not only among the Hindus of Allahabad but in the Hindu community as a whole. The Hindus did not want any concession. They only wanted that the rights which they have been exercising for years should not unjustly be interfered with at the instance of anybody. It was the duty of the Collector to protect them. The

Local Government should take notice of the unjust doings of its magistrates and treat the Hindus and Muslims alike. The *Prem* urges the Hindus of Allahabad to offer civil disobedience against the order of the District Magistrate and remarks:—It seems as if for some time past Government officials have committed themselves to a policy of crushing the sentiments and just rights of the Hindus. If the Hindus do not open their eyes, it is possible that in future Mr. Crosthwaite or some brother official of his may order that the Hindu temples should be destroyed, that the Hindus should not wear top-knots and sacred threads and that their religious services should be stopped because they are also against Islam and as such hurt the religious feelings of Muslims. The Hindus of Allahabad should now organize some such bands of righteous, principled and forbearing youths as may go on playing music before mosques, and peacefully surrender themselves. The paper warns the Muslims that after some time they too will be spurned as the western nations are making preparations for completely destroying Muslim states. In another article the same paper says:—Cannot the military force which was displayed at Delhi on the occasion of the Bakr Id to fulfil the unjust Muslim demand, calculated to injure the feelings of the Hindus, and the terrible spectacle of which was witnessed by the Jallianwala Bagh, be utilised to protect the just rights of the Hindus? The *Abhyudaya* writes:—It is the misfortune of Allahabad that at present Mr. Crosthwaite is the Collector here. It is because of his presence that Allahabad is in mourning to-day. Had Mr. Crosthwaite rightly considered the question he would have come to the conclusion that it was the right of the Hindus to take out processions with music and that the Muslims were not justified in their demand for stopping music. If there was any danger of the outbreak of a riot on the part of the Muslims the Collector instead of applying section 144 in the city should have applied section 107 against Muslims. By applying section 144 the Collector has "murdered" law and the rights of the Hindus. If he had any knowledge of law he should have known that in accordance with the decision of the Privy Council in the Aurangabad case (Aligarh district) every community has the right to take out processions in accordance with its customs on public roads. Similar decisions have also been made by the Madras and the Allahabad High Courts. But what has Mr. Crosthwaite to do with them when he knows that his word is law? The Hindus of Allahabad will now do well to have recourse to law courts for the protection of their rights. In another article the same paper urges Mr. Crosthwaite to peruse the papers of 1821, 1848, 1849 and understand how the functions of the Collector are discharged. If he cannot easily get hold of these papers he should peruse the papers of the time of Mr. Porter and find out for himself how Collectors have arranged to get out Dasehra and Muharram processions simultaneously on the same road. In yet a third article the paper writes:—If the Hindus want to live in the world, if they want to live like men, they shall have to make themselves strong. Musalmans too will make friends with them only when they find that quarrelling with Hindus will mean serious trouble to themselves. The authorities too will yield to the Hindus and will not deal unjustly by them when they find that the latter will not put up with injustice. The *Abhaya* says:—Hindu-Muslim riots are increasing day by day. The chief cause of this is that at present the Government wishes to satisfy Muslims in every way. At Allahabad, Cawnpore, Panipat, Delhi and other places the magistrates abused their authority by siding with Muslims against Hindus. Why is this so? Simply because Hindu leaders continue to accept the proposals of the officials. No one will listen to Hindus so long as they continue to submit like this. The *Krishna* severely takes the Muslims to task for objecting to music before mosques and asks them to migrate to the hills or jungles or Arabia if they cannot tolerate it. The real cause of communal strife is the well-known fanaticism of Islam. The Hindus of Allahabad have exhibited weakness by stopping the Ramlila in the present manner. Either they ought to have asked the Muslims to recognize their right of having music before mosques and then stopped it out of regard for their feelings or they ought to have adopted civil disobedience like the brave Akalis and in a non-violent manner insisted on playing music before mosques. The *Azad* regards the Muslim demand as untenable in localities containing mixed populations as its acceptance will lead to daily riots and place the Hindus in a very difficult position. The position of the Muslims regarding music before mosques is as weak as that of the Hindus regarding cow-sacrifice and old established customs must be followed and all new demands of the kind whether made by the Hindus or Muslims should be rejected. The *Awaz* suggests that instead of stopping music

before mosques at prayer time, prayers should not be allowed in mosques lying along the routes of Hindu processions, but should be offered for the time being in mosques situate elsewhere. The Muslim rioters generally belong to the criminal class and can be held in check by the police. If Muslims try to wound the feelings of their neighbours they act not as the servants of God but as the sons of Satan. We hope Government will not earn the title of "maternal aunt" of Satan by refusing to interfere and thus encouraging the belief that they themselves are at the bottom of disturbances. The *Hamdam* holds the religious bigotry of the Hindus to be responsible for the trouble and thinks that some well-organized agency is inciting them against the Muslims. The *Zul Qarnain* blames the *Sangathan* movement and says that it is since its inauguration that the question of music, before mosques has arisen. Previously also there were mosques and there was music but this music never led to the breaking of heads. The insistence of Hindus on music before mosques or of Muslims on disrespect to temples is highly disgraceful and unreasonable. The *Haqiqat* inquires why Hindus objected to a cow-procession through *Pahari Dhiraj* when they are not prepared to stop music before mosques. *Al Bashir* says that when Hindus cannot stop music before mosques for a few minutes even during prayer time the Muslims also should insist on their right of sacrificing cows in their homes and should make it a point to offer cows alone as sacrifice and to take beef only.

Congress politics.

Referring to the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Patna the *Leader* writes:—"What is the meaning and what is the net result of the proceedings at Patna? The meaning is that the 'Indian National Congress' may henceforth be designated correctly as the Swaraj Party Congress and the net result is that the Liberals must definitely make up their minds to stick to their own party organization and to sink or swim with it. . . We would ask the Liberals no more to waste their time and energy in talking of 'unity' that is remote and not within their grasp. We urge them to put more heart into their work for their own party and through it for the country and to make the very best effort which circumstances may permit to win success in the elections." The *Aj* welcomes the restoration of the four-anna franchise and urges Congress workers to do their best now to increase the membership of the Congress so as to check the tendency of the Swaraj Party to co-operate with the Government or openly to give room to co-operation in their programme. In another article the same paper opines that the new changes introduced into the Congress will impart vigour to its activities, will weaken the bureaucracy which has become powerful owing to the divisions among the political parties and will accelerate the attainment of *swaraj* at an early date. We should utilize all the forces in the country for the attainment of *swaraj*; we should become united in such a manner that the bureaucracy may not be able to raise its head. We may have our own quarrels, but should ever present a united front to the bureaucracy. The *Vartman* publishes an article by Hasrat Mohani who suggests that the Congress should only take up such matters as the improvement of the position of Indians abroad and the reduction of military expenditure, etc., which have nothing to do with communal matters. If it adopts the programme of the *swaraj* party its success is doubtful. The only power which the country has to make the Government pay heed to the Congress resolutions is that of mass civil disobedience. We shall have to use it. The poor labourers and tenantry should be organized and strikes should always be encouraged among railway, telegraph and postal employees.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article on Goddess Durga the *Abhaya* says:—Indians, take refuge in divine power. No other course for your emancipation is visible. The worship of this goddess is the only means by which we can save ourselves from the turbulence of both internal and external enemies. The *Prem* publishes an article in which the writer exhorts the Hindus to realise the importance of hero-worship on the Dasehra day and to make ready to combat injustice and despotism with the sword of love, the shield of non-co-operation and the armour of truthfulness and says:—The demonical force has for a long time overpowered the divine force. The sun of progress has been eclipsed by oppression. The *Aj* refers to the success of the Irish and of the coal miners in England in their agitation as exemplifying that British statesmen respect powerful opponents only and says that our agitation will remain unfruitful so long as it is confined to words alone. The defeat of the bureaucracy in the Legislative Assembly by means of a majority of votes

will not affect it in the least. What is required is work among the people. They should be taught their duties and rights and should be prepared for *satyagraha*. The day the British statesmen realise that the Indians as a people can have recourse to *satyagraha* and will have recourse to it if necessary they will no longer hesitate to grant *swaraj* to them. The *Bhavishya* urges that if Indian peasants are organized they will be freed from all troubles for tyrants have to bow before the power of organization.

The Bombay Textile Industry.

The *Aj* says that the official opposition to Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas' resolution regarding the suspension of the cotton excise is the worst example of the abuse of their autocratic powers by the Government of India. This callous indifference towards the ruin of the Indian textile industry and to the sufferings of the labourers thrown out of employment is dictated by the wish to benefit the Manchester manufacturers and to secure the support of Bombay mill-owners, by the abolition of the cotton excise afterwards, to the introduction of preferential tariff within the Empire. We will not support the preferential tariffs even to save the indigenous cotton industry as they are calculated to do greater injury to Indian interests. The *Haqiqat* advises Government to remit the excise duty in order to end the prevailing strikes.

Muslim Affairs.

Referring to the publication of a caricature of the Prophet in the *Star* the *Medina* warns the authorities in England that even the worst Muslim prizes his Prophet above all worldly things. In view of this cartoon we want to inquire of England whether she wants that a band of devotees of Islam should be formed which would purge the world of the existence of such foul-mouthed and unholy beings. The *Zul Qarnain* urges the Government of India to invite the attention of the Home Secretary to the resentment caused among Muslims by this publication. The *Medina* regrets that some Hindu papers are so carried away by religious prejudice as to condemn the Khilafat committee which is the only body which is prepared to go the full length with the National Congress in working for the freedom of India. While the freedom of the Muslim states of the Near East is prejudiced by the employment of mercenary troops from India, India also can be free only when the Suez, Persian Gulf and the Gulfs of Aden and Muscat are freed from British control. Hindus should, therefore, refrain from hampering the committee in its efforts to secure the freedom of Islamic countries.

Oudh Chief Court.

Under the heading "Muslim ascendency in United Provinces" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—"The announcement of the personnel of the Oudh Chief Court brings home to the Hindu mind in these provinces the utter helplessness of their position. Coming amidst the scenes of despair that mark the Ramlila celebrations all over, the gift of a Chief Court with two out of three Indian judges being Muslims is a little difficult to appreciate. Why should an injustice have been done to a Hindu by Khan Bahadur Syed Muhammad Raza, a junior to him, being taken above the head of Rai Bahadur Babu Shankar Dayal?. . . We can understand political differences, but when communal partiality or prejudice runs riot so as to undermine the disciplined career of the services, we must protest. Unless the Government shows cause why a Hindu senior judge has been passed over to find room for a Muslim junior, to preside over the judicial destinies of a province predominantly Hindu, we must leave the public to draw their own conclusions."

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the recent speeches of Dr. Kitchlew in which he is reported to have advised Muslims to boycott Hindus the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says :—"The threat which he has given to the Hindus has, instead of cowing them down, produced a far-reaching effect. The Hindus have nerved themselves to brave the impending danger and put a united front to the menace. Till now they were bound together with a fragile thread, now with hoops of steel. The Hindus will be chivalrous enough not to 'touch the hem' of the 'heaven born rulers' who have ranged themselves on the side of the Muslims in seeming sympathy, but will rather depend on their own organized efforts. The Muslims are gloating themselves over their transcient success and the injured pride of the Hindus, little thinking that like small children they are playing with sharp-edged tools. If to-day they have caught hold of the handle, to-morrow the sharp blade will make a lasting wound."

The Skeen Committee.

The *Medina* says that the Government of India were forced against their will to agree to the appointment of the Skeen Committee. They do not relish the idea of the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst and, as is usual with Governments, are using secret means to frustrate the object of the appointment of the Committee. It is said that all the evidence being produced before the Committee has emanated from the brains and pens of the Army Headquarters and the witnesses are tutored to support the view-point of the general staff. If it is so, how can the Committee advance the interests of India? We only trust to the Nationalist and Independent members of the Committee to strain every nerve to checkmate every move of the autocratic administration.

Indian States.

The *Awaz* complains that as a result of vigorous Muslim propaganda in Kashmir, Hindus are not now being taken into State service as freely as before. They form only five per cent. of the State population and being without capital or land can follow neither trade nor agriculture. Their only refuge was State service, and now that they are deprived of this also, they will have perforce to become Muslims. Is it not sad that Hindus should be in such a plight in a Hindu State? They would have been better off if they had instead been subjects of the Nizam.

The Council of State.

The *Medina* says that the whole history of the five years' existence of the Council of State has been one long story of flattery, sycophancy and kotowing, yet its swan song has been particularly soul-revolting. The meaning of the wholesale rejection of popular measures is that these landowners, capitalists, colonels and generals of the Council want to win the last pattings of the Viceroy and thus to make sure of the help of their bureaucratic masters in securing votes at the next elections. If the voters possess any conscience they will refuse to re-elect such cowards, sycophants and enemies of the country who sacrifice the country's interests by saying ditto to all that the officials prompt. What was there against India's interests in Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment to the Reforms resolution or in Pandit Shyam Lal Nehru's resolution regarding the removal of restriction on political ex-convicts in regard to Council entry or in the proposal to regulate firing on political gatherings? But to the slaves of pelf and position in the Council of State truth, justice and country's interests lie in what the Saheb (official) desires. It is, therefore, the duty of the electors to give their votes to the representatives of public opinion and not to the slaves and sycophants of the Government.

The Mussoorie Arya Samaj.

The *Awaz* characterises Mr. Flowers' order prohibiting *nagarkirtan* in Mussoorie as a repetition of the *gorashahi* of the Company days, and says that it does not stand to reason that instead of punishing the Muslim hooligans who were inclined to make trouble, he should have made the innocent Arya Samajists suffer by depriving them of their just rights. The Lee Commission and Inchcape Committee have said that civilians are helpless, but they show by their acts that they can give lessons even to the barbarous rulers of the seventeenth century. It is a shame that such unreasonable, foolish and absurd orders should be passed under an English administrator of the twentieth century and that such irresponsible, unintelligent and incapable officials should be given the responsible post of District Magistrate and Collector. If the Government overlook this black act of Mr. Flowers they will add a very disgraceful blot to their already besmirched skirt. We appeal to His Excellency the Governor to cancel this order which is agitating not only the Aryas but the entire Hindu world.

Indians in Burma.

The *Leader* is of opinion that the Burma Expulsion of Offenders Bill is directed against Indians and that the strongest protest should be lodged against it. Proceeding it says:—Are the Government of India powerless against the Burma Government and to protect the interests of about a million Indians residing there? Another measure which is directed against Indians is the Sea Passengers Act. The Expulsion of Offenders Bill ought not to be proceeded with. But if it is passed it ought to be disallowed by the Governor General in Council.

Administration of justice.

The *Hamdam* questions the regularity and legality of the procedure adopted by the trying magistrate in dismissing the complaint of the overseer of the Calcutta Corporation against Mr. Justice Page. Once more a court of law has upheld the right of Englishmen

to kick Indians. A Government whose law courts strangle justice and right to such an extent cannot prosper for long.

Indian Economic Inquiry Committee Report.

The *Pioneer* characterizes the report as a most astonishing document and says :—The recommendations made envisage the collection, at vast expense, of masses of statistics, most of which would be unreliable, while attempts to collect them would in many cases be strongly objected to by the people concerned.

Social Reform.

The *Signal* takes strong exception to the introduction in the Indian Legislature of private Bills on Hindu social matters. It regards these bills as a new danger to Hindu society and says :—In the first outbreak of social revolution the people's wrath will fall on the head of the Government which alone, they will think, is responsible for all social legislations. A few more enactments of uncalled for social measures may create a conflagration which the Government will find beyond its power to extinguish.

The next Home Member.

A writer in the *Haqiqat* advises Muslims to migrate to Bengal or the Punjab if Raja Sir Rampal Singh is appointed Home Member.

ALLAHABAD :
October 3, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
2 NOV 1925
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 40 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 10, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Criticizing British attitude with regard to the Mosul question, the *Leader* writes:—The British Government are pursuing a policy which may involve Britain in a costly war with Turkey. The Turks are anxious to come to a friendly understanding with Britain, but the British imperialists are not in the habit of making sacrifices in the interest of peace. The *Aj* says that if the Riffs carry out the threat to kill their wives and children rather than yield to the victors, they will not only make themselves immortal but will also cause a conflagration in the world which will not subside without destroying the white supremacy root and branch. The same paper writes that the determination of the Iraq Government to usurp Mosul with the help of the British Government has given rise to a serious situation. But it remains to be seen whether the British electorate which overthrew Mr. Lloyd George for his territorial designs in Turkey will like to be engaged in a war with that country in order to obtain Mosul for King Faisal. Referring to the report that the Spanish soldiers paraded through a street with the tongues and ears of the fallen Riffs spiked on their bayonets, the *Mansur* condemns all the European nations as barbarous. The tyrannical and destructive atrocities perpetrated by British airships upon the tribes on the north-western frontier of India and the northern frontier of Mesopotamia will always remain an ugly blot on the face of civilization and humanity. The airships of France and Spain are indulging in the same tyrannies and bloodshed in Syria and Morocco. Even the American airmen co-operate with the French in such destructive deeds. The West which professes to be civilized is now unsurpassed in ferocity and barbarism and the time has come for Divine wrath to overtake the haughty and Nero-like Europeans in order to free the oppressed nations from their hands. The *Hamdam* apprehends an Anglo-Turkish war over the Mosul question and says that with France, Spain and America operating against the Riffs, Britain also will take her share in the crusade by declaring war against Turkey. This war will extend from Mosul and Mesopotamia to the Hedjaz, Syria and Palestine and thence through Egypt to Tripoli, Tangier and Morocco. Is the Muslim world prepared for this crusade? In the opinion of the *Najat* war is inevitable as the International Tribunal, being a mere instrument in the hands of the British, will decide in their favour and the Turks are determined to have their just rights in Mosul respected. The British are trying to appease France by replacing Emir Faisal so that they may have a chance to rob and subjugate others, but the Turks and Russians will prove very terrible foes. A writer in the *Haqiqat* opines that the present warfare in the Hedjaz is a result of the diplomatic intrigues of Europe and the proposed Indian Hedjaz deputation should therefore proceed *viâ* Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey so as to be able to sound public opinion in these countries and thus baulk their enemies in their designs to create further mischief. The *Medina* contends that both during the Koweit Conference and after Ibn Saud saved Arabia from British designs and hopes that in his cooler moments M. Hasrat Mohani will be able to reconsider his attitude towards him.

Music before mosques.

The discussion of the question of stopping music before mosques continues to be an absorbing occupation for the Press. A number of Hindu papers emphasize the need of resorting to *satyagraha* in order to assert Hindu religious rights. A writer in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* commends the action of the Nagpur Hindus in preparing to offer *satyagraha* on this question and says:—Of one thing there can be no doubt hereafter: the Hindu Sabha leaders must devise some means of safeguarding Hindu rights

other than that of waiting on deputations on the Deputy Commissioner. There is enough spirit among the Hindu youths of Lucknow ; only leaders are wanting to lead them to *satyagraha.* I wish this spirit of *satyagraha* will be inculcated in our youths. Referring to the Dasehra trouble at Lucknow; the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—A deep wound has been imparted to the Hindu religious sentiment which any conscientious district magistrate, placed in position of trust and responsibility equally above all warring castes and creeds, ought to regret. To the Hindus, any prolonged controversy is of no avail; they must strive to rise in organized form under capable leadership and assert their force and power on the official mind, even as the Muslims have done. The *Patriot* writes :— The trampling of Hindu rights is not confined to one place. What is the real motive of the Government in throwing the Hindus overboard? Will it be advantageous to the Government to show partiality towards the Muslims and treat Hindu religious rights and sentiments with defiance, simply because the Hindus are by nature peaceful and law-abiding? The *Anand* contends that when the Musalmans only demand the stopping of Hindu music before mosques at the prayer time and of no other noise, it is clear that their demand is not free from mixed motives. Owing to their aggressive or blatant attitude officials too yield to them. It is impossible for the Hindus to respect the feelings of Muslims at the cost of their own religious sentiments. The Hindus will do well to stop their processions rather than take them out under humiliating restrictions. Referring to the Dasehra troubles at Allahabad, Aligarh and Lucknow, the *Bhavishga* writes :—The officials of these places were cowed down by the strength of the Muslims. They perhaps thought that the Hindus were weak and peace-loving and would remain quiet, whereas Muslims would become uncontrollable. But how long will Hindus bear such blows? If the United Provinces Government wants to give proof of its love of justice and good administration it should institute full inquiries into the cases of Lucknow, Aligarh and Allahabad and issue proper orders for officers who may be found guilty. The *Aj* deplores the non-observance of the Dasehra festival at several places and says that it is the Hindu community alone which remains peaceful despite such serious injury to its religious feelings. But higher authorities should take a lesson from this. If such incidents repeatedly occur the popular belief in the impartiality of officials in religious matters will be undermined. The question of music before mosques is entirely a new one and it creates not only ill-feeling between Hindus and Muslims but also deals a blow to the policy of religious neutrality of the bureaucracy. In another article the same paper remarks : —Can imprudence go further than this, that the majority of Indian Muslims should think that the good of Islam lies in isolating themselves from other Indian communities and particularly in fighting with the Hindus even after seeing that some of the independent Muslim countries are being attacked and crushed by European nations? The *Hindu Sarvaswa* remarks that this year the Dasehra festival did not pass off peacefully, as the demoniacal bureaucracy could not tolerate the sight of a dependent people celebrating the victory of their hero, Lord Ramchandra. Besides, there was the kindness of the Muslims about whom experienced men have said : " No one is meaner than a Muslim." The dereliction of duty displayed by the authorities at Allahabad, Lucknow and other places by resorting to the reprehensible section 144 is more than enough to convey a lesson to the timid Hindus. It was the duty of the Hindus to violate the orders which stood in the way of the observance of their religious obligation. The *Garhwali* says that it is a sign of weakness that the Hindus yield to unjust orders placing restrictions on their religious processions. Hindus have forgotten the significance of the *Vijayadashmi* festival and hence they are insulted. They should learn even to sacrifice their life for their religion. If they had not cared for section 144 in the protection of their religion Government would not have misused it. A correspondent writing in the same paper deplores that interference in religious matters on the part of Muslims as evidenced during the last Dasehra at several places has shattered all hopes of unity between Hindus and Muslims and on the contrary has been creating ill-feeling and distrust between them. If the Hindus were strong and united to-day like the Musalmans, the authorities, who are only influenced by organized power, would never have dared to pass orders insulting and humiliating to them. So long as Hindus are not organized their future will remain dark and gloomy. The *Sahas* contends that in the face of Muslim aggressiveness in religious and political matters no one can maintain that Muslims are anxious for the emancipation of the country. The Hindus will do well

to make themselves strong enough to protect their rights and let the Muslims understand that their ignorance and fanaticism far from injuring the Hindu community, will prove harmful to themselves. In the course of an article under the heading "How the interests of Hindus will be served," the *Abhaya* writes:— To-day Hindus are seen being robbed and beaten from all sides. In Hindustan Hindus are deprived of their political and religious rights. What an injustice it is that in the case of others a right is recognised where none actually exists but in the case of Hindus their rights are ignored. This gives a correct idea of the sense of justice and far-sightedness of the white god. In this world it is seen that the adage "Might is right" generally prevails. . . Those who, guided by self-interest, hope to secure their welfare by making friends with *goondas* are courting a speedy death. The bureaucracy thinks that by satisfying Muslims in every way at present and setting them against Hindus it will continue to rule over India peacefully for ever. This is a great mistake on its part. We can say confidently that the hooliganism of Muslims will some day or other become the cause of the ruin of Englishmen themselves. Blinded by self-interest the bureaucracy does not see the storm coming over its head. But the day is near when the fire of the sighs of the Hindus will reduce the *Lanka* (the kingdom of Ravan) of the bureaucracy to ashes and the demon army which has secured its friendship will also be destroyed . . . The time has come for Hindus to come forward with double-edged sword on the field and after fighting with internal and external enemies establish their rule. In this alone lies the welfare of the Hindus. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* protests against the order of the District Magistrate of Saharanpur forbidding music before mosques during Ramlila processions and says: Such an order is not only against the established custom but is also an unjust interference with the religious rights of the Hindus, amongst whom it has caused great unrest. The *Bir Hindu* denies that music can disturb Muslims during prayers, as their prayer is more in the nature of a physical drill with its constant genuflections, and concentration of mind is unattainable in it even if it be performed in the silence of a vast desert. It is not known to what length this demand for stoppage of music before mosques may proceed and this new Muslim movement is fraught with dangerous possibilities. So far only the Muslim *goondas* had put forward this demand, but now that it is being supported by educated Muslims also, the situation is becoming serious enough in all conscience. Only the other day a Muslim objected to Hindu funeral music before a mosque and was silenced only when struck by the sweeper who was beating the drum. Hindus should realize that there is now a triangular contest going on in India between Hindus, Muslims and Britishers and they should develop diplomatic skill so as to be able to negotiate matters to their maximum advantage. The *Hindustani* says that from the Muslim attacks on Hindu religion and honour during the Dasehra week and the official indifference in the matter it appears that the Government of India are following a settled policy of favouring the Muslims and ignoring the Hindus. The Muslim attacks must be boldly repulsed and if representations fail, *satyagraha* should be offered to Government. We must also warn Government that it was the Hindus and Sikhs who saved the Empire during the great war and it would not do to ignore the Hindus just now if they want their aid as they must, in a future war. A writer in the *Mashriq* complains that Hindus are determined to disturb Muslims with processional music while they are offering their prayers in their mosques. The Muslims should now insist on fifty per cent. representation in all elective bodies or ask Government to resume all self-governing powers so far granted to the people. The *Medina* says that failing in their efforts to get cow-killing stopped, the Hindus now insist on music before mosques in the hope that Muslims may consent to stop cow-killing in return for the Hindus stopping music. But this alone will not mend matters as the Hindus have really decided to expel the Muslims from India. Muslims are beset by two enemies; the designing Hindus on the one side and the Western capitalists on the other. They should strive for India's freedom while safeguarding their special rights. They should, however, be very circumspect and tolerant, as the Hindus want to incite them into riots in order to be able to crush them in the law courts. Referring to Dr. Moonje's Akola speech in which he is reported to have advised the Hindus to take up the rod to secure their rights from Muslims, the paper says that the doctor has exposed the secret Hindu conspiracy to oust Muslims from India and Muslims should reply to him with Mahmudi and Durrani courage. The *Aiena* holds the Hindus responsible for the Aligarh riot and says that the Hindus

cunningly want the Muslims to stop cow-sacrifice in return for their stopping music. Let the Hindus have music before mosques to their heart's content. The *Najat* sees in the Aligarh riot a Hindu attempt to exterminate Muslims and tauntingly remarks that Hindus threw brickbats from roofs like women. The paper suggests that Mr. Malaviya and his followers should have a pitched fight with the Muslims in the open field. The *Hindustani* says that the Muslim attack on the Hindu procession at Aligarh was premeditated and the work of an organized committee known as the Tabligh-i-Islam as is shown by the collection of brickbats on the roofs of Muslim houses on the route. Muslims were repeatedly heard saying a few days before the occurrence that as all the local officials were Muslims, they should make the most of this circumstance. The Collector's order fixing the times for the procession was not notified before the riot, otherwise the Hindus would never have disobeyed official orders and there would have been no riot. Even now Muslims disobeying emergency regulations are not punished. It is feared that the Muslim rioters will not be arrested. The *Awaz* is not satisfied with the transfer of the Muslim Collector from Aligarh and says that he is thoroughly imbued with the virus of anti-Hindu bias. He must be either dismissed or degraded after due inquiry. In another article the paper complains that Hindus have been in a sorry plight during the *régime* of Sir William Marris. Since his assumption of charge their throats have been cut at Saharanpur, Gonda, Agra, Shahjahanpur, and a number of other places. They were deprived of their life-long earnings in a trice and women were forcibly violated. The lives, property and honour of Hindus are being attacked, but the Governor has taken neither executive nor legislative action to protect them and has thus proved his incapacity. During Sir Harcourt Butler's time both the Ministers were Hindus but now one Minister is a Muslim and the Muslim Home Member has been made Vice-President of the Executive Council. Muslims will have a good time of it during his *régime*.

Congress politics.

The *Aj* is not satisfied about the utility and propriety of the changes introduced into the Congress by the Patna meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. It was not proper for a committee of about one hundred persons to entrust the control of an All-India institution like the Congress into the hands of a particular party. The All-India Congress Committee has abused its powers in making such a serious change in the constitution of the Congress. The Congress at Cawnpore will do well to express its dissatisfaction at this change. The policy of giving general power of attorney to the *swaraj* party to execute all business in the name of the Congress, specially when its members have no right to propose any change in the swarajist policy is altogether reprehensible and deserves to be abandoned immediately. It has closed the doors of the Congress to all other parties. In another article the same paper protests against the decision of the All-India Congress Committee that Congressmen should wear *khaddar* on the occasion of Congress functions as a fresh bar against the entry of liberals and nationalists into the Congress and as detracting from the national character of that body. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that to the *swaraj* party belongs the credit of re-converting the Congress into a political party. We are not opposed to the establishment of the All-India Spinners' Association. The party which favours the *charkha* programme must be allowed to have its own way. They are mistaken who hold that the Congress has been sold away into the hands of the *swaraj* party. The doors of the Congress are not closed against any party which signs its creed. The *Medina* says that with its surrender to the *swaraj* party and the secession of Mr. Gandhi the death knell of the Congress has been sounded. The *Hamdam* and the *Sada-i-Muslim* welcome Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's election as president of the Congress and hope that she will be able to ease the communal situation.

Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on the speech delivered by the Viceroy at the farewell banquet given in his honour by the Indian community of Simla, the *Leader* writes: "The Liberals minutely and carefully scrutinized the pompous utterance of the Secretary of State but they were not endowed with enough 'political sagacity' to discover the 'generous gesture' that lurked therein. Who is to be the judge of the generosity of the gesture—the people or the 'trustees'? Was this represented by the extremely vague official resolution which wanted the Assembly to accept the principles underlying the majority report of the Muddiman Committee, in spite of the almost unanimous condemnation of that report by Indian public opinion?"

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—"It would seem that the official in India has exhausted his stock of statesmanship and is left to repeating the meaningless word 'co-operation'. . . To-day, when the ears of the United Provinces ring with the painful sound from the aching chains on tried Congress workers, this Viceregal appeal for good-will and co-operation comes with cruel mockery. There can be no good-will and co-operation between a people pledged to win *swaraj* as their birth right and a Government that holds it back and flaunts instead the charter of the sword."

Indian Economic Inquiry Committee report.

The *Pioneer* characterizes the proposals made by the Committee as in the main impracticable and sometimes grotesque. "It is, indeed, almost impossible to comprehend how two gentlemen possessing an acquaintance with Indian conditions could have committed themselves to a number of propositions which are seriously put forward in this report. . . Since the Government was first infected with the craze for inquiries we have had many strange reports. But none has approached that of the Economic Inquiry Committee." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—If the Government should pigeonhole the Visvesvaraya proposals it will lay itself open to the charge that it shudders to face the dire picture such an inquiry must place before the world—after over hundred years of British rule, the people being in the depths of unemployment and poverty. For the Indian Legislature to turn back from the proposals on the score of cost would be to make the sorry confession that it has not realized the economic backwardness of the country. . . All that the Economic Inquiry Committee have asked is to start kilns that would produce the bricks with which the future Indian nation is to be built. The *Oudh Akhbar* deplores that instead of doing anything useful, the Committee decided to burden the poor Indian tax-payers further by suggesting the establishment of a permanent economic inquiry department at an enormous cost.

The Bombay textile industry.

The *Hindi Kesari* says that the Government is wholly responsible for the closing down of the Bombay mills and the consequent unemployment of labourers, for it refused the just demand of the mill-owners to abolish cotton excise, though it willingly granted increase of pay to fat-salaried civilians according to the recommendations of the Lee Commission. The *Vartman* urges that it is the duty of both the mill-owners and the Government to appoint a commission to inquire into the existing situation and, in the meantime, to make suitable arrangements for the maintenance of the mill-hands. The paper, however, opines that a permanent solution of the problem can only be found in the nationalisation of the industry and asks the Government to take steps in this direction. The *Najat* denounces the capitalists for their cold indifference towards the sufferings of the mill-hands. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges Government to remit the excise duty and to arbitrate between the mill-owners and labourers on strike and holds that otherwise it will be responsible for the disorders that will follow as a result of the prolongation of the crisis.

The External Capital Committee's report.

The *Aj* says that unless external capital is controlled, protective tariff will only benefit foreigners to the loss of India and heartily endorses the suggestion of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that when the policy of protecting industries by means of protective tariff and direct bounties has been decided upon the Government should see that those who benefit from this policy are Indians. In another article the same paper says:—We are not opposed to the borrowing of capital from foreign countries on a fixed rate of interest, provided it is utilized here in productive work, the profits accruing therefrom, excepting the interest, remains in the country and Indians are afforded opportunities of acquiring training and business experience. The unhampered exploitation of Indian's natural resources by foreigners cannot but result in immense loss to the country. The *Oudh Akhbar* disagrees with the findings of the Committee in favour of external capital and says that it is not at all needed when sufficient internal capital is available for the development of Indian industries. The Government of India should now discourage external capital and should no longer discriminate in favour of British capitalists.

Political propaganda.

Emphasizing the need for self-government in India the *Patriot* writes:—Even under Muslim rule India was not in such an impoverished condition as at present; for under British rule the drain on the wealth of India is simply staggering. Once the richest country in the world, India is now the poorest. . . The national self-respect of India demands that she should become self-governing. The *Aj* says:—

We do not attach the least value to the lip-sympathy expressed by the British Labour Conference in recognizing the aspirations of Indians. The Black Act of Bengal shows what sort of active sympathy can be expected from the Labour party. So long as the well-being of the Empire is regarded as consisting in the autocratic government of India, no British party will side with us. We must realize that our destiny lies in our own hands and we must cease looking up to others for our salvation. The *Vartman* remarks that the difference between a dependent and an independent country becomes glaring when one compares the salary of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha with that of a sub-divisional officer in India. The same paper says that if the Secretary of State for India really wants to fulfil his promise made in the House of Lords on July 9, he should accept the small demand of the Assembly which was presented through Pandit Motilal Nehru and which is Dominion home rule on a very small scale only. For our part, we consider it impossible that Indians will get *swaraj* as a gift. They can however easily attain it if they are unitedly determined to take it and are prepared to make all sorts of sacrifices for it.

The Kakori train dacoity case.

Commenting on the recent arrests in U. P., in connexion with the Kakori train dacoity, the *Sainik* remarks:—Seeing how respectable and distinguished persons are being arrested at the slightest instance of the police, no one can consider himself safe from the manœuvres of the police. What is it if not a conspiracy of the police? Are we having a taste of the governorship of an ex-policeman? The *Sada-i-Muslim* objects to the manner in which Mr. Sitla Sahai was openly taken through the Lucknow station and says that if the other accused are taken in the same manner the identification proceedings will become a farce, as the railway officials will have every opportunity of recognizing them. Either they should be brought to Lucknow jail in closed motors or they should be identified in the very jails in which they are confined at present. Anyway the investigating police officials should not be afforded any opportunity of seeing them. The *Hindustani* finds it hard to believe that such respectable men could be guilty of dacoity and wonders whether this is only a device to crush the Congress. The insulting manner in which respected Congressmen are being treated will rouse great feeling in the country unless Government succeeds in proving that they are really guilty.

Indians in Burma.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We must express surprise that certain liberal newspapers should still hug fondly to the hope that the Government of India may refuse assent to the recent anti-Indian legislation that was passed by the Burma Legislative Council. We are not at all sure whether the Government of India itself is not behind this wonderful conception to drive a wedge between Burma and India lest the martial races of Burma should be heated to any inconvenient degree in its struggle for *swaraj* by contact with the live-coal of Indian nationalism....The British in this country are, at present, engaged in consolidating their power. They were startled by the non-co-operation movement and by the wonderful response to it from one end of the country to the other—Burma included. The Government have had to act promptly. They have done it. They have succeeded in driving a wedge between the communities. They are now driving the wedge between countries.

Election to local bodies.

The *Sainik* remarks that by fixing the dates for the municipal and district board elections in December the provincial Government has deliberately and without any cause done an injustice to Congressmen. By the indiscriminate arrest of Congress workers in connection with the Kakori train dacoity it has caused great injury to both the Congress and the election preparations. We openly challenge the Government that if it has any courage left let it fix the elections in the last week of January, release our brave soldiers and then measure its strength with the Congress in the open with the help of its supporters and see who wins in the elections.

Indians in the Viceroy's Council.

Referring to the Viceroy's "glowing tributes to the worth and work of every retiring Indian member of his Executive Council," the *Leader* writes:—The Indian members of the Viceroy's Council have, by the satisfactory manner in which they have discharged their difficult responsibilities, made out a strong case for an increase in the number of Indians in the Governor-General's Council. Surely, Lord Reading, after his happy experience of the work of his Indian colleagues, ought to support such a demand.

ALLAHABAD:
October 10, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 41 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 17, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Aj* writes:—It appears that the Riffs will soon have to surrender. The demon of white civilization will laugh in their country and the demoniacal League of Nations will inwardly feel happy at this spectacle. If there is anything like righteousness in the world and if any just God is its director, the blood of the Riffs will not go in vain. It will further awaken the non-white world and ultimately break the Western fetters. The *Vartman* refers to the enormous sacrifices made by the Koreans, the Riffs and the Turks to secure their freedom, and remarks that one is mistaken if one thinks that a powerful nation will grant freedom to its subject countries. Rights were never secured by people without risking their lives. The lovers of freedom should realize this truth. The Muslim press is unanimously condemning the British attitude towards the Mosul question. The *Medina* says that Mr. Amery is proving an apt advocate of British imperialism and is employing every lie, deceit, chicanery and trick necessary to accomplish his purpose. The manner in which facts are being distorted is really painful. Mosul is necessary for the existence, prestige, honour and political progress of Turkey. From the legal and ethnological standpoint also it belongs to Turkey. Under the guise of sympathy for Mesopotamia, but in reality to secure the oil, Mr. Amery wants to tack Mosul to Mesopotamia. It is a pity that this sufferer from land-hunger, this English beast of prey, instead of plainly saying that he wants oil and is, therefore, ready to deprive Turkey of an integral part, talks of the promises and pacts of Britain. Granted that Britain has made a pact with Mesopotamia to cling to her for ever, what canon of justice permits of her depriving Turkey of all her rights? If Turkey has to draw the sword to guard herself against this encroachment the responsibility will lie on England. England wants to take advantage of the schism in the Islamic world owing to the Nejd-Hedjaz controversy and to avenge herself on Turkey for the Greek defeat. Indian Muslims should deeply ponder over this. The *Haqiqat* accuses Britain of thirst for Mosul oil and says that while the Turks are really prepared for war the British are only bluffing as they have not yet been able to recover from the exhaustion of the last war. The paper hopes for reasonableness on both sides as a war would be ruinous. The *Hamdam* apprehends that the International Tribunal also will be influenced by the pratings of Mr. Amery, but says that Turkey will not submit to the all-embracing British influence. Turkish might has been proved on the fields of the Dardanelles and the Kutul Amara and this awakened country will not succumb to British diplomacy either. Will Britain hazard a war when all countries from Morocco to China are up in arms against the West and want to get rid of its domination? The Muslim press continues to watch with sympathy the struggle of the Riffs against France and Spain. Commenting in the *Hamdam* on the speeches at the recent Hedjaz Conference at Lucknow, the Taluqadar of Pariyawan scouts the idea of Britain being in league with Ibn Saud in the desecration of holy places in Arabia, and says:—Britain respected the sanctity of Muslim holy places in India even during the days of non-co-operation, though there is in the country another community hostile to Muslims. How can Britain be so foolish as to countenance desecration in a purely Muslim country? The paper disagrees with the writer on the question of British regard for Muslim sentiments and cites the instance of Mr. Montagu's resignation, alleging that it was demanded by Mr. Lloyd George's Ministry simply because he favoured a more pro-Turkish policy out of deference to Indian Muslim opinion. A writer in the *Haqiqat* alleges that the foreign policy of Ibn Saud is under the control of Britain and he

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is therefore bound to be disliked by Muslims. The *Sewak* holds that the destruction of Muslim shrines in Arabia by Ibn Saud is an instance of divine vengeance for the destruction of the temple of Somnath by the Muslim conquerers of India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Communal recrimination and impassioned appeals for *Sangathan* and *tanzeem* have become the main feature of the vernacular press. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* strongly criticizes the speech recently made by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan at Lucknow and says :—The Hindus have now probed the depth of the Muslim mind and their salad days of Khilafat time, when they sacrificed their lives and property for the Muslim cause. They have now realized that all avenues to unity are blocked, and if there can be any passage, it is only by making themselves strong, by uniting their scattered elements and by organizing their efforts to convert heterogeneous Hinduism into a homogeneous one. The Sahibzada's assertion that the Hindus want to trample the Muslims is far from truth. It is the Muslims who want to deprive the Hindus of their legal and just claims, who deny their religious rights and privileges and try to reduce them to a subordinate position to themselves. They wish to assert their dominance over the Hindus. Be it Kohat or Panipat, Lucknow or Allahabad, their aim is to restrict Hindu religious liberty by force, by the "khushamad" of the officials and by every other possible means. The *Arya Mitra* complains that the printed notices of the Provincial Tabligh Conference to be held at Agra are full of inflammatory matter likely to lead to the breach of public peace and urges Government to take notice of them. The *Shankar* complains that this year Muslims objected to the manner in which Dasehra processions are taken out, and that Government siding with them imposed restrictions which are an interference with the religion of the Hindus. But it is no use complaining against Government which is interested in widening the gulf between the two communities to strengthen its own foundations. Hindus and Muslims have both to live in this country and they should realize that mutual forbearance should be the motto of their conduct and they should respect the religious customs of each other. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that nobody has gained by the application of section 144 in the city. The authorities should realize that by such acts of theirs they are not promoting the good-will of the Hindus towards Government and their confidence in its love of justice. If the Muslims and the authorities come to think that it will be courting serious trouble to provoke the Hindus they will begin to behave differently towards them. Hindus should have no fear of death or of suffering in the assertion and protection of their religious rights. If they wish to remain alive under the present conditions they ought to do to Muslims as the Muslims do to them. While Muslims are pre-occupied with the questions of music before mosques and *arti* the fate of Islam is being decided in Mosul, Iraq, the Hedjaz, Mecca and Medina. In the end nothing will be left for them but to beat their head and breasts. The *Arya Mitra* regrets that while Muslim leaders went to Aligarh to inquire into the situation created by the riot and to reassure the Muslims, no Hindu leader did so. It urges that the cases arising out of the riot should be tried by a judge belonging neither to the Hindu nor the Muslim community. In the course of an article in the *Shankar* God is made to say that He Himself created zeal among the Wahabis so that they may abolish idolatry in Islam and destroy those Muslims who do not act up to His teachings and have no respect for the religious sentiments of others. The *Krishna* accuses the Muslims of being ever ready to pick up quarrels with the Hindus and rebukes the latter for giving up the observance of Ramlila functions because of orders prohibiting music before mosques. Hindus all over India should have suspended their local performance of Ramlila and gone to Allahabad and revived its sanctity as Tirtharaj (king of shrines) by observing Dasehra there and cheerfully undergoing sacrifices demanded by the occasion. The *Awaz* complains that though Hindus form 88 per cent. of the population in United Provinces which are a great Hindu centre and contain numerous Hindu places of pilgrimage, owing to the pro-Muslim policy of the Government they are in a minority in the gazetted ranks in almost every department. It denounces in strong language the attitude of the six Muslim district magistrates in the province and says that wherever they have been posted there have been disturbances in which Hindus have not only suffered loss of property, but have also been openly deprived of their lives and honour. In this province it is the Hindus who stand most in need of protection of life and property, but Muslim officials predominate. Does this not seriously affect Hindu interests ? The *Hamdam* regrets that influenced by Hindu propaganda Government transferred the Muslim

district magistrate from Aligarh. By such transfers Government will be unable to establish the prestige of its officers in the public eye and cannot prepare Indians for Swaraj. It would mean that the people are justified in distrusting officers of their own nationality on critical occasions, and such situations can be handled only by European officers. A thorough inquiry should be made into the conduct of the military police, and if the allegations against them are found to be true, deterrent punishment should be inflicted on the guilty. The *Sada-i-Muslim* sees in the resolution in support of music before mosques passed at the Delhi meeting of the Hindu Maha Sabha evidence of the dangerous mentality of the Hindus and the bigotry and animosity of the Sabha. Not only has permission to play music before mosques been demanded as a political and religious right, but the Muslims have been accused of using force and seeking the aid of Government and thus a detestable war has been declared against the Muslims and Government. When Mr. Abul Kalam Azad consented at Nagpur to concede to the Hindus the right of music before mosques it was thought that in return for this exhibition of fellow-feeling and toleration by Muslims the Hindus would waive that right. But true to their traditions they have made the Nagpur award a pretext to press their right for making noise before mosques. Anyway the Nagpur compromise cannot be binding now that Dr. Moonje is urging his followers to take up the rod against the Muslims. The Hindus have no right to insist on anything which disturbs Muslims in their prayers, but if they contend that their processional music is as important as *azan* or prayer, then the Muslims also should have freedom to sacrifice cows publicly. The *Nizam-i-Alam* has a poem complaining that the Hindus have resolved to perpetrate excesses on Muslims and to destroy mosques and raise temples in their places in order to please their god Mahadeva. But this will all prove futile and Muslims will never leave India. The *Medina* complains that Hindus regard themselves as polluted by the touch of Muslims, try to exclude them from the public services and look upon them as foreigners. In order to strengthen the foundations of its rule, the British Government has introduced text-books of history which inflame Hindu feelings against the Muslims and incite them to act towards them (Indian Muslims) just as Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon acted towards the Spanish Muslims. On account of their aloofness from the Muslims the Hindus have never been able to appreciate Muslim culture, and during their short period of supremacy after the decline of the Moghul Power they committed numerous acts of vandalism even towards Muslim works of art. The Hindus are utilizing their powers in Government offices, Government educational institutions and as journalists, publishers, money-lenders and capitalists to crush the social and civic life of Muslims. In reality Hindu mentality is incapable of appreciating the blessings of liberty and political power. The generosity, large-heartedness and breadth of outlook which characterize brave and courageous races have been transmuted among Hindus into conspiracies, intrigues, secret activities, subterranean trickery and the like, and Hindus alone are responsible for the present communal tension.

Kakori train dacoity case.

Newspapers are strongly criticizing the arrests in connexion with the Kakori train dacoity and condemning the treatment accorded to the accused in jail. Most of the papers refuse to believe that the persons arrested could have perpetrated such a dastardly crime and opine that these arrests have been made in order to crush political agitation generally and the forthcoming Cawnpore Congress particularly. The *Aj* says:—The bureaucracy thinks that it is its birth-right and sacred duty to harass political workers in India by applying criminal laws against them. Hardly anybody would have been prepared to believe that the worst Government in this twentieth century could have the audacity to enforce murder and dacoity sections of the Indian Penal Code against respectable and peaceful Congress workers. The paper also strongly protests against the treatment meted out to the arrested persons such as the imposition of fetters, solitary confinement and prohibition of interview in jail, and says that it is quite clear from this that there is no law in this country and that the wishes of the authorities constitute the law. Such a condition cannot be removed without Swaraj. In another article the same paper remarks that the manner in which these arrests have been made shows that the provincial administration has at present been handed over to an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department and that other officials are mere puppets in his hands. The *Bharat Jiwan* opines that in view of the position, education and character of the

arrested persons it appears impossible that they could have a hand in the dacoity. What is most striking in this connexion is the fact that the persons arrested are zealous Congress workers and the action against them appears to have been taken in order to render the Cawnpore session of the Congress unsuccessful. Everything should be done to defend them so that the tyrannies perpetrated on them after arrest may be fully exposed. The *Sainik* says that the action of the authorities in placing fetters on the arrested persons and keeping them in solitary cells is extremely inhuman, barbarous and reprehensible, and urges that so long as they are under-trial prisoners they should not be subjected to such restraints, but should be released on bail. The *Prem* remarks that no one can suspect even in dream that the respectable and distinguished persons arrested would commit such a reprehensible crime as dacoity. It is only possible under the administration of the foreign civilized Government of India which make so high professions of law and order that arrests can be made without giving reasons for them and that clothes of even children, women and other members of the family can be taken away. People suspect that these frightful preparations are being made to crush the Swaraj party and to render the Congress session unsuccessful. We welcome this repression. This indiscriminate action of the police will re-awaken the people and sinking their differences they will move forward to combat it. The *Pratap* writes: —We strongly condemn the autocratic, irresponsible and cruel manner in which the authorities are making these arrests. The effect of these arrests will be that people will be frightened and will keep away from the Congress. Every Congress worker should try to save his locality from such an effect. The *Anand* cannot believe that the respectable men arrested had a hand in the dacoity. It appears that the police having failed to capture the real culprits has had recourse to this strategem. The statement that Government wants to suppress political agitation under this pretext lacks justification, for political agitation at the present moment is at its lowest ebb and involves no risks to Government. The *Medina* says that if the activities of the Cawnpore Congress had to be crushed other weapons in the punitive armoury of Government could have been utilised. It is folly to arrest Congressmen simply because the dacoits were wearing Gandhi caps. In another article the paper inquires how Congressmen who are so closely shadowed by the police on their railway journeys could get an opportunity to take part in such a criminal conspiracy and says: —We protest against the indiscriminate arrests and gross ill-treatment of the accused and warn Government that they should be kept in comfort, as we are sure that unless they are accused of some other political offence they will be released after the Congress.

Political Propaganda.

In the course of an article on the forthcoming Diwali festival the *Abhir Samachar* writes :—O Diwali of the happy days of Ram rule, this country is now unfit to celebrate thee as all its elements, air, water, etc., have been vitiated by the stigma of slavery. Can that country celebrate the Diwali festival where the blood of crores of cows is shed every day and the best of whose men are taken away forcibly ? Is this the time of Shri Ram Chandra or Ravan, of peace or unrest, of Diwali or bankruptcy ? Under the heading "The police rule" the *Sainik* writes :—The police is the real ruler of the country. The Government has its own eyes, ears and brain, but it sees, hears and works with the eyes, ears and the brain of the police and sycophants. Government accepts the statements of the police and of sycophants as gospel truth . . . The arrests made in connexion with the Kakori train dacoity are the latest instance of police domination. The way in which these arrests have been made and the treatment which is being accorded to the under-trial prisoners only confirm the fact that there is absolute rule of the police in this country. The *Prem* says that for delivering India from political subjection it is necessary that the minds of its youths should be freed from the influence of foreign civilization. The greatest injury to India has been done not by foreign Government, but by foreign education. The system of education obtaining in the country at present has rendered its youths not only weak and indolent, but outlandish in spirit. If the minds of our youths could get rid of the influence of foreign civilization and they could begin to look at things from the Indian point of view, no power on earth could keep India in subjection for long. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* publishes a translation of a letter purporting to have been addressed to Maulana Mahomed Ali by the president of the Central Association of Russian Muslims in which the Bolsheviks are praised for eradicating tyranny from Russia, and it is said that the Russian Muslims enjoy full social and religious liberty. All revolutionary literature harmonises with

Quranic teachings and the "Maulana" is asked to establish a literary society to spread the teachings of the Quran.

Indians in the Colonies.

Referring to the "public demonstrations of indignant protest against the monstrous wrong that is being attempted to be done on the top of the many and grievous injuries of which our oppressed countrymen of South Africa are already the victims at the hands of a Government and a community lost to all moral sense," the *Leader* writes:—We are sure the Government of India have the will to help, but we equally fear that they lack the strength to stand up for India's children overseas with manful courage that will scorn consequences . . . India must have Swaraj as a condition precedent to her ability to defend her honour and the self-respect of her children at home or abroad. The condition of Indians both at home and abroad is India's shame. To win Swaraj in order to get rid of the shame is India's duty. The *Aj* holds that the Asiatic Bill before the Union Parliament of South Africa aims at the ultimate expulsion of Indians from that country and remarks:—The brutal atrocities that are being prepetrated on our helpless bretbren and sisters in South Africa make our blood boil. We Indians, are known for our endurance, but even endurance has a limit. If we have any manliness in us we should not rest on our oars until we have avenged this injustice. Had India been free to-day there would surely have been a war between her and South Africa. Let us by our agitation warn the British authorities that India will not allow herself to be trampled in this manner.

New Home Member of the United Provinces.

Commenting on the appointment of the Hon'ble Lieut. Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Sa'id Khan of Chhatari as the next Home Member, the *Leader* writes:—"This is quite in keeping with the reputation of the present head of the United Provinces Government and the general tendency of Government to appoint men of varying degrees of public inutility very far from being either the most qualified persons for their office or the most acceptable to the people. Evidently able publicists, men with a mind and a will of their own, are altogether at a discount and only 'safe' men are wanted for the Executive Councils . . . . Of the Nawab of Chhatari himself, what shall we say? We do not expect that he would do better as a Home Member than he has done as a Minister . . . Nor can we expect that he would do better than his predecessor the Maharaja, whose inability to control his departments effectively the Indian public too well knows and the Legislative Council so often bemoans . . . There was no purpose in Parliament creating Executive Councils at a heavy cost to the tax-payers if such selections are to be the rule." In the course of a leading article under the heading "Muslim Raj in United Provinces," the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The appoinment of the Hon'ble Nawab of Chhatari as the next Home Member does not come to us as a surprise. The surprise would have been if Hindu claims had been accepted. For another five years the Executive Councillorship goes to another Musalman in a province predominantly Hindu. This policy, we believe, is deliberate. If the Hindus had been an organized community, the Government would not have thought even for the first appointment to this job of a Musalman. Now that even the second chance should have been denied to Hindus is certainly a cause for grievance to the community which no philosophy can assuage. The Hindu humiliation will be complete if the new Minister should also be a Musalman.

Central Provinces Executive Councillorship.

The *Leader* is glad that by the action of Mr. Tambe in accepting an Executive Councillorship in the Central Provinces Government the country will be able to understand the Swaraj party better than it has done so far. "It is so evident that Mr. Tambe has simply used the country, the Swaraj party and the Legislative Council as mere conveniences that silence would become him better than explanations that do not explain anything but the indefensibility of his public conduct." Proceeding the paper says:—"As a piece of political tactics the offer of the appointment to him may redound to the credit of Sir Montagu Butler's head. It cannot be justified on the ground that the best available man or one of the best available men has been appointed. But in principle the appointment must be condemned. Has any one ever heard of the speaker of the House of Commons being lifted out of his chair and appointed a member of the Cabinet? . . . . The appointment of Judges of High Courts and Presidents of Legislative Councils in such offices is very unsound in principle and ought to be strongly deprecated by public opinion." The *Indian Daily*

Telegraph writes :—The Swarajist president of the Central Provinces Legislative Council, one of the heroes who won the first battle of dyarchy against the bureaucracy, has just walked over to the satanic Government as one of its prominent limbs. Swarajist leaders from the north and the south and the east and the west are beating their breasts and tearing their hair in open indignation; they are shocked; they are surprised; they are bewildered. We are not. The action of the Swarajist who has begun to draw his four thousand a month is a logical corollary to the demoralization in which the Swarajists had of late openly begun to gloat and glory. The *Bhavishya* describes Mr. Tambe's acceptance of an Executive Councillorship as a horrible conversion of a Swarajist and remarks :—Mr. Tambe has committed a horrible breach of faith with the people. He has extinguished the glory of the Central Provinces Swarajists, has cast a blot on the policy of the Indian Swaraj party and wiped off the faith which the people in this country had in that party. To-day the Governor of the Central Provinces has succeeded in his diplomacy and Mr. Tambe has succumbed to his wizardry. The *Aj* says that Mr. Tambe did not act properly in accepting the office of the Executive Councillor without having resigned the Presidentship of the Central Provinces Council and his membership of the Swaraj party. Pandit Motilal Nehru also acted with indecent haste in openly condemning him. The path followed by Mr. Tambe is the same as was chalked out by Pandit Motilal Nehru, only the former has gone a little further on it.

Congress politics.

The *Surya* is dissatisfied with the decisions of the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Patna and remarks that far from infusing fresh life into the country the Congress is hastening day by day towards its grave. The *Shakti* says that while the restoration of the four-anna franchise by the All-India Congress Committee has opened the door of the Congress to those who were opposed to the yarn franchise, it has placed a fresh difficulty in their way by giving to the Swaraj party a general power of attorney to execute all the political work of the Congress. It would have been better if this question had been placed before the Cawnpore Congress instead of being decided by the All-India Congress Committee. The *Aj* says that the simultaneous arrest of several Congress-workers and the difficulty in the acquisition of land for the Congress pandal are proving to be the two most formidable obstacles in the way of the Cawnpore Congress. This question is not a local one, but affects the whole of the province. The Sitapur conference should give this question its foremost consideration. Referring to the Cawnpore Improvement Trust's refusal of land in the Civil Lines for the Congress pandal on the ground that the over-crowding due to the session of the Congress would adversely affect the sanitation of the adjoining bungalows which are mainly occupied by Europeans, the *Pratap* remarks that the South African spectacle is being witnessed in Cawnpore also. How can the "black men" dare to hold the Congress in the "white men's" quarters? We wish to warn the Improvement Trust and those persons who are placing obstacles in the way of the Congress Reception Committee that their efforts will go in vain. The Congress flag will be implanted on the land in the Civil Lines ward and the Congress session will be held there. The *Hind-i-Jadid* appeals to the public to supply a hundred workers for each Congressman arrested by Government to hamper the work of the Cawnpore Congress. Pandit Motilal Nehru's proposed unity conference should also be held immediately at Allahabad so that under the guidance of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu the Cawnpore Congress may be able to ratify its decisions and then the ruin of Government would be sure.

The Viceroy.

The *Aj* disapproves of the "exaggerated" compliments paid by Sir Muhammad Shafi to Lord Reading on the occasion of the farewell dinner given to him at Simla and says that it is not true to say that India will be grieved at his separation. No Governor-General within the last seventy years has caused so much injury to India as Lord Reading has done. The *Vartman* remarks that in his reply at the dinner Lord Reading emphasized the need for generous co-operation on the part of the Indian people. But he should know that Mahatma Gandhi has already declared that co-operation is the ultimate aim of non-co-operation. If the Government is really generous let it announce the date when Swaraj will be conferred on India and then behold the generous response of the Indians to the call for co-operation. The *Hamdam* thinks that Lord Reading's appeal for co-operation will fall flat on the country. The Council of State has rejected the Reforms resolution of the Assembly and Lord Reading spurns public opinion in

spite of the fact that Mr. Patel has become the President of the Assembly and the Congress has abandoned non-cooperation. We wonder what kind of co-operation will make the imperialistic British statesmen give up their "miserly attitude." Sir Muhammad Shafi's hope that Lord Reading will display "a liberal attitude" at the time of his departure is vain. How can one who has been persistently trampling nationalist sentiments suddenly change? The *Haqiqat* acknowledges Lord Reading's services to Islam in connexion with Turkish and Afghan affairs, but doubts that he will be able to persuade the British Government to revise the Reforms Act before 1929.

Administration of justice.

The *Leader* deprecates the suggestion made by a newspaper and some police administration reports that magistrates should be directed to mete out adequate sentences in criminal cases, and says:—This is a counterblast to the demand of Indians for the separation of executive and judicial functions . . . If the judiciary are incompetent, the Government should improve the methods of recruitment. But any attempt, on their part or on the part of their officials to regulate the exercise of judicial discretion is calculated to produce an impression on the public mind that justice cannot always be got from law courts, or at least the impression that some courts are incompetent. If the Government do not see their way to separate the judicial from the executive functions, at least let them not seek to control or to interfere with the discretion of judicial officers.

Indians in Burma.

The *Abhyudaya* says that the Foreign Offenders' Expulsion Bill is intended to turn out Indians from Burma and is insulting and humiliating to Indians as a race. The Viceroy should refuse to give his assent to it. If Indians are to be treated so unjustly in a province of their own country, it is no use talking of getting their wrongs redressed in South Africa and other countries.

ALLAHABAD:
October 17, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 42 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 24, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Medina* is disheartened at the news of Riff reverses and says that though Abdel Krim may just now have to submit to the French terms, the time is close by when France and other European Powers will be involved in another terrible war which, God willing, will end the subjection and helplessness of the Islamic world. In another article the same paper urges at length the case of Turkey for Mosul and appeals to the League of Nations to allow the Turks to administer Mosul under its mandate. Britain has sufficiently wounded Muslim feelings by her high-handed policy in Egypt, Iraq, Hedjaz and Palestine and the fight with Ibn Saud which is inevitable over Akabah and Ma'an is bound to freshen these wounds. Besides, there is the Socialist and Labour opposition to any expensive schemes abroad and Britain would be well advised to think twice before deciding to measure strength with a determined and united Turkey reinforced by Russia. One Baqar Ali Najafi, a Muslim preacher, writing to the *Oudh Akhbar* from London, says that Britain is afraid that Ibn Saud may hamper her in her struggle with Turkey for Mosul by invading that portion of Iraq over which King Faisal holds only nominal sway and would very much like to take action against him. Indian Muslims should not, therefore, injure Turkey by appealing to Britain to interfere in the matter of Medina. They should rather appeal to the rulers of Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey to deal with this purely Muslim matter. The *Medina* supports Mr. Shaukat Ali's appeal for funds for the proposed Khilafat deputation to the Hedjaz as it believes that, if successful, it will solve most of the external and internal problems of Indian Muslims. The *Sada-i-Muslim*, on the other hand, thinks that it is a sheer waste of money to send any deputation to the Hedjaz just now as the true facts cannot be ascertained until peace is restored.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an article headed "Kidnapping" the *Patriot* writes:—"The mischievous propaganda started by the notorious Hasan Nizami of Delhi has taken a serious turn. Hardly a day passes without our noticing a case or two of kidnapping of Hindu women and children by not only Muslim *badmashes* and *goondas*, but also by men of standing and means, who are supposed to be very highly connected. The worst feature of this evil is that the Hindus do not stir themselves over the daylight robbery of their national stock." The paper then gives some specific instances of kidnapping and remarks:—"We are convinced that a regular propaganda is being carried on by the interested party for kidnapping Hindu women and children at different centres throughout the country. It is an open secret that the Juma Masjids at Delhi and Lahore are being used as headquarters of these propagandists. . . . We must do away with this mischievous Muslim propaganda of kidnapping women and children. There must be no mincing of matters or winking at hard facts in this matter of vital importance to the Hindu community." Referring to the non-celebration of *Dasehra* at several places owing to the Muslim objection to music before mosques, the *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that Hindus cannot sacrifice their rights one after another. They should now be ready to undergo sufferings for the protection of their rights. They shall have to bring their Muslim brethren to the right path by having recourse to *satyagraha*. The *Bhavishya* cites a number of instances in which, in its opinion, peaceful civil disobedience has been successful and

says :--As Mahatma Gandhi has pointed out, *satyagraha* is the infallible weapon for redressing injustice and tyranny. The history of Gurukabagh is before us and it may repeat itself at Akola. Hindus of Akola, you have begun a hard battle for religion. If you remain unflinching to the last in the path of your duty your success will be assured. Discussing the causes of communal tension the *Medina* denies that Muslims slaughter cows merely to annoy the Hindus or to assert their communal individuality. The hide trade which is responsible for the slaughter of so many cows is controlled by Hindus themselves and this so-called obstinacy of the Muslims melted away in 1921 before the magic of Mahatmaji's persuasion. The truth of the matter is that the cry of cow-protection is only a blind for discrediting Muslims and inflaming Hindu prejudice against them and ultimately gaining political ascendancy over them. Muslims show obstinacy only in reply to Hindu obstinacy and there is nothing to complain about in this. The charge of factiousness brought against Muslims is absolutely untenable. The atrocities and bloodshed committed by the ill-omened and bigoted Christianity throughout the world are well-known, and it is the broadcast propaganda indulged in by this Christianity against the religion and morals of Muslims that has warped Hindu mentality. Muslims have been warlike because struggle is of the essence of existence. But to call them factious is a sad distortion of facts. Muslims are not to be blamed if they insist on their rights and should not be regarded as turbulent for this. In support of its own rights every community naturally regards the other as mischievous. But Hindus should note that the arbiter is a foreign Government, and if they want to throw off its yoke they should neither become mischievous themselves nor make others mischievous. Hindus being in a majority as well as more rich and educated the responsibility for India's serfdom lies mostly on them. Again, Hindus say that by demanding separate representation Muslims have perpetrated communal tension. Are Hindus altogether innocent in this connexion? Is it not because of their intolerance that the non-Brahmans and the depressed classes are demanding separate representation? Everybody realizes that separate representation must go, but that welcome day can be hastened only if the majority community imbibe the spirit of true toleration and realize what nationalism and patriotism really mean. We would advise Muslims also to see that their *tanzeem* and *tabligh* do not conflict with true nationalism. The *Khilafat* movement should be encouraged because it alone can accomplish the internal and external *tanzeem* of Muslims. In the fact that serious disturbances have occurred in the districts under the charge of Muslim Collectors the *Hamdam* finds justification for the assumption that these disturbances are intentionally caused in pursuance of a determined policy of the Hindus simply to discredit the Muslim authorities. The *Medina* also holds that the disturbances are the result of a regular conspiracy on the part of the *sangathanists* to punish the Muslims and to make a display of strength before them, and says that ultimately the Muslims will be assigned the same position as the *shudras* and *chandals*. Districts containing Muslim officers are specially selected for making trouble as the Muslim authorities, in order to show their impartiality, have to lean to the Hindu side and the Hindus then find it very easy to pursue their mischievous activities. In order to prove the Muslims to be guilty the Hindus resort to the most despicable and dishonest practices to further their propaganda. There is a disturbance. The Muslim officer, in order to show his impartiality and justness and afraid of Hindu clamour, specially trains his guns at Muslims and after the trouble is over arrests them in larger numbers. Propaganda is then started and as the administration is most susceptible to it, the Muslim officers are transferred and replaced either by Europeans or by Hindus. Now cases are started. Hindu lawyers volunteer for service, but Muslim vakils afraid of the Hindu officials do not come forward; the result is that Muslims are sent to jail and their properties fall into the hands of Hindu money-lenders. The Muslim Collector of Aligarh has been transferred. The *sangathanist* machine has been set in motion. Wait and see what happens. Sher Singh *Shamim* writing in the *Muraqqa-i-Tasawwar* complains that Muslims have shown no appreciation of Hindu tolerance on the occasion of *Muharram* and *Bakr Id* and have created disturbances on the occasion of the *Dasehra* by objecting to music before mosques. In reality they regard the Hindus as weak and contemptible and mistake tolerance for cowardice, so Hindus should descend into the arena like lions prepared for a fight. When the Hindus show their strength, oppressions will not be practised on them. Unity will come only when both are evenly matched.

Indians in the colonies.

The observance of the South African day has been the occasion for a fresh outburst of indignation at the treatment accorded to Indians in that country. The burden of all comments is that the only remedy for this is complete *swaraj* for India and, therefore, Indians should make united efforts to win it. The *Leader* writes:—That the Asiatic Bill should have been introduced by the South African Government shows that its sense of honour has been dulled and it cares nothing for the past pledges given to Indians. The latter are weak and helpless and cannot effectively retaliate and, therefore, the Government is not restrained by any sense of fear . . . If blinded by self-interest and racial arrogance the South African whites persist in their unrighteous course, they will sow seeds of hatred which will not benefit them. Commenting on the speeches on the South African day the *Aj* says:—Is it conceivable that the oppression on Indians in Crown and self-governing colonies could increase day by day if the Government of India discharged its duty properly? In the time of Lord Reading we are being crushed in our own country and our brethren in foreign countries are being deprived of all their rights. The problem of Indians abroad will only be solved along with the attainment of *swaraj* in India. If we continue quarrelling among ourselves and neglect the attainment of *swaraj* we are certain to receive kicks abroad. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that throughout the country meetings were held on October 11 to condemn the black laws of South Africa and the Government of India were asked to interfere seriously in the matter. It now remains to be seen whether that Government discharges its duty in accordance with the united voice of the country. Hitherto the policy of the Government of India with regard to South Africa has been extremely unsatisfactory. The attitude of the Union Government towards the Indians cannot be conducive to the good of the Empire. It should be considered to be the weakness of the Empire if one of its parts oppresses another and it does nothing to stop it. So not only in the interest of India but also in that of the Empire Lord Reading's Government should take up this question with greater zeal. It should plainly tell the Union Government that it can no longer put up with the humiliation of Indians. If that Government remains stubborn even then, it will become incumbent on the Government of India to adopt the policy of retaliation. So long as Indians remain slaves in their own home they can only express sympathy with their oppressed countrymen abroad. If they want to render any active assistance to them they should strive to break their own fetters of bondage with the least possible delay. Reviewing briefly the atrocities perpetrated upon Indians domiciled in South Africa and discussing the provisions of the Asiatic Bill the *Vartman* writes:—When we think of the nature of these provisions a terrible picture is conjured up before our imagination and our heart begins to tremble at the spectacle of drops of innocent Indian blood made to flow by the demoniacal tendencies, ruthlessness and utter selfishness of the whites. This is the limit of injustice and oppression. The thirst for blood has made the tongue of the whites so cruel that they are unmindful of their own national honour and religious obligations. The world may call them anything, their actions may be described as black deeds in future history, but they are determined to suck every drop of blood out of the Indian heart. If our "independent" power had been behind these helpless brethren of ours and if we could give a crushing reply to these wicked demons in human forms they would dare not scoff at our manliness by thus enchaining our brethren. Let us see what measures the British Government and the Government of India adopt to prevent these inhuman atrocities. The *Bharat Jiwan* exhorts Indians to boycott all British goods with a view to get the wrongs of their countrymen in South Africa righted. This weapon of boycott will prove even more effective than the non-cooperation movement. They will bring the Britishers, shopkeepers as they are, to their wit's end within two months if they touch them in their pockets through the boycott movement. The *Medina* reproduces Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's "stirring" message for October 11, and says that the orphaned sons of mother India cast far away from her loving lap into the thorny glades of South Africa are being crushed under white oppression. They are deprived of the fertile valleys and smiling uplands of South Africa and exiled. Their homes have been converted into jails and their markets have been turned into mourning houses. Indians are better off in Japan, France, America, China, Russia and in the French and Portuguese colonies than in the dominions controlled by Englishmen who claim to be the upholders of justice, impartiality, right and equality. It is only under the domination of the

white-skinned worshippers of Kaiserism reared in the valley of the Thames and under the benign protection of the Emperor (*sic*) of Britain and India that Indians know no peace or comfort. To-day the helpless Indians of South Africa are being deprived of all civic rights. Licences are required for their shops. Permits are needed for their houses. Localities are fixed for their agriculture. Their trade is confined to certain ports. They do not enjoy rights of representation and cannot voice their claims. Can you, slaves, who live in India and who are ever ready to break one another's heads do nothing for these exiled brethren? Arise and become prepared for retaliatory measures. The united voice of the nation and country is to-day rousing you. Freedom is everyone's birth-right. Strive and make yourselves fit to receive this priceless gift from Government.

New Home Member of the United Provinces.

Comments on the appointment of the Hon'ble Lieutenant Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Sa'id Khan of Chhatari as the next Home Member are mostly communal in character. The *Patriot* sees no reason why the Hindu claims should have been ignored, except to show that the Hindus are at a discount with the Government. The *Pratap* remarks that it is no good commenting upon the appointment of the new Home Member from the communal standpoint. The appointment of a Hindu or a Muslim to this office does not make any change in the policy of the Government. We are neither pleased nor dissatisfied with the appointment of the Nawab of Chhatari. If during his term of office the Nawab is able to reduce the excesses of the jail and police authorities and to keep himself aloof from communal favouritism he will feel happy and relieved on the completion of his term. The *Abhyudaya* writes:—What was apprehended has happened and the laurel of the Home Membership has been placed on the head of the Nawab of Chhatari. We are not the least surprised at this selection. It is quite in keeping with the present policy of the rulers. What interest could the Governor have in asking some capable and independent-minded person of the province to accept this post? It was to his convenience to appoint a man who had no independent will and who considered it to be a matter for glory to be subservient to his wishes. The *Sada-i-Muslim* remarks that notwithstanding what bigoted Hindu and *Sangathanist* papers may say to the contrary the choice of the Nawab of Chhatari as Home Member is the best possible. The *Haqiqat* protests against the article on the subject headed "Muslim Raj", which has appeared in the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, and says that such mean-mindedness would never have been exhibited had the writer cared to go through the Civil List before penning the article. The paper hopes that the services of Nawab Muhammad Yusuf will not be ignored at the time of appointing the new Minister. The *Medina* points out that it would have really been a source of trouble both to Government and Muslims if a Hindu had been appointed as Home Member in a province where fifteen per cent. of the population is Muslim, especially when that officer has to control the police. The Nawab Sahib is very peace-loving and obliging and has been very successful as a Minister. He is in every way fitted for the new post, and it is to be hoped that he will follow a nationalist and impartial policy. The *Hamdam* observes that he has afforded ample evidence of his ability and impartiality during the last two years and can safely be expected to prove a successful Home Member. The *Awaz* regards the appointment as another favour shown to Muslims by Sir William Marris. It belittles the Nawab Sahib's abilities and status and says that he has been rewarded for accepting a dummy ministership at a time when no self-respecting person would care to look at it. It strongly resents the ignoring of Hindu claims and inquires why Hindu rajas and taluqdars, a thousand times superior to the Nawab in capacity, wealth and service to the State, were overlooked, especially when 88 per cent. of the population of the province is Hindu. Chhatari will accomplish whatever has been left undone by Mahmudabad in the matter of favouring Muslims in State appointments. Hindus are already inadequately represented in all departments and we forecast an anti-Hindu policy on the part of the Nawab of Chhatari.

The Kakori train dacoity arrests.

The *Shakti* says that an attempt is being made to throw obstacles in the way of the Cawnpore Congress by imparting a political complexion to the Kakori train dacoity. For our part we cannot describe these arrests as anything other than injustice. The *Hindu Sarvaswa* remarks that the action of the Provincial Government in arresting Congress workers in connexion with the Kakori train dacoity is not only unjust but also ignominious. Probably the dacoity and

murder sections of the Indian Penal Code have been enforced against these Indian patriots on the assumption that they are determined to commit dacoity in broad daylight and seize *swaraj* from the bureaucracy by means of the weapon of non-cooperation. What else do these arrests indicate? The *Aj* opines that in view of the situation caused by the recent political arrests and the treatment meted out to him every thoughtful person will support the action of Mr. Damodar Das in resigning the visitorship of the local jails. This incident will also expose the farce of the co-operation of non-officials in official matters. The *Awaz* takes strong exception to the appointment of Qazi Ain-ud-din as Special Magistrate to try the Kakori dacoity case. While the accused are all Hindus this magistrate is an extremely bigoted, biassed and fanatical Muslim. The records of the Judge's Court of Meerut can testify to his dishonesty as a judicial officer. In the Kandhla (Muzaffarnagar) case the Sessions Judge and Mr. Darling had to report to the High Court about his (anti-Hindu) bias. Government should not, therefore, entrust the case to him as he will never do justice and the Hindu accused will suffer greatly. In another article the same paper appeals to the Hindu members of the United Provinces Council to save the Hindu accused from this incarnation of Aurangzeb. In view of his anti-Hindu record in the past it is like entrusting the cow to the butcher and still expecting justice for her. It is our personal experience that Qazi Ain-ud-din practises dishonesty in recording the evidence of witnesses. In yet another article the paper says that the Hon'ble Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad has filled the police generally and the Criminal Investigation department specially with Muslims. We strongly suspect the honesty of the Muslim C. I. D. The Muslims have levelled the first attack on the Gandhites who were advocating unity. It is a pity that Hindus alone are the victims of the Muslim C. I. D. The *Krishna* publishes an article from the pen of Lala Lajpat Rai who strongly criticises the way in which wholesale arrests have been made in connexion with the dacoity and regrets that the Indian Home Member should have allowed such treatment to be meted out to public workers of his province on mere suspicion.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an effusive, verbose and incoherent article addressed to the goddess of *Diwali* (Lakshmi) the *Phakkar* writes:—We do not welcome thee, although thou hast the eternal right of coming on this occasion. The possession of a right is not enough in this age which is the age of "Might is right." In this age he alone is entitled to utter the sacred word "right" who amidst the rattling of sword can raise roars of laughter. By ignoring the duty (*dharma*) pertaining to this age we are being humiliated, branded and trampled under foot for the last few centuries. It is because we have turned our faces away from the duty pertaining to this age that we are witnessing with the stolidity of the dead the spectacle of our women and children being kidnapped (*lit.* robbed) in broad daylight . . . . We cannot welcome thee in thy beautiful form, but thou art welcome in the grim form, riding a corpse and drinking blood incessantly. The *Bharat Dharma* ironically remarks:—It was neither the gloomy political condition of the country nor its poverty nor the bad state of its public health, but the prospect of an early separation with so popular a Viceroy as Lord Reading that marred the jollity of the *Diwali* festival this year. Those who characterise his administration as a failure labour under a delusion. During his régime the foundation of British authority has been strengthened, the feeling of loyalty has been awakened among the people, denominational organizations for the protection of sectional and communal rights have been started, the storm of Gandhian non-cooperation has been suppressed and the swarajists have become veritable co-operators. Long live Lord Reading!

The Indian Communist Conference.

Satya Bhakta, Secretary, Indian Communist party, writing in the *Gharib*, asks Indian communists to dismiss all fears regarding Government interference in the Indian Communist Conference at Cawnpore and try to make it a success. The Communist party is not a secret or revolutionary party. It aims only at the organization and amelioration of the condition of cultivators and labourers. So there is little chance of our coming into conflict with the Government for the present. If in spite of this Government interferes with this movement it will only strengthen it and cause further awakening among labourers. We do not think that Government will act so foolishly as to turn communists all the world over against it.

Relations between zamindars and kisans.

Replying to a letter of Dr. Vishva Nath Mukerji, President, Kisan Sabha, in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* laying all the blame for the present strained relations between landholders and cultivators on the rapacity of the former, the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the present tension is due solely to the new kisan movements which are inducing a spirit of rebellion and distrust towards the zamindars. No zamindar can ever like to harass his tenants unless they refuse to pay his dues and adopt a defiant attitude. Dr. Mukerji will be well advised to counsel kisans to trust their zamindars and to be prompt in payment and then the zamindars will naturally resume their old paternal relations towards them. Illegal exactions are fast disappearing and will cease altogether with the resumption of normal relations between the two classes.

The United Provinces Political Conference.

The *Pratap* says that the success of the conference is assured if it can devise some means of political re-awakening. It is of paramount importance to re-organize such Congress committees as have become dormant and revive those which have ceased to exist. It would contribute much towards the advancement of the province if Maulana Shaukat Ali giving up all other activities devoted himself exclusively and whole-heartedly to the removal of the Hindu-Muslim tension in the province.

The Council of State elections.

The *Hindi Kesri* welcomes the decision of the Swaraj party to contest the forthcoming Council of State elections and exhorts the voters not to vote for any one except the swarajist candidates who alone are the true advocates of national aspirations and the real well-wishers of the country and to whom has been entrusted the entire political work of the Congress by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi.

The Bombay Textile Industry.

The *Oudh Akhbar* says that as matters are now critical Government should not only bring about a settlement between the mill-owners and workers and remit the excise duty, but should also institute a searching inquiry into the working of the mills and initiate internal reforms in them which may place the industry on a sound and permanent footing.

Thc Viceroy.

The *Oudh Akhbar* observes that the manner in which Lord Reading has flouted Indian public opinion in regard to the salt tax, excise policy, Bengal Ordinance, Muddiman Committee, Lee Commission and other matters will leave an unfavourable impression on the Indian mind regarding his term of office.

Currency notes.

The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that the abrogation of the system of payment of full price for the halves of notes of rupees five and ten whose counterparts have been lost will seriously affect the popularity of paper money and urges that at least half price should be paid after due inquiry.

ALLAHABAD :
October 24, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 43 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 31, 1925.

Foreign Affairs.

Referring to the proposed Jeddah Conference the *Najat* remarks:—Though the Muslim world has repeatedly urged Britain that she should not interfere with the affairs of the Jaziratul Arab and should evacuate it as soon as possible, it is to be regretted that owing to her land-hunger she has not yet paid any heed to these demands. On the contrary the fact is that by setting the Arab nobles by the ears she wants to strengthen her hold and extend her power over the Jaziratul Arab. It is now an open secret that British interference is the chief cause of the present trouble in Arabia and these troubles will not be over unless and until British interference ceases. The *Medina* warns the pro-Sheriffites that the Hedjaz question is not only religious but also political and it would not do to stir up sectarian feeling in India and to create bad blood by abusing the Khilafatists. The dignified example of Hasrat Mohani who also is opposed to Ibn Saud should be more widely followed. Both parties want a democratic Government in the Hedjaz and it is only an accident that while one favours Ibn Saud the other supports Emir Ali. In another article, the same paper refers to Britain's fears that Russian grain might carry Bolshevik contagion into Persia and inquires whether Britain herself has supplied any foodstuffs to Persia or is only anxious to stem the tide of Bolshevism. Islam is sufficiently broad-based on democracy and equality to be shaken by Bolshevism. Still if Russia is able to gain some concessions in Persia we would prefer her influence to Britain's because Britain attacks secretly and Russia attacks openly and while simple-minded Muslims are fully able to deal with a known enemy they are worsted by "blows on the side." If British sympathy is sincere, there are other Muslim countries, for instance, Morocco, where she can prove helpful. We want to tell Europe that Persia understands her interests best and distinguishes between her friends and foes. We are greatly relieved to learn that Russia has declared that she would not interfere in the internal affairs of Persia.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

"Pampadi" writes in the *Indian Daily Telegraph*:—Swami Shraddhanand seriously and with a full sense of responsibility advised Lucknow Hindus to organize *Satyagraha* in connexion with the Arti-Namaz question. If that question is ever to be solved, recourse should be had to that unfailing remedy. Break the Gwynne gong to pieces to-morrow at the footsteps of the temple, warn the authorities that from a particular day Hindus would assert their right to offer worship at the temple according to their religious tenets. It is not their concern if the *Namaz* occurs at the same time. The park is not a mosque. The authorities, of course, would apply their section; it must be disobeyed. Are the Hindus prepared? Take down the names of those who are prepared, make up the list and then start the *satyagraha*. The *Haqiqat* complains that Bahraich Hindus are doing their best to discredit the Muslim officials of the district and specially Sheikh Maqbul Husain Sahib, the Deputy Commissioner. The paper attributes this to *sangathanist* activities and fears that if they continue communal disturbances will become very common all over the country. Referring to the report of the *Tanzeem* deputation on the Aligarh riot, the *Medina* says that the turbulent and hard-hearted Hindus of Aligarh had prepared considerably beforehand for this disturbance. The official and Hindu reports have themselves admitted that in spite of the remonstrances of the Secretary of the Ramlila Committee the rioters did not

refrain from making trouble and there was a sufficient number of brickbat throwers on the roofs in Madar Darwaza. Besides, the wounds of the injured show that the rioters were armed with swords also and that the cowardly brutality of these unholy *sangathanists* used these swords only against old men and women. The hands of the *sangathanist* heroes were raised and they gave evidence of Malaviyan courage but only against women of sixty and men of seventy. We want to know how Hindu mentality has developed this courage which is a disgrace to gentlemanliness and humanity. Is it not an organized conspiracy? Is it not a wicked and unholy act which will always remain as a source of shame and disgrace to the Hindu community? Let Mr. Malaviya come and see the braveries of these cowardly and unmanly worshippers of his and shed tears of blood over the moral lapses of his community. If the Hindus succeed by cowardly attacks on some old Muslims and a few helpless old women then they can continue this barbarous oppression of theirs. But if they lay claim to true bravery and courage they should come into the open field and engage in contest. The *Awaz* publishes a reply from Satan to a letter from God appearing in the *Muslim*. Satan informs God that those who claim to be His special devotees are brutes in human shape who show no regard for Him. They regard as forbidden the flesh of animals killed by Him and prefer that of those killed by themselves. They declare the moustaches granted by Him for the beauty of the face as impure and call the beard the light of God. They even interfere with the body granted by him and practise circumcision not only of men but also of women.

Next Home Member of the United Provinces.

The *Sainik* says:—Those who had the least knowledge of the internal politics of the United Provinces Government were well aware that the Hon'ble Nawab Sahib of Chhatari had the greatest chance of succeeding the Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad, not because he was a specially capable or a specially experienced or popular person but because he had the greatest influence in the Governor's darbar and was an expert in hypnotising the members of the Council. We can congratulate nobody except the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari himself on this appointment. The *Garhwali* remarks that for some time past the Government has been consistently ignoring even persons of first rate ability and independence and giving preference to Rajas and Nawabs over them. Such a policy of the Government is not only illiberal but also extremely short-sighted. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* resents the *Indian Daily Telegraph's* article entitled "Muslim Raj" and says that not a single instance can be cited to show that the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari has ever displayed a biassed attitude during his whole tenure of office as Minister. Anyway the moving spirit of Hindu *Sangathan*, whose communal activities were looked upon with disfavour not only by Muslims but by sensible Hindus also could not be made Home Member. These prejudiced attacks will only lower the Hindus in the estimation of Government. Reverting to its attack on the appointment, the *Awaz* says that though Hindus form 88 per cent. of the population in this province they number only half among deputy collectors and tahsildars. This fact can be cited as a strong proof of the pro-Muslim and anti-Hindu policy of the Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad. Muslims have been appointed in such large numbers in the Jail department that the pen fails to write on the subject. As regards the Nawab of Chhatari Hindus can hardly be found in some of the departments under his control as Minister. Still the Muslims call him just. It is a gross insult to Hindu rajas to appoint a Muslim zamindar and before him an agitator of the Muslim League as Home Member and we condemn this pro-Muslim policy of both the Governors. Is this in accordance with the Royal Proclamation or is it likely to stimulate Hindu co-operation? Why does Government harass the Hindus for fear of the Afghans who were scared out of their wits by a single Khatri, Hari Singh Nalwa? When there are 2½ crores of Hindus why is Government afraid of a handful of Afghans? It is probably because of fear of the Afghans that the present Government of the United Provinces is so ruthlessly trampling Hindu rights. But Government is not like a fragile thread which can be broken by the Afghans. It can be broken by the Hindus but they can never dream of doing so. Government, however, should maintain co-operation with the Hindus and should not allow its representatives to prejudice it by their unjust acts. The paper also publishes a poem by *Khatri* in which he says that the Nawab of Chhatari will complete the task of the Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad in filling the departments under him with Muslims. Hindus will not be retained in equal numbers even because they are clearly infidels (*kafirs*)

and Yezids (the slayer of Hasan and Husain). Sir Harcourt Butler appointed the Maharaja of Mahmudabad and Sir William Marris appointed the Nawab of Chhatari. Well, *Khatri*, they may do what they choose, but these moves are not happy.

Political propaganda.

The *Leader* strongly disapproves of Pandit Motilal Nehru's view that the ultimate necessity to resort to civil disobedience must be thoroughly impressed on the public mind day after day and says: "The country more than the Government has suffered from the preaching of civil disobedience which is only another name for lawlessness, and no far-seeing Indian patriot can subscribe to Mr. Nehru's views. Our faith in constitutional action has been strengthened from all that has happened and we firmly believe that the best interests of the country lie in eschewing disruptive courses of action." The *Aj* strongly protests against the decision of the Government to purchase in England the entire equipment for the new tram service in the neighbourhood of Bombay and remarks:—This decision has made our blood boil and moved us to tears at our helpless condition. In plain words it is *loot*. India is being plundered for the benefit of British manufacturers and the employment of the unemployed there. The Government has a hereditary right over Indian money and it can spend it as it likes. What a sign of good administration and justice! The same paper refers to the struggle of Riffs in Morocco and of Arabs in Syria against the French and says that it shows that the spirit of nationalism is growing stronger day by day in independent Muslim countries. When this spirit will become strong in India, when Indian Muslims will cease to dream of converting the whole of India to Islam or of re-establishing Muslim rule here and when regarding India as their motherland they will join other communities on terms of equality in their non-violent national struggle, her emancipation will become assured. The *Vartman* suggests that on the occasion of the Cawnpore Congress a conference of the representatives, teachers and organizers of national schools all over India should be held for removing the existing slackness and making the national schools profitable to the country. It adds that if the existing national schools are well-organized they are sure to prove more profitable than Government institutions.

The Kakori train dacoity arrests.

The *Sainik* says that police rule continues to hold its sway and no regard has been paid to public opinion which condemned the unnecessarily harsh treatment accorded to the accused in the Kakori train dacoity case. The Special Magistrate has exercised special severity and has ordered that even counsels should not be allowed to interview the accused without his permission. Remands after remands are being granted in the case and nothing is disclosed against the accused even in the court. What an injustice it is! Such severities have never done any good anywhere. They have always done harm. But the bureaucracy neither learns nor unlearns anything. The *Shankar* apprehends that the repression inaugurated by the arrests in connexion with the Kakori train dacoity may take the form of the Bengal Ordinance and says that if it does so not only the innocent persons arrested at present will not be released but many other provincial political workers also will be imprisoned. It is surprising that such an injustice should be perpetrated under an Indian Home Member. This repression can be met successfully only by strengthening the Congress organization, by reviving Congress Committees at various places, by returning sturdy and fearless patriots to the local bodies at the forthcoming elections and by vigorous agitation for *swadeshi* and *swaraj*. The *Aj* says:—We have exposed the illegal actions committed by the authorities in connexion with the Kakori train dacoity arrests but as yet there are no signs of these evils being stopped.

Executive Councillorship of the Central Provinces.

The *Sainik* condemns the acceptance of an executive councillorship in the Central Provinces by Mr. Tambe and says that he has thereby played false to the *Swaraj* party and has taken undue advantage of its prestige. He has sold away his country, his conscience and the honour of his party for a few rupees and a few powers which he can exercise only through a subservient attitude. It is altogether wrong to seek to discredit the *Swaraj* party for the fault of one of its members specially when his action has been condemned by the party. The *Swaraj* party will do well to set its house in order. If it wants to improve its position it should henceforth pay greater attention to work outside the Councils and to the organization of voters. If it continues to be neglectful in this direction its future cannot be promising. The *Pratap* remarks that by Mr. Tambe's acceptance of executive councillorship the Central Provinces Government has been able to kill two birds with one stone for

while, on the one hand, the financial difficulties of Mr. Tambe have been removed, on the other, the Governor has been relieved of the anxiety caused to him by the swarajist tactics. The paper condemns Mr. Tambe's action and takes Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar to task for their approval of it. It apprehends a split in the ranks of the *Swaraj* party and warns it that if it wants to maintain its existence it should not abandon its obstructionist policy. The country will support it only when it finds that it does not use any unclean weapon in the political fight.

Congress politics.

The *Vartman* remarks that non-cooperation is the only path which the country can follow. It was only by following this path that in the year 1921 Indians had overawed the Government. All the leaders feel that if *satyagraha* had not been suspended at Bardoli it would not have failed to produce good results. If the non-cooperation programme could be followed then there is no reason why it cannot be followed now. What is required is courage and united action. The Cawnpore Congress should consider the matter and revive non-cooperation. The *Hindu Sarvaswa* draws attention to the excesses committed upon Hindus by Musalmans and takes the *Hindu Maha Sabha* to task for its inactivity specially when the bureaucracy too is siding with the Muslims. Proceeding, the paper remarks :—When instead of any good accruing to the country from the *Hindu Maha Sabha* its existence is making the problems of the Hindus more complicated we are compelled to say that the Hindus should go to the Congress and strengthen it. Let them make India free by carrying on once again a vigorous agitation through it and then they may indulge in religious squabbles to their hearts' content. The *Aj* disapproves of the suggestion of Dr. Moonje that the word "peaceful" should be removed from the Congress creed and says that India will not attain emancipation until her people have grasped the principle of non-violence and have by means of non-cooperation and civil disobedience compelled the bureaucracy to do justice. It is non-cooperation and not co-operation or violence which will bring about India's emancipation. Babu Sampurnanand disagrees with the paper's views and writes that although in the existing situation we shall have to abide by non-violence it is quite possible that an international and internal situation may arise in future when it will be more beneficial for us to adopt a contrary course. For this reason it is undesirable that the word "peaceful" should be retained in the Congress creed. Satya Bhakta writing in the *Aj* says that both the non-cooperation movement and the swarajist agitation having proved ineffective the only practical programme for the attainment of *swaraj* is the organization of the *kisans* and labourers. So long as this class is ignorant of the ideal of *swaraj* and is weak and unorganized it is impossible for any national movement to produce an effect on the Government. It is, therefore, necessary that the Congress should establish a separate board for the organization of the *kisans* and labourers and set apart a portion of its funds for the purpose.

Muslim Education.

The *Leader* publishes a contributed article under the heading "Are Muslims educationally backward?" in which the writer quotes figures to show that the assertion that Muslims are relatively backward in education is not supported by facts. According to the figures quoted by him the percentage of Muslim scholars in all grades of institutions in 1923-24 was higher than the percentage of Muslims to the total population and the percentage of Muslim boys attending primary schools was higher than that of the Hindu community as a whole. It was also in excess of the provincial level. He therefore, states that to say that Muslims are educationally backward "is nothing short of abuse of language." Even the high caste Hindus "are behind the Muslim community as a whole while the position of the backward classes among the Hindus who number, according to the last census, roughly 46 lakhs, is, indeed, deplorable. The Hindus are ·37 per cent. below the Muslims." The writer, therefore, arrives at the conclusion that it is the Hindu community which is in a state of educational backwardness and it is the depressed classes who really stand in the greatest need of the provision of special educational facilities. Referring to the figures quoted by the writer, the *Leader* says :—"It would thus appear that the Muslims do not stand in need of any special encouragement and assistance in the sphere of education from the Government. The educational progress of one community which calls itself educationally backward but which is not really so in a relative sense, ought not to be subsidized at the expense of the educational needs of other communities and to the neglect of the claims of a more backward section of the population."

The Sitapur Political Conference.

The *Vartman* says that a perusal of the presidential address of Maulana Shaukat Ali at the Sitapur Political Conference leaves no doubt that he wants gradually to convert the political conferences into arenas of communal warfare. If it were not so he would not have made from a political platform the statement that he was a true Muslim. The *Aj* remarks that the address is not such as can in any way help in improving the political situation of this province. It was read in a language which cannot be called Hindustani. If we cannot speak in a language intelligible to the ordinarily educated Hindus and Muslims we have no right to waste their time. The *Medina* eulogises the sincere patriotism of Mr. Shaukat Ali's presidential address and commends it to the attention of the Hindus specially as they regard it as their primary duty to trample the Muslims. Mr. Gandhi's despair about Hindu-Muslim unity shows that no serious efforts have been made in the province to achieve it and for this the Hindus are mostly to blame as by initiating the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements they have created a feeling of disloyalty (towards the country) in Hindu mind.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

Referring to Lord Birkenhead's speech at the Constitutional Club in which he expressed satisfaction with the present situation in India the *Oudh Akhbar* observes that though there is no real progress noticeable in India he must no doubt find satisfaction in the fact that non-cooperation is now altogether dead and Hindus and Muslims are now so divided that they cannot make any united efforts for their rights. What could be better for the British than that Indians should be so engrossed in internecine warfare as to become totally unmindful of their common enemies? Indians should ponder calmly over this pregnant utterance of the Secretary of State.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Naiyar-i-Azam* publishes a complaint from Queensland, British Guiana, to the effect that Indians there are being harassed in various ways. Those who wanted to work on sugarcane fields were first required to take permission but later this work of reaping sugarcane was stopped and persons possessing permits were allowed to do other work only on sugarcane farms of not more than 80 acres. Next year, their work was further restricted to farms of 40 acres but now restrictions are being placed on all kinds of work and those who lose their permits are no longer supplied with fresh ones.

Lord Reading.

The *Shakti* characterises the administration of Lord Reading as a colossal failure and says that history will reckon him among the suppressors of Indian freedom and will condemn him for having imprisoned an apostle of non-violence like Mahatma Gandhi. It is a sin which can never be blotted out. India will never forget Lord Reading's regime.

The "Abhaya" case.

Referring to the conviction of Swami Vicharanand, the editor of the *Abhaya*, the *Hindu Sarvaswa* remarks :—Here is an example of the gentlemanliness of the just bureaucracy which instead of taking action against Hasan Nizami and other Muslim leaders for the increasing estrangement between Hindus and Muslims and for the actual outbreaks of riots at different places has thought it fit to honour the Swamiji.

Bombay Textile Industry.

The *Swadhin* says that the refusal of Government to abolish cotton excise duty is part of its policy of exploitation which is proving so ruinous to Indians. Now that the cotton mills of Bombay have closed down how will Government make up for the loss of its revenue? Not only will it now be deprived of the excise duty but of income-tax and super-tax also.

Prohibition.

The *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates the Bhawnagar Darbar on the introduction of prohibition within the State and says that this action ought to serve as a warning to those provincial Governments which put off prohibition on the ground that it would encourage smuggling from Indian States. The *Sada-i-Muslim* wonders at the continued inactivity of the Government of India in the matter and urges all Muslim States to follow the example set by Bhawnagar.

Muslim Affairs.

The *Medina* complains that though Muslims form 18 per cent. of the population in the province they have got only about 5 per cent. of the seats in the Allahabad University Court and urges the Muslim Educational Conference to take up the

matter. A writer in the *Haqiqat* invites attention to the very low percentage of Muslim *patwaris* in Oudh and asks for an amendment in the existing rules with a view to raise their percentage.

Indian States.

The *Medina* appeals to the Mysore Darbar to reconsider its order prohibitting cow slaughter in the State as it constitutes an interference with the religious freedom of its Muslim subjects.

ALLAHABAD :
October 31, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

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CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 44 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 7, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The accounts that come of the savagery at Damascus remind us of the worst days of Prussian warfare . . . No Indian can read of the French excesses without revulsion that Indian blood was at all shed in the Great War to safeguard this carnivorous race from annihilation at the hands of the Germans. Beaten by the Riffs, bullied by the Druses, we hope to see the savage France emaciated out of life, clinging fatally to the map of Europe even as it does in India with a few dots of territory like Pondicherry and Mahi. Referring to the deposition of the Kajar dynasty in Persia the *Aj* remarks:—Revolutions are taking place everywhere, but they are particularly in evidence in Muslim countries. The whole world will be anxious to know what form the new constitution in Persia is going to take. India will congratulate the Persians if they are able to establish a republic. The *Vartman* contrasts the promptitude with which the League of Nations has intervened in the Greeco-Bulgarian dispute with the indifference displayed by it towards the bombardment of Damascus and concludes that its sympathies are confined to the nations associated with it. Proceeding, the paper remarks:—There is no other organization in this world so selfish as the League of Nations, the sole object of which is to perpetuate its domination over the Asiatics in the name of peace and tranquillity. But this show can last only so long as the Asiatic nations are not powerful and organized. The *Medina* accuses Britain of following a persistently anti-Turkish policy and suspects her and France to be at the bottom of the present Balkan tangle which may be designed to divert Turkish attention from the Druse country and the Hedjaz. The *Hamdam* says that it is for the first time in her life that the League of Nations has by her intervention between Greece and Bulgaria succeeded in averting a horrible war. But this is not much creditable to the League of Nations, for the parties being Christians the League has only done her duty as a Christian body, and in order to establish her utility and impartiality further proof is needed which can be furnished only if the League intervenes between the Riffs and Spain and restrains France from her barbarous activities in Damascus and Africa. While noting with satisfaction the suspension of the Franco-Spanish operations against the Riffs owing to the setting in of the rains, the *Sada-i-Muslim* appeals to the chivalry of Britain to save this valiant and patriotic but helpless race from the greed of these two European Powers. Has the League of Nations, which is so solicitous for the peace of the Balkans, no duty towards the Riffs? Britain is said to be the cradle of liberty and cannot Mr. Chamberlain, whose disinterested and sincere efforts have brought about a pact between two rival European nations at Locarno, also induce France and Spain to conclude an honourable peace with the Riffs? The Riffs clearly want complete independence, and it is Britain's duty to save from extinction a race whose only sin is that it wants to lead a life of freedom in its own land. Otherwise the world will regard Mr. Chamberlain's efforts at Locarno as part of another selfish conspiracy. In another article the same paper makes a stirring appeal for the relief of these Riffs who are bravely struggling for the freedom of their country. In yet a third article the paper, referring to the bombardment of Damascus by the French, inquires why Britain, which joined the Great War in the cause of right and justice and characterized the Germans as Huns and barbarians for their bombardment of some religious buildings in France, is silent now? Why

does the League of Nations not protest against France's action? Is it because France is too powerful to be interfered with? Indians made a great mistake in helping such a barbarous nation as the French during the war. France should remember that if she persists in her tyrannies her empire and prestige will disappear.

The Viceroy-designate.

Commenting on the appointment of the Right Hon'ble E. F. L. Wood as Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Reading the *Pioneer* writes:—The appointment will no doubt be regarded with favour by most of those who combine a knowledge of modern Indian conditions with some acquaintance with the world of politics at Westminster. The appointment is not a spectacular one. But spectacular politics are the last thing that this country requires. The *Leader* writes:—It can be said with truth that not since Lord Ripon has India had a Governor-General whose rule was the rule of love and justice and righteousness. Lord Reading is to leave India in the ordinary course in April next, and it will be an exaggeration if one said that he would leave behind much regret for his departure. And in the record of the Viceroy-designate there is nothing to inspire the people of India with the confident hope that his viceroyalty will recall the years of Lord Ripon's régime. He does not even belong to a party in whose general policy reformers can have confidence. . . . . Our consolation must be that it is not this or that Viceroy or Secretary of State who can guarantee the future of India, but the people of India themselves. If they reform themselves and unite in the furtherance of a common cause, her future will be secure. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The new Viceroy is meant as an agricultural expert. And we regard it as a pleasing trait in his character that he never bragged about what he expects to do in this country. It is, however, foolish to expect anything from any Viceroy: under the present political conditions, it is wisdom to be prepared for the worst deportations and extraordinary activities of the Criminal Intelligence Department as in the Kakori dacoity case. The *Aj* says that the Viceroy-designate is a third-rate statesman. He will dance to the tune of the Secretary of State. . . He has imperialistic tendencies. The appointment of the Minister of Agriculture as the Viceroy of India soon after the statement of Lord Birkenhead regarding the agricultural development in India shows that for some time "agriculture" will become the byword in India and crores of rupees will be spent on it, but as usual all this will ultimately end in smoke. The *Oudh Akhbar* is satisfied with the selection in this much at least that Mr. Wood is expected to be less bold and severe in his policy and more sympathetic in his administration than Lord Reading. The *Hamdam*, on the other hand, opines that none of his past achievements entitle him to this high office. It is a pity that even such a vast continent as India with its teeming millions is entrusted to the charge of second-rate British statesmen.

The Kakori train dacoity case.

The *Aj* points out that the granting of repeated remands in the Kakori train dacoity case is illegal and urges politicians of all shades of opinion to protest against the illegalities and irregularities committed in this case. The *Pratap* also protests against the repetition of remands and identification proceedings and says:—It is sheer injustice to hold the identification proceedings a second time, when there is already a general suspicion that the policemen not in uniform visiting the jails might possibly be accompanied by some of the identification witnesses. Where is the guarantee that during the remands the police will not tutor the witnesses by showing them the photographs of the accused? The behaviour of the authorities is objectionable and we strongly condemn it. The *Sainik* writes:—Why are remands after remands being granted in the case? Is there no limit to these remands? If the police could not collect evidence within a month, why did it make the arrests so soon? Why has it taken so long to collect evidence? What is most surprising is the fact that identification proceedings will take place again. What does this mean? Is there no limit even to the injustice of the police rule? The *Medina* condemns the action of the District Magistrate of Meerut in stopping the meeting held to express sympathy with some "innocent" political prisoners who had been arrested in connexion with this case without any inquiry, and in arresting the conveners of that meeting. The truth will come out during the trial and it is impolitic to stop beforehand even the expression of sympathy with the accused as it will lead the public to think that justice will never be done to them and Government will surely convict them in order to maintain its prestige.

Political propaganda.

The *Gharib* writes:—There is a vast difference between a free and a subject country. In the first instance laws are so absurd and faulty in a subject country that the people cannot have adequate protection through them. And then even those laws for all they are worth are not properly administered. Every subordinate or officer is anxious to please his foreign masters. In a free country all officers, high and low, endeavour to please the people. It is, therefore, the supreme duty of the people to strive to make India free. A correspondent, who styles himself as "A soldier of the swaraj army," writes in the *Sainik*:—The difference between the invasions of Ghori and Ghaznavi and the policy of exploitation of the British Government is just the same as between high fever and slow fever. In the one the patient recovers very soon, while in the other he is sure to die a lingering death. If it be taken for granted that Muhammad Ghaznavi took away property worth one or two crores of rupees from India during his seventeen invasions, can this amount bear any comparison with the wealth which England has been annually draining away from India all these years? The same paper remarks that this is the good fruit of British rule that though the Kakori train dacoity was committed in broad daylight, the passengers did nothing to prevent it. If the people had not been disarmed and rendered so weak and unmanly through subjection such an incident could never have occurred. Can the Government, which makes its subjects so helpless, lay any claim to be called civilized? Referring to the planting of the national flag in the Tilaknagar at Cawnpore by Pandit Motilal Nehru the *Bharat Jiwan* says that to-day subject and dependent India cannot fully understand the honour of the national flag. To-day people are not in evidence who could sacrifice their lives over it. To-day there is hardly anybody who can maintain the honour of this national flag. But the day will surely come when this white, red and green flag will be an emblem of the unity and strength of India and no "white-skinned" person will then insult it in any way. The *Pratap* pays a warm tribute to the services rendered to India and the sacrifices undergone by those Indians who are at present living as exiles in foreign countries. It regrets that Indians have done nothing to improve their straitened circumstances and exhorts them to emulate the example of Swami Satyadeva, who has given a lead in this matter by giving a handsome donation towards the relief of political workers in Germany. The *Medina* deplores the decision of a meeting of the Central Provinces Swaraj Party in favour of "responsive co-operation" and says that a pleasing contrast is offered by the advocacy of "Sinn Fein" by Mr. Sambamurty as president of the Andhra Provincial conference. It is a pity that the Central Provinces is led by men like Dr. Moonje who instead of raising the standard of freedom are poising the rod to break the heads of Muslims. Men who approve of Mr. Tambe's act can hardly appreciate Mr. Sambamurty's valour.

The durbar address.

The *Leader* congratulates His Excellency Sir William Marris on his address to the Durbaris of Oudh and says:—To an official of His Excellency's pronounced political predilections it must have been a severe exercise of discipline and restraint to have made so elaborate an address so nearly non-contentious. The problems of rural life upon which Sir William Marris dwelt with ability and lucidity and in an admirable spirit and temper are indeed vital for the life of the nation. We have been struck by one important omission. What is the extent to which Sir William Marris's Government will provide funds for the educational and other developments of which His Excellency has so well spoken? The omission may not be surprising, but it is an important omission and a regrettable omission. His Excellency will pardon us to hold the view that his Government have not been over-liberal in financing beneficial services. To us the immediate value of His Excellency's general observations, thoughtful as they are, will be in the measure in which the next budget will show that substantially larger sums have been provided for expenditure upon the beneficial departments. We may perhaps say a word on the utility of Durbars such as Sir William Marris has just held at Lucknow. We think His Excellency was right and his advisers were wrong in the opinion they held on the utility of the Durbar. We think it is an old-world institution which is out of harmony with the spirit of the times. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We sincerely hope that the seeds that His Excellency Sir William Marris sought to sow in his durbar address will bring forth fruits a hundred-fold. It is the first responsible pronouncement in India from the head of a province making a definite prescription and offering a definite lead. It is an epoch-making utterance—more important than Lord

Birkenhead's speech on the reforms or Lord Reading's laboured paraphrase of the Secretary of State's pronouncement. If out of the hundreds who heard His Excellency at least half a dozen should imbibe the spirit and carry out the high ideals prescribed by a close student of political and economic affairs that His Excellency is, the effect would be remarkable indeed.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to "the agitation against the pro-Muslim attitude of the United Provinces Government," the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: We wish to emphasize that in this agitation no professional politician has any lot or part. The voice is the spontaneous voice of the people, of the man in the street, the working man and the citizen who pauses in his daily work as he hears of the stopping of music or of the appointments to Executive Councillorship and Chief Court (Lucknow) and shakes his head with the significant exclamation : " blows that way the wind !" This is too serious to be ignored. The mass mind has taken it with all its implications. We put it to the Government whether this growing feeling of suspicion in the minds of the majority community will tend to strengthen the bond between the rulers and the ruled. We strongly hold that the Hindus have reasons to protest against the attitude of the Government. We appeal to His Excellency Sir William Marris to seriously grasp the significance of this cloud in Hindu vision and concert measures without delay by which the feeling of insecurity might be smothered at the start.

Disqualification of political prisoners.

The *Bharat Jiwan* says that political prisoners being quite different from ordinary offenders they should have been allowed to be returned to the Councils. But the Government has decided otherwise in utter disregard of the wishes of the people. Is it not strange that despite such actions Lord Reading expects co-operation from the people ? The *Medina* says that such an attitude on the part of Government after the Swarajist advance towards co-operation clearly bodes ill for the future. By making the Congress a huge success the public should give an adequate reply to the " co-operation " of Government.

Congress politics.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* writes that history records no instance in which freedom has been willingly conceded to a subject nation by any ruling race. Subject peoples have never got their just rights by begging. Struggle is the law of existence. Indian Muslims should now boldly reject the political portion of Sir Syed's creed which was purely opportunist in its conception and was designed to secure a transitional concentration on education by a temporary divorce from politics. The educational object aimed at has been achieved and now it is up to Muslims to secure their rights in every other department of life. The Congress is a national body and Muslims will have no claim to benefit from the rights secured by it from Government if they do not participate in it. Muslims should not labour under the delusion that their Muslim League would be able to secure an adequate share for them in any concessions won by the Congress. Once their claims are overlooked, their separate organization would have again to put in the same amount of effort, and then also without equally satisfactory results. We, therefore, urge our co-religionists to try to capture the Congress as in 1919 and to take their share in the country's political struggle in a manly manner. They should join the national demand, while adequately safeguarding their communal interests. They should not allow the Congress to be communalized, but should fight shoulder to shoulder with all the other Indian communities for the country's rights. It is by joining the Congress in large numbers that Muslims can best safeguard their interests. They should try to induce the Congress to accept the Das pact and not prejudice their claims by withdrawing from the Congress. They should first deserve a share in political privileges and then desire it.

Hindu organization.

The *Abhyudaya* holds the statement of Mr. Gandhi that organization was the only means of self-protection to be a victory of the Hindu Sabha and remarks that when an opponent of Hindu organization like Mr. Gandhi has realized the seriousness of the situation and begun to support Hindu organization, it is time that other leaders who raise the cry of nationalism to oppose Hindu Sabha took a leaf out of his book. The *Bharat Dharma* says that those who oppose Hindu organization on the ground that it is against the spirit of nationalism do not appear to realize the principle of "live and let live.' When all other communities

in the country are organized it is absolutely necessary for their self-preservation that the Hindus too became organized. It is because of their disorganized condition that Muslims have interfered even with their religious observances at various places. When they have become strong through organization, the Muslims will surely seek friendship with them.

Indian Communist Conference.

Through the *Sada-i-Muslim* Satya Bhakta appeals to all believers in communism, complete independence, republicanism and socialism to join the December Conference and help it with funds as the party aims at organizing peasants and workers with a view to increase their power and prestige in the administration. He is opposed to affiliation to the Communist International as this would only offer Government a pretext to suppress the Indian Communist Party. India cannot adopt a programme of violence, and as a subject country its voice will carry little weight in the International. The most important thing is therefore the freedom of the country without which neither communistic nor other reforms can be introduced. In view of all this the Conference will consider the question of the change of the name of the party. He condemns the acceptance of foreign money as the country can rise only by its own efforts. The party is not opposed to the Congress, but as under the influence of capitalists and landowners that body has been unmindful of the interests of peasants and workers, Communists should join it in large numbers and try to convert it into an instrument for the organization of peasants and workers. The *Hamdam* opines that the Indian communists are fully alive to the realities of the situation and will draw up a suitable programme quite different from that of the Russian Communists. The party will prove a very useful lever for the organization of the peasantry, provided it comes under the banner of the Congress.

The Home Member-designate.

The *Haq* regards the agitation of the Sangathanists against the appointment of the Hon'ble the Nawab Saheb of Chhatari as absolutely unjustified and based on communal prejudice. Not a single instance can be quoted to his discredit during his triennial term as Minister. The head and front of his offence is that he is a Muslim. The agitation is also being sustained with a view to prevent the appointment of a Muslim as Minister. The *Aziz-i-Hind* in welcoming the appointment assures the *Leader* and the *Indian Daily Telegraph* that even they will have to revise their opinion about the Nawab of Chhatari within a few months of his term as Home Member. He may not be an erudite scholar, but he is not fickle like the Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad who poses as a nationalist among nationalists and as a loyalist among loyalists. He should be careful to maintain a strictly impartial attitude. We pray to God that he may not prove an unsuccessful (Home) Member like the Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad.

The Swaraj Party.

Although the *Aj* approves of disciplinary action against Mr. Tambe as well as Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, it thinks that this alone will not set matters right. It says that the question before the Swaraj Party is whether the policy of obstruction is possible and whether, if possible, it is useful. The only means of removing the existing differences among the Swarajists is to delete the words "obstruction" and "opposition" from their creed and openly co-operate with the Government. The *Sainik* opines that if the Maharastra group raises the standard of revolt at the Nagpur meeting of the Swaraj Party Pandit Motilal Nehru will go back to Mr. Gandhi's fold and will probably advise the Swarajists at the Cawnpore Congress to resign their seats in the Councils and then either to boycott them or stand for re-election with the election-cry that they are wholly for the obstructionist policy. The *Bhavishya* supports the view of Pandit Motilal Nehru that co-operation is no longer possible and says :—So much time has been spent in co-operation, but what has been the result ? Jallianwala Bagh and the Rowlatt Act. The more we yield the greater will be the repression by Government. No country in the world has ever got Swaraj through co-operation. The *Shakti* remarks that the enemies of the Swaraj Party are present in its own ranks. It is Mr. Kelkar, the opponent of Mahatma Gandhi, and Mr. Jayakar, the first non-cooperating lawyer to resume practice, who are making the Swaraj Party the laughing-stock of the world.

The Oudh Chief Court.

The *Leader* does not agree with the view of His Excellency the Governor that the Chief Court of Oudh is a child of the Reforms and says that the establishment of a Chief Court at Lucknow during a period of financial stringency when urgent measures

have been put off for want of funds is the triumph not of the Reforms but of the late Governor taluqdar and the present taluqdar Home Member. There are many reforms and beneficial projects which have been hanging fire for lack of funds, and it cannot be said that the establishment of the Chief Court was the most important of them all.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Vartman* remarks that the order of the Union Government to the Indian residents in Johannesberg, including even those upon whom the rights of citizenship had been conferred under the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, to quit the country within three days of the date of the order is utterly ignominous. It shows that the passage of the Asiatic Bill was not the limit of the meanness of the Union Government, but was only a prelude to still more reprehensible deeds.

Sitapur Political Conference.

The *Surya* says that though Maulana Shaukat Ali deserves thanks for his fair and courageous advice at the Sitapur Political Conference to the Muslims not to demand more representation than their numbers justify, it is doubtful whether the Muslims will accept it. The characteristic feature of this provincial conference was that it did not discuss any important provincial questions. This provincial conference was an utter failure, whether considered from the standpoint of speeches delivered, the resolutions passed or the work transacted.

Currency notes.

The *Oudh Akhbar* fails to see why new designs are being proposed for currency notes of rupees five and ten when notes of these denominations of the old design are not being withdrawn from circulation. There should be every sympathy with the Government's object of preventing forgery, but this can be achieved only if the existing notes are withdrawn from circulation. Otherwise there is little justification for the permanent retention of a high paid staff of expert notographers and for undergoing all the other expenses incidental to the manufacture of notes of novel designs.

The Andhra Conference.

The *Vartman* says that of all provincial conferences held this year the credit for passing useful and opportune resolutions goes to the Andhra Conference. A perusal of the resolutions passed at this conference shows that the object of the Andhra Conference was not simply to observe a customary annual ceremony but to devise new means of removing the depression in the country. Resolutions like those recommending to the Congress the adoption of individual civil disobedience and the fixing of complete independence as the Congress creed do not deserve to be ignored but should be translated into action.

Resolution on the Industries Committee's report.

The *Leader* congratulates the Governor acting with his Minister on the Resolution on the Industries Committee's report and says that His Excellency and the Hon'ble Minister for Industries have, on the decisions they have taken on the report of Mr. Burn's committee, shown a commendable regard for public opinion and the need for a progressive industrial policy.

ALLAHABAD:

November 7, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

KANOR
1925

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 45 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 14, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

REFERRING to the statement of the new French High Commissioner in Syria that he would do his utmost to bring about pacification as rapidly as possible, the *Leader* writes :—European nations will have to give up the antiquated notion that eastern peoples only understand force and can be kept under control only through fear. An experiment in frightfulness was recently tried in India with the result that the moral foundation of British rule was almost destroyed for a time. The lesson taught to French imperialism by the Syrian revolt should be taken to heart by those who talk of empires being won and maintained by the sharp edge of the sword. The *Bharat Jiwan* writes :—It cannot be said whether the revolution in Persia will augur well or ill for the world, but surely it bodes ill for crowned heads. Their own autocracy appears to be the cause of their downfall. It is hoped that a republic will be established in Persia and it appears that a great federation of Muslim states is going to come into existence. This federation will be a menace not only to India but also to western civilization. We see the future history of the world being written in the present revolutions in Muslim countries. The *Vartman* remarks that every lover of freedom will welcome the news of a new era in Persia. The change of Government in Persia was inevitable and at last it has been brought about. Those in authority who think that a particular country will permanently remain in slavery or that a particular nation will ever continue to hold the reins of power should take a lesson from the Persian revolution. The *Aj* holds that the deposition of the Kajar dynasty in Persia is a suitable punishment for the Shah who, deserting his country at a critical juncture, has been enjoying himself in Europe. Persia will be substantially benefited if under the guidance of an able and powerful ruler like Reza Khan Pehlevi she can be initiated into republicanism. Referring to the bombardment of Damascus the *Gopal* remarks :—While like fanatics the Muslims fall upon Hindus and do not hesitate even in assaulting women at the sound of music before mosques, the Quranic injuctions seem to lose their force when mosques are razed to the ground and their sanctity is destroyed by foreigners. The gruesome tragedy at Damascus should open the eyes of the Muslims and they should realize that until they become free such incidents will be a matter of everyday occurrence and the safety of Islam will itself be in danger. The *Kisan* writes :—At the present time unrest overspreads the whole of Asia. Every state wants to break the bonds of slavery and become free. The European nations have not yet recovered from the effects of the great war. If all the states of Asia become federated now they can easily become free. The whole of Asia with the exception of Japan and Afghanistan has become the pleasure ground of the imperialist European nations. Everybody knows how Asiatics are made to lead hellish lives in order to satisfy their reprehensible interests. If the Asiatics are to save themselves from extinction they should organize themselves to meet the western nations. Representatives of all Asiatic countries should be invited at the Cawnpore Congress to consider the question of the formation of an All-Asiatic Federation. The *Medina* denounces the League of Nations as a tool in the hands of the great powers of Europe to deprive Muslims of their possessions. The subtleties of international law as well as brute force are pressed into service against Muslims, and no method which can suggest itself to a deceitful, selfish and devilish mentality is left unemployed. The League has thus degenerated into an instrument of imperialism and autocracy for the nations victorious during the last war, and this engine of oppression

and iniquity has been covered with a veneer of law, peace and justice simply to enslave the weaker races. It is an imperialistic club whence *Nadiri* rule is devised for Islamic countries under the guise of mandates. To-day Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Hedjaz, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, Sahara, Sudan, Rumelia, Macedonia and Albania which were solely Muslim possessions and where 80 per cent. of the population was Muslim have fallen a prey to mandates, legal chicaneries and imperialistic and militarist oppressions. The question of Mosul has been hanging fire for two years and has now passed into the hands of the International Court where a favourable verdict may be secured through some bribe. Even the Hedjaz question is being influenced by the secret conspiracies and deceitful intrigues of the people of Europe, and that is why Jeddah has not been occupied so far. Europe sees her own death in the unity of the Islamic world and the solution of the difficulties of the Hedjaz would lead to Arab unity. The atrocities which are being perpetrated in Syria are sounding the death-knell of all civilization. The anti-Muslim policy being pursued in Palestine and Iraq and the never-ending influx of Jews are very sinister in their possibilities. The continuance of the mandate in Iraq is dangerous to the freedom and good government of Turkey, Persia and the Hedjaz. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the bombardment of Damascus without any warning is an act unbecoming any responsible and civilized Government, and hopes that as a punishment for this breach of the very first canon of international law the consuls of the powers at Damascus will try to deprive France of this territory over which she wants to exercise sway through sheer terrorism. The *Medina* remarks that the imperialists who were impatient to swallow Mosul being checkmated by the dignified firmness of Turkey have in their chagrin started ridiculous tales about atrocities on deported Christians. How soon has Europe forgotten her shocking atrocities in the Riff country, Damascus, Jallianwala bagh, the villages of Iraq, Sudan, Tripoli and Syria that she can find leisure to invent stories about Turkish oppressions? Would not centuries be needed to make amends for these European tyrannies? We should like to tell Europe that she should wipe the blood off her sleeves before thinking of criticising Turkish actions. The *Oudh Akhbar* defends the action of the Turks in refusing permission to cross the Brussels line to the committee appointed by the League of Nations to inquire into the question of deportation of Christians, and says that when no Turkish representative was included in the committee the Turks were quite justified in distrusting it. The Turks have rightly decided to retain Mosul and will not hesitate to resort to arms if Britain and the League of Nations do not prove amenable to reason. The *Sada-i-Muslim* appeals to Muslim leaders to bury the hatchet at least till the return of the deputation from the Hedjaz and not to rekindle the smouldering embers of the controversy between the Sheriffites and Saudites by any statement one way or the other at this juncture.

The Darbar address.

The *Pratap* writes:—To hold darbar in the meridian of the new era is not indicative of civilization, and to participate in them is to insult our nation. Do the *Darbaris* of Oudh wearing the badge of slavery feel some pleasure in going before the authorities and thereby proclaiming to the world their serfdom? What shall we say of the mentality which takes an insult to be an honour? The *Sainik* writes:—His Excellency the Governor's address is full of good things. In view of the times prevailing in the country the broken hearts of the people can derive some consolation from the words that have fallen from his lips. But we are sorry that the contact of the bureaucrat has so deformed these good things that to say nothing of deriving any consolation from them, they are a source of grave concern to those who desire the peace and happiness of humanity. Is it not possible that this Darbar in the name of combating poverty, ignorance and insanitation may be used to incite the notables against national re-awakening? The existing system of government, no doubt, admits the representative principle, but surely this is to throw dust into the eyes of the world. The representatives of the people are cowards and their views are accepted only when it suits the convenience of the Government. His Excellency is mistaken when he states that political principles which the masses cannot assimilate should not be inculcated. Can he stem the tide of national awakening? The views expressed by him regarding agricultural improvement fully convince the reader of his address how the best of ideas degenerate by coming into contact with the bureaucratic brain. He talks of combating poverty, yet is quite satisfied with the existing pace of progress of the agricultural department. The *Hamdam* says that in his address His Excellency appeared in the rôle of a

sympathetic adviser and has done well in warning the landowning classes of the rapid change in the outlook of cultivators. The zamindars should take his words to heart and adapt themselves to altered circumstances.

Political Propaganda.

In a highly sentimental article written in figurative language the *Pratap* refers to the revolution in Turkey, China, Russia and Persia and says:—Our mind is agitated with the desire that the child which is variously called as change, prosperity, revolution and what not may come and sit quietly like a dew drop in our mother's lap. The desire springs up that the storm which yesterday raged in the neighbourhood may come over this country also. The sowing of the seeds of blood is not necessary. What we long for is that our hearts may be prepared for a white revolution. We long to see the image of the mother deeply impressed on our mind. Then suddenly the mother may assume a fierce form (*Chandi Swarupa*), her hair may be dishevelled, the force of the storm may deflect the world from its appointed course and for a moment the music of the spheres may change its note and then gentleness and peace, love and affection, and liberty and equality may beam forth from her face. Commenting upon the opening of the Khyber railway the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—Two hundred and fifty lakhs of rupees of this poor country have been wasted on the Khyber railway. It will not benefit India at all, although it will surely facilitate the transportation of army and ammunitions to the frontier. This is a rejoinder to the Bolshevik and Afridi bogeys. The *Vartman* says that although Britain and India are under the same Government, there is a world of difference between the systems of jail administration in the two countries. While in England the number of thieves and dacoits is decreasing, in India it is on the increase. In Britain jails act as reformatories, whereas in India they have a demoralising influence. It is essential in the interests of the Government as well as prisoners that the Indian jails should be reformed. The *Aj* writes:—The annihilation of a great power like Germany has made the other European powers irresponsible and they have begun to devour the non-white world with impunity. If Turkey has been able to protect herself it is due to mutual estrangement between France and Britain and it is because of the power of the Bolshevik Russia that other free and semi-free Asiatic states still continue to exist. The fighting in Morocco, the general massacre at Damascus, the revolution in Persia, and the opening of the Khyber railway all point to the fact that the present is a very critical moment for independent Muslim states. It is the result of the great war which was fought "for the emancipation of the weak nations" and in which non-whites also shed their blood enthusiastically that life has become a burden to the non-whites and in the place of freedom we have been saddled with military rule. If in view of this attitude of the white world the non-white nations do not become united and take steps to protect themselves, then God alone can save the ancient civilization of Asia.

The Viceroy-designate.

The *Prabhat* is surprised at the appointment of the Right Hon'ble E. F. L. Wood as the next Viceroy of India as his name has never before been heard in connexion with Indian affairs. India requires at present a Viceroy who could unravel political entanglements. Perhaps Mr. Wood would not be a suitable Viceroy for the purpose. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that never before the announcement of his appointment as the Viceroy of India was the name of Mr. Wood heard in the world. This appointment constitutes a departure from the established practice of appointing men of eminence to the office of the Viceroy. What is most strange is that he is ignorant of India. The *Vartman* says:—Neither the Indians know Mr. Wood nor does he know Indians. We fail to understand how an official whose responsibilities are very great but whose political experience is so limited will be able to deal rightly with thirty-three crores of people. The *Hindi Kesari* points out that whosoever be appointed Viceroy, so long as the system of government is not changed and made amenable to the wishes of the people there can be no lasting peace, goodwill and co-operation in the country. In its opinion the cry of agricultural development which was raised in the country even before the selection of the new Viceroy will prove as futile as Lord Reading's professions of justice. The *Arya Mitra* writes:—We are convinced that no one can brighten the future of India, whether the Viceroy of India is wood or stone. Such a consummation will take place only when at some distant date Indians have secured the right of self-determination by their own efforts. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that whatever knowledge the Right Hon'ble E. F. L. Wood may have of India, she does not know him at all. This shows that the

British have come to believe that after Lord Reading's unjust administration Indians have become so quiet and slack that there is no necessity to send any eminent statesman to rule over them. The selection of Mr. Wood as Viceroy cannot reflect any glory on India.

The Kakori train dacoity case.

Commenting on the repeated remands in the Kakori train dacoity case the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—For the last one month and a half scores of citizens have been locked up in jails and the police has not been able to produce any evidence against them. What greater injustice can there be than this that these persons should unnecessarily suffer in the jails for the fault of the police? The *Aj* says that the granting of yet a third remand confirms the illegal aspect of the whole case. It will be no wonder if the public begins to have its own misgivings in this connexion. The *Pratap* writes:—While arresting the accused the police committed great excesses and took away even ordinary household goods. The granting of repeated remands in the case is sheer injustice to the accused. The police has badly failed in the identification proceedings. We apprehend that having suffered humiliation in this matter the police is now going to hatch some other conspiracy. We have come to know that photographs of the accused and their letters are being collected. Would it be strange if by some means documents are fabricated and witnesses tutored against them? It is, therefore, the duty of the Magistrate to refuse further remands and start proceedings in the open court. Whatever the court may think of giving such autocratic powers to the police, it has only one meaning in the public eye, and that is that the police do not possess adequate proof against the accused. The same paper complains that the police did not accord just treatment to the accused of Benares at the time of their arrests. Instead of being escorted in a closed van they were taken in an open ekka. It inquires why this was done when identification proceedings were still pending and who is responsible for this objectionable and illegal action. Referring to the report of its correspondent that Mr. Bishwas, one of the accused, complained to the Sessions Judge of Lucknow that the C. I. D. was putting pressure upon him and was harassing him in every way, the *Vartman* writes:—If this news is true we can only say that the C. I. D. is doing all this to achieve its object. We must also protest against the accused being confined in three separate jails for as a result of this identification proceedings have to be conducted in three different places and there is waste of public money.

The Home Member-esdignate.

Referring to the appointment of the Hon'ble the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari as the next Home Member of the United Provinces the *Abhyudaya* says:—No condemnation of the policy of the United Provinces Government in respect of appointments to Government posts can be too strong. This policy of the Government is not only improper and unjust, but also detrimental to national interests. In making these appointments the Government is moved not by considerations of merit but by those of favouritism towards its pets, and those also belonging to a particular community. In the appointment of the Nawab of Chhatari to the office of the Home Member as also in the appointment of the judges of the Oudh Chief Court the Government brushed aside all considerations of merit, justice and propriety. We want to know on what principle these appointments were made. Is it the principle of communal proportion? The policy which the United Provinces Government is at present following has not the sanction of any ethical principle. We want the Hindus throughout these provinces to raise a voice of strong protest against this unjust policy of the Government.

The Swaraj party.

The *Leader* severely criticizes the Swarajist policy and the recent "fighting speech" of Pandit Motilal Nehru at Bombay and says:—Having won a victory over the party of direct action Mr. Nehru now wants to become a new apostle of a disruptive movement by basing it on council action and by asking the country to send the Swarajists to the councils at the next general elections in larger numbers. He has begun the electioneering stunt in the interest not of the country but of his party, and all his talk of civil disobedience must be treated as mere bluff and party propaganda, the only effect of which is to keep up political differences and thus injure the interests of the country. The *Anand* remarks that the slogan of civil disobedience represents a clever strategem of Pandit Motilal Nehru to defeat the Maharashtra Swarajists and to brighten the prospects of the *Swaraj* party in the next elections. The *Surya* condemns the intention of Pandit Motilal Nehru to

ask the Cawnpore Congress for a mandate in favour of civil disobedience. The use of such a fatal weapon to gain a temporary victory over the Maharashtra group of Swarajists is highly deplorable and is likely to encourage the secret party of "red" revolutionists in the country. It will also accentuate the differences among political workers which cannot augur well for the country. We do not know what to call this move of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Is it political shrewdness or short-sightedness? The *Aj* remarks that as Lord Birkenhead and Lord Reading have announced the decision of the British Government that the British Parliament and not the Legislative Assembly will decide the date, stage and form of the next constitutional advance, Pandit Motilal Nehru should, as indicated by him in his Cawnpore speech, now seek the mandate from the Cawnpore Congress to start civil disobedience.

Development of agriculture.

Referring to the Premier's remark that in Mr. Wood Indians would find a Viceroy who would be alive to the importance of agricultural development, the *Leader* writes:—The problem is a stupendous one and cannot be satisfactorily dealt with unless the root causes of agricultural backwardness are removed, namely, illiteracy and ill-health due to a number of preventible debilitating tropical diseases, such as malaria and hook-worm. The wider diffusion of education and the adoption of a comprehensive scheme of sanitation and medical relief in the districts will require a much greater outlay on the beneficial services than is the case at present. . . The problem of the bread is certainly an acute one in India, but no policy which ignores the aspirations of the people for greater opportunities of self-expression and self-development can satisfy the country. For man does not live by bread alone.

Medium of instruction.

Referring to the suggestion made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his convocation address at the Lucknow University that the mother-tongue of the students and not English should be the medium of instruction, the *Leader* writes:—The arguments for this reform have long since convinced the large majority of educated Indians and it is bound to become an accomplished fact at no distant date. To prepare for that day we suggest that by an Act of the legislature a Board of Translation should be established and, again by statute, a minimum annual grant should be made from the provincial revenues so that in the space of about ten years the requisite number of text-books and other works in Hindi and Urdu may be got ready to facilitate the innovation.

The Reforms.

Commenting on Lord Sinha's statement that Indians should try to make the Reforms a success the *Vartman* remarks:—The ex-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, who was a strong part of the machine, the sole function of which is to strengthen the bonds of India's slavery, has come forward with the disappointing and retrograde advice that the Reforms which have been described by the National Congress as hollow should be made a success. It is sheer waste of time and energy to work the Reforms. It is the duty of Indians to follow the path chalked out by the Congress and reject the perverse advice of persons like Lord Sinha.

Muslim affairs.

The *Agra Akhbar* publishes a letter in which the writer, one Maqbul Husain, urges that if the Muslim minority wants to save itself from absorption by the Hindu majority it should insist on equal representation with the Hindus. It is always found that the Hindu majority in municipal boards favours Hindu candidates for employment irrespective of the qualifications and claims of candidates belonging to the Muslim community. The *Najat* is grieved to learn from its correspondent that notwithstanding all assurances the Moplahs sent to the Andamans are receiving very harsh treatment and asks Government to issue a communiqué about their general condition.

Congress politics.

The *Medina* exhorts Muslims to join the Congress in large numbers and not to permit it to drift into a Hindu preserve by keeping away from it. The Congress being a national body, the Muslims have as much claim over it as the Hindus. If by the grace of Providence India gains freedom the Congress will become the most powerful body in the land and Muslims will then regret their abstention from it.

Reduction in railway fare.

The *Bhavishya* says that as the poor travel by railway only short distances the reduction made by the East Indian Railway in the third class fare for distances over three hundred miles will not benefit them. The paper, therefore, urges the Railway Board to

remove the condition regarding distance. The *Vartman* remarks that it is clear that in reducing the rates of fare the advisory committee of the East Indian Railway was moved by selfish motives. If it were not so it would surely have reduced the fare for short distances as well. Some other papers also express similar opinion.

Hindu organization.

The *Shankar* urges that as Muslims no longer work on the Congress committes and have diverted all their attention to communal interests and extra-territorial problems, Hindus should depend upon their own efforts alone for the emancipation of their motherland. They will do well to organize themselves for *swaraj* on the lines suggested by Lala Har Dayal.

The Oudh Chief Court.

The *Oudh Punch* is not sanguine about the Oudh Chief Court proving particularly helpful in the administration of justice seeing that most of the judges will be busy with taluqdari cases and neither the law's delays and anomalies nor the corruptions of the underlings of the court will be removed.

Indian states.

The *Medina* warns the authorities that Indian Muslim sentiment will be deeply wounded if Prince Hamidullah Khan's claims to the Bhopal Gaddi, which is in accordance with Islamic law, is not accepted.

Honorary magistrates.

The *Najat* regrets that Government has ignored the press criticism about honorary magistrates. This shows that it is at best indifferent to the degrading practices of these officers.

ALLAHABAD :
November 14, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 46 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 21, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

FRENCH action in Syria has evoked strong feeling in the Press and most of the papers emphasize the need for an Asiatic federation to prevent a repetition of such occurrences. The *Bharatiya Lokamat* says: It is quite plain from the Damascus massacre that Europeans attach no value to the lives of Asiatics. This massacre should make the Asiatics realize that unless they organize themselves fully, Europeans will continue to perpetrate such acts of frightfulness and keep them in slavery. Referring to the Khilafat Committee's appeal for funds for the relief of Syrians, the *Pratap* remarks: The attitude of Muslim leaders sometimes causes great pain. Although we have full sympathy with the Syrians and wish that the steel boot of France may somehow or other be set aside from the breast of Syria and also that if possible the Syrians may be afforded relief as a mark of our fellow-feeling, yet how should we describe that feeling of humanity which is not touched by the miserable plight of the famine-stricken people of Orissa but extends its liberality to Syria. It is not humanity but blind folly. The *Aj* writes:—Everybody whose heart has not become adamantine owing to imperialism, white supremacy and other similar causes will be shocked at the atrocities committed on the Arabs in Damascus. If even a tenth part of the atrocities had been committed upon a Christian nation the whole world would have rung with outcries or missionaries and other Christian agitators. The interests of those who hold the reins of the world to-day lie in the annihilation of non-Europeans and hence inhuman atrocities are concealed under the cover of suppression of rebellion. The imperialism of Europe having assumed the form of the League of Nations is terrorising the world. The non-white world should wake up in time and take steps to counteract its influence. This can be done only by the organization of an Asiatic federation. A separate national institution should be started in India to cultivate sympathy with the free and semi-free states of Asia and to help them in their efforts for self-preservation. This will help Indians to secure the assistance of other Asiatic people in their own national struggle. In another article the same paper approves of the decision of Mr. Gandhi not to represent to the League of Nations on the question of the atrocities in Damascus and says:—We cannot mention the name of this demon, the League of Nations, with equanimity. It was brought into existence to destroy the non-whites and to extend and perpetuate the domination of imperialists. What can be a greater proof of our helpless and deplorable condition than this, that Indian money too is given to support such a body and we cannot even protest against such unjustifiable expenditure of our money. India alone can save the Muslims of Asia but this will be possible only when the spirit of nationalism is awakened among the Indian Muslims. If their eyes are not opened soon the independence of their remaining free countries will also be destroyed and the Hindus will try to affiliate themselves to the Buddhists of other countries. The *Shakti* writes:—Asia, the victim of the imperialistic European nations, is now progressing rapidly. Although India lags behind Japan, Afghanistan, China, Turkey, Syria, and Persia in the race of progress, yet the general awakening in the East and particularly the proclamation of freedom in her neighbouring country are bound to have a stimulating effect on her. The *Medina* denounces the *Khalifa* appointed in Morocco by the Spanish. A *Khalifa* who is the product of the cunning and deceit of European statesmen and who looks for support towards unholy non-Muslims can never command the respect of Muslims. This manipulation of *Khalifas* by Europeans should

serve as an eye-opener to Indian Muslims whose *sajjada nashins* fight for domes and Hashimites. Muslims should open their eyes to facts and should not fall a prey to the deceit of enemies. In another article the same paper suggests that the money which could not be sent to the Riffs owing to the obstruction of the western powers should now be sent to Syria for freedom. In yet a third article the paper rejoices at the news of the occupation of Damascus by the Arabs and wonders when Indians will become ashamed of their slavery and serfdom. Proceeding, it says:—Have you been created to remain slaves? Will your hearts not throb for freedom? For God's sake wake up and see that other countries are throwing off the yoke of subjection within a few years. It is India alone which is not ashamed of slavery of centuries. The *Sach*, referring to the serious complications in Turko-British relations owing to the Mosul dispute, says that it is strongly rumoured that another great war will take place and that Britain has already started recruitment on a very large scale in India and is arranging for arms and ammunition in England. Provision has also been made in the last budget for twenty-six squadrons of aeroplanes. British reluctance, if any, for such a war is due not to any aversion to bloodshed and massacre but to the locking up of a large portion of her capital in foreign loans. The question before Muslims, therefore, is whether it is proper for them to enlist in the British army against the Turks. The paper also publishes an article headed "The Blood of Muslims" by Maulvi Abdul Majid in which the writer quotes a number of Hadises and various passages from the Quran to show that Islam regards as a cardinal sin for one Muslim to aim at the life of another. There is no salvation for a Muslim who kills or assists in killing his brother Muslim and therefore those who merely for the sake of a few coins help others to kill their brethren in faith should beware of the dire consequences. Referring to the breakdown of negotiations between the British and the Sultan of Nejd regarding the East Jordan, the *Medina* applauds the brave stand made by Ibn Saud to protect the inviolability of the holy soil of *Jezirat-ul Arab* and warns Indian Muslims against paying any heed to the propaganda of Reuter about the destruction of domes and shrines. It is the concern of Muslims and Muslims alone to get their religious monuments repaired but they will never allow the British to have East Jordan. In another article the same paper regrets that the *chamars* and *pasis* (untouchables) of Gadia and the students of Firingi Mahal were called in to disturb the Lucknow meeting of Mr. Muhammad Ali in favour of Ibn Saud. But the postponed meeting was held most successfully the next day and Lucknow became apprised of the hollowness of the arguments of Firingi Mahal. *Al Bashir* is gratified at the establishment of a progressive regime in Persia and says that if the three Muslim kingdoms of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan become strong and the Hedjaz is purged of the family of the traitor Sheriff Hussein, then the Muslim world would advance again. This progress will benefit not only Muslims but also prove the salvation of every race, country, and creed in Asia. The *Medina* also sees in the establishment of the Persian Republic a happy augury for pan-Asiatic unity but warns Raza Khan against ruining the bright prospects opened out just now by trying to found a dynasty and by forgetting the true principles of democracy. The *Najat* says that British statesmen are distrustful of the Afghan attitude and are growing nervous about the frontier. Undoubtedly Russian influence is growing in Afghanistan and this is fraught with danger for India, but Britain has herself to blame if by failing to provide commercial and other facilities for Afghanistan she has thrust that country into the lap of Russia. The *Medina* is incensed at the suggestion of the *Milap* (Lahore) that Britain should occupy Afghanistan to save the heavy recurring expenditure on the frontier and asserts that it would cost much more to keep the warlike Afghans under control as well as to maintain the frontier which would then become conterminous with that of Russia. Britain is maintaining Afghanistan as a buffer state simply on grounds of economy. In another article the same paper referring to the "panic" in Anglo-Indian and Hindu circles owing to the closer relations at present prevailing between Afghanistan and Russia, sarcastically remarks that the difficulties experienced in running the Khyber railway owing to the raids of frontier tribesmen could be easily surmounted if Mr. Wood could induce these turbulent tribes to betake to the peaceful pursuit of agriculture.

Political propaganda.

Referring to the financial difficulties of Indian publicists in exile in foreign countries the *Gharib* appeals for funds for their relief and says:—Some of us may disapprove of their programme of work but there can be no Indian who in his heart of hearts

has no respect for these self-sacrificing and self-denying patriots. The *Swadhin* remarks that it is with a view to strengthen the hold of the bureaucracy and to wean away the masses from the *swaraj* movement that there is now so much talk of agricultural development in India. There is no doubt that the country will welcome measures for agricultural development but we have serious misgivings regarding the good faith of the Government in this matter. In the proposed agricultural development of the country the Government does not appear to be so much concerned with the well-being of Indian cultivators as with that of the English nation which is sought to be enriched with the improved crops of this country. If the Government had been really anxious for the well-being of India it would have surely taken steps for her industrial development as well. Referring to the revolutionary activities in various countries, the *Bhavishya* says :—All revolutions are due to discontent among the people. If there is any revolutionary agitation in this country its sole cause is indiscriminate repression. Government made a mistake in completely suppressing the non-cooperation movement and thereby goading patriots to revolution. Although they became mad in their love of the country and swerved from the right path the responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Government. The same paper remarks that the sacrifices made in pursuance of the non-cooperation programme failed to achieve liberty simply because of the ill-timed treachery of the Muslims. Muslims will join us in our fight for liberty when we have made ourselves strong. For this we shall have to act upon the resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha. We shall have to make ourselves, our sons and daughters physically strong and skilled in the use of *lathis*, etc., and to sacrifice our lives for the protection of our community, women and children from oppressors. Then alone will Muslims, who call themselves Turkish, feel pride in calling themselves Indians. The *Vartman* writes :—Our goal is the same as it was at the time of the non-cooperation movement. It is true that we have made a few changes in our programme and it is not unlikely that we may have to make further changes but this can never mean that we should recede from our ideals to such an extent as to adopt the liberals' policy of mendicancy. Like Ireland we are prepared to meet repeated humiliations and are eager to be crushed by repression, but are determined not to give up our goal. Commenting on Mr. Baldwin's recent Guildhall speech the *Hamdam* inquires how Indians can trust the British Government when they themselves are not trusted by it. If they wish to voice their just demands freely they are dubbed as agitators; if they wish to help any oppressed foreign nation they are accused of conspiracy and if they want to visit any foreign country in order to inquire about or explain any particular matter they are refused passports. Under these circumstances it is absolutely unreasonable for Mr. Baldwin to expect Indians to trust the Government. The only assurance that Indians can give to him is that if the Government changes its present policy and begins to trust Indians they also will not prove ungrateful. The *Oudh Akhbar* approves of the decisions arrived at by the *Swaraj* party at Nagpur and agrees that there should be no change in favour of responsive co-operation owing to the defection of Messrs. Jayakar and Kelkar. These gentlemen are sadly mistaken if they believe that they will improve their prospects of election by this manœuvre as the country has now become thoroughly sick of co-operation. By harbouring such selfish designs they have only exposed their unreliability as leaders.

Hindu organization.

The *Hindu Sarvasva* writes :—In India attempts are being made on all sides to destroy Hindu religion. On the one hand the followers of Jesus Christ are making Hindus swallow poison by means of peaceful propaganda and on the other the followers of Muhammad are determined to convert them to Islam by means of their double-edged sword. The peace-loving authorities turn a deaf ear to the cries of the oppressed Hindus at this wanton destruction of their cherished religion. It is, therefore, up to the Hindus to organize themselves as this alone can lead them to their goal. The *Prabhat* publishes a message to the Hindus of the United Provinces from Bhai Parmanand who says that the United Provinces are the stronghold of the Hindu nationalism and if the Hindus of these provinces are organized they can save the Hindus of the whole country. The question of music before mosques really means that Muslims want to humiliate Hindus at every place and to keep them down in their own country. It is the United Provinces which will decide whether the Hindus will submit to the Muslims. There is only one way for the Hindus to save themselves. It is that the Hindu *sabhas* should decide that only such Hindus should be returned

to the municipal and district boards and to the councils as take a vow to protect the rights of the Hindu community. Lala Har Dayal (Sweden) writing to the *Bhavishya* makes an earnest appeal to the Hindu proprietors of Urdu newspapers to publish their papers in Hindi, as this is the best means of the diffusion of Hindi without which *sangathan* is impossible. No Hindu should teach Urdu to his children and all Hindus should carry on their work in Hindi. When Hindus have become strong they will be in a position to secure a place for Hindi in post offices, law courts, and Government offices also.

The Viceroy-designate.

Commenting upon the appointment of the Right Hon'ble E. F. L. Wood as the next Viceroy of India the *Vartman* writes :—The unprecedented appointment of a member of the House of Commons as Viceroy of India during the Conservative regime gives rise to the suspicion that Mr. Wood's appointment is not free from mystery. It appears that this appointment is associated with some new prescription of the policy of imperialism. For the last three or four years Government has been experiencing difficulty in realizing revenue, and there is constant danger of Indian *kisans* resorting to non-cooperation and fomenting trouble against zamindars and imparting a new form to their agitation. These are the elements of this mystery. The system of agriculture in India differs very materially from that in Europe and the adoption of a policy similar to that of Europe will result in the displacement of the zamindars by European capitalists whose object will be to convert Indian *kisans* into labourers by taking possession of their fields and depriving them of the occupation of agriculture. This is not a mere apprehension but a grim danger which is steadily increasing in this country. Indian leaders should ponder over this matter because the life of India depends upon the freedom of *kisans*. A number of other papers also express the view that the recent announcements of Government regarding proposed agricultural development in India are intended merely to divert public attention from political agitation.

The *Swaraj* party.

Referring to Messrs. Jayakar and Kelkar's "campaign against the present shifting and elusive policy" of the *Swaraj* party, the *Leader* writes :—The *Swaraj* party's no-policy has been a gross betrayal of public interests. We wish all strength to the elbows of Messrs. Jayakar and Kelkar in their wise and patriotic fight against a perfectly senseless and highly detrimental policy. The *Bharatiya Lokamat* says that if the *Swaraj* party remains steadfast in its policy of obstruction the country is bound to make rapid progress towards *swaraj*. If it fails to do so it will, like the moderates, lose the confidence of the country. It should be the paramount duty of the swarajists to get rid of their present wavering policy and to reaffirm its old policy at the Cawnpore Congress. The *Aj* points out that the rules of the *Swaraj* party will have to be changed. The swarajists will either have to resort to undiluted obstruction and prepare the people for civil disobedience or to abandon obstruction and practise co-operation. We would commend the former but would prefer the latter to the present double-faced policy of the swarajists.

Indianization of Services.

Commenting on the results of the last competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service held in England and India, the *Leader* writes :—What is the explanation for recruiting as many as thirty-six candidates in England and only five in India? It is abundantly clear that if only about half a dozen candidates are to be selected in India and six or seven times that number in England, the chances of success for Indians will be greater in the former than in the latter country and that those who come out successful in India have to pass through a keener competition than those in England. Here only the first five or six can be selected, whereas in England the first thirty or thirty-six. The existing arrangement is on the face of it illogical and unfair and ought to be revised. It places British youths at an advantage and cannot be reconciled with the principle of a fair field and no favour and equality of conditions.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* writes :—The future of Europe appears to be very dark. Bolshevism is gradually gaining ground in every country. In spite of the commercial treaties between the Soviet Government and England, France and other countries, the former is assiduously encouraging the socialistic republican movement throughout Europe by means of secret machinations. The socialistic revolutionaries are arrayed against the obdurate capitalists. The unrest in Europe has its roots in the grim

determination of the people and if the capitalists constantly follow a repressive policy and do not display generosity in conceding the demands of labourers revolutions will break out in terrible forms.

Indians in the colonies.

Referring to the visit of Mr. Andrews to South Africa the *Aj* says :—The time has come when we should treat the question of Indians in the colonies as a national one and should tell British authorities by our firm decision that India is not prepared to remain within the Empire in the position of a slave. It is equality which breeds friendship, whereas inequality creates alienation. Indians in the colonies are not slaves and those who ill-treat them are enemies of the Empire.

Reforms of temples and places of pilgrimage.

Referring to the "sin and vice which is rampant in temples and places of pilgrimage," the *Bhavishya* says :—The task of reforming these sacred places is very difficult, as the *mahants* and priests will not easily relinquish the property which they have been enjoying for years, but Mr. Das has shown us that success can be achieved through non-violent *satyagrah*. *Satyagrah* committees should, therefore, be established at every place of pilgrimage and the money which is at present wasted in vice and corruption should be secured for the regeneration of the country.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Medina* appeals to Hindu leaders to see that as laid down by the Unity Conference their followers insist on music only at places where it has been customary for at least five years and thus put an end to the growing estrangement between the two communities. *Al Bashir* complains that in circumstances clearly contravening section 13 of the Municipal Manual the Etawah municipal board have adopted a resolution which will practically put a stop to cow-slaughter there as cows become too old after the age of twelve and their meat then becomes unfit for human consumption. The paper appeals to Government to intervene in the matter.

The Currency Commission.

Criticizing the personnel of the Currency Commission the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The commission was appointed after a protracted period of eight months and with neither a non-official Indian majority nor with an Indian Chairman. This is only another striking manifestation of the utter subordination of Indian to English interests and the dictation of Indian economic policy from Whitehall and the helplessness of India to decide for herself, as any other nation, the policy she thinks best for herself. The real need of the country is the establishment of an honest gold standard backed by a gold currency, at any rate for some time to come. Since the gold exchange standard has failed, Indian opinion should incline to a gold standard as the sovereign remedy for all currency manipulations as ensuring both stability and freedom from the machinations of Government which is causing disastrous results to India.

Indian States.

The *Najat* writes : The presidential address of the Maharaja of Bharatpur at the Jat *Mahasabha* is a fair index of his anti-Muslim mentality and leaves no doubt about his being the person responsible for the desecration of mosques in that State. This utterance has proved his utter incompetence for rulership and it is to be hoped that the Foreign Department of the Government of India will not overlook this grave misconduct of the Maharaja.

ALLAHABAD :
November 21, 1925.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAIL BRANCH
22 DEC 1925
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 47 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 28, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

THE Muslim press is indignant at the news of the repeated bombardment of Damascus. The *Medina* regards the invitation of the new French High Commissioner for Syria to England as an attempt on the part of Englishmen to devise stratagems and subterfuges to counter the movement for independence in Syria lest the contagion should spread to Palestine. In another article the same paper condemns the semi-official delegation which is said to be proceeding to Geneva to inquire of the League of Nations whether Syria can be entrusted to another mandatory Power and says that if the mandate is given to England, the day will not be far off when the unfortunate Muslim world will have to hear of a calamity even worse than the destruction of Damascus. Syrians, do not get caught in the snare of alluring promises of European nations. Keep freedom alone as your ideal if you do not want to face the worst misfortunes. In yet a third article the paper refers to reports from Rabigh about Emir Ali's atrocities on the people of Medina and hopes that those who were maligning Ibn Saud for the destruction of lifeless tombs by his army will now prefer him to Emir Ali, who has been ill-treating living human beings. The *Najat* notes with satisfaction that the Frontier tribes are not unaware of the land-grabbing policy of the British Government. They look upon the Khyber Railway with suspicion and regard it as an encroachment on their liberty. It is feared that the railway instead of being advantageous to India from the stand-point of commerce and defence might prove a burden to her. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that the appeal of Maulana Shaukat Ali for the intervention of the League of Nations in the affairs of Damascus is only a cry in the wilderness. It is futile to expect justice at the hands of the League over which France holds so much influence and which is only a toy in the hands of a few powerful nations. The *Prem* says:—The revolution in Persia has put an end to the autocratic government which had been in existence there for the last 150 years in utter disregard of public opinion. At the present time the political horizon of Asia is resounding with the cry of republicanism. This revolution in Persia heralds the dawn of a beautiful, bright and peaceful future. These changes indicate that good days for India too are not far off. Indians wish well to their neighbouring State and invoke this wave of republicanism. The *Vartman* writes:—The revolution in Turkey, the socialistic policy of Russia, and the narrow-mindedness of England and France have caused quite a stir in Asia which is making rapid progress even in her state of dependence. The development of Afghanistan on republican lines and the deposition of the Kajar dynasty in Persia are signs of the general awakening in Asia. Bolshevism is steadily gaining ground in Russian Turkistan and this synchronizing with the abolition of the monarchy in Persia furnishes a fearful warning to the European monarchies. There is no doubt that so long as capitalism survives in Europe the future of Asia will remain dark because Asiatic nations cannot compete with European nations in science and armaments. But on account of this very science Europe is hastening towards its own degradation and Asia is once again coming into the field as the guide of the world.

Congress politics.

The *Sainik* condemns the attitude of Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar towards Pandit Motilal Nehru and says that it is not only injurious to party discipline but is also calculated to affect the interests of the party in the Council of State elections. Our

opponents are elated at the split in the *Swaraj* party and it is to be apprehended that the Cawnpore Congress will become a battle-field of mutual wranglings and recriminations and will not be able to formulate a common programme in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. While thanking the *Swaraj* party for the Nagpur decision the *Prem* deplores the split in its ranks. This was the only party in the country before the organization and discipline of which the authorities stood in awe. Now this party has weakened itself through its own mistakes. We would like to tell the swarajists that instead of going backward they should move forward and equip themselves with the forces which may help them in the attainment of victory. Those who have faith in the future of the country and who earnestly desire to see the early dawn of liberty in it should come forward and devote themselves to the work of the organization of villages. The *Kisan* publishes the substance of a letter from the secretary of the Indian Communist party in which he complains that some persons have captured the Congress and restricted its scope and exhorts the advocates of complete independence to attend the Cawnpore Congress in large numbers and put an end to this restrictive policy. The *Medina* opines that the only way out of the political stalemate is the establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity and appeals to the Congress to prepare a national pact which would remove all communal grievances and to secure its acceptance by all parties and communities.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* refers to the "appalling" consumption of opium in India and says that the foreign authorities, unless they are made responsible to the people, will do nothing to eradicate this evil, as it is to their interest to encourage such evils in order to prevent the people from asserting themselves and setting their house in order. The *Hindi Kesari* insinuates that the Khyber Railway has been opened not with the object of promoting trade but with that of establishing British supremacy on the Frontier. It says that $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees of the hard-earned money of India have been wasted in cementing the alliance with Afghanistan. The *Vartman* writes:—While we are torn by dissensions and mutual estrangement the alien Government is seizing our children and confining them into jails. Those of whom the nation is proud are being taken away from us. Our battle for securing our rights is being suppressed by tyranny and injustice. Our true General, Deshbandhu Das was snatched away from us. The champions of "divide and rule" had their chance and our unity disappeared. How long will the votaries of the nation remain asleep and when will that day come when we shall be able to raise our head before other nations of the world and declare that freedom is our birth-right and home rule is our government? The votaries of the nation should finally decide that either they will sacrifice themselves at the altar of the nation or, if they continue to exist they will live as free men. The need is for all of us to be united and to follow one common path, however tedious and wearisome it may be, so that every child of the nation may be entitled to sacrifice himself. Movements confined to a small scale do not succeed. Success is achieved only when the whole nation marches forward. We shall have to undergo greater sufferings than other countries. In another article the paper remarks:—The British bureaucracy is always ready to crush any political movement which is inaugurated in India. The manœuvres practised by it to destroy the non-co-operation movement and its attacks upon the swarajist leaders are matters of common knowledge. Most of the accused in the Kakori dacoity case are innocent and are merely being made victims of bureaucratic tactics. But the object of the bureaucracy cannot succeed by means of these irresponsible doings. Repression may achieve temporary success but it is bound to fail in the long run. Its natural outcome can only be that a feeling of hatred may spread in the whole of the country and the educated as well as the non-educated population may become staunch opponents of its irresponsible policy. The *Prabhat* says that the Christian Churches Congress recently held in England has exposed the real form of Christianity in all its nakedness. The Christian missionaries are no longer the apostles of Christ or God but are the agents of Satan. They have now become instruments of promoting the political interests of European nations. Their entry into any country under the guise of religious preachers is only a prelude to the political subjection of that country. What can be more deplorable than this that a religion whose ideal is universal brotherhood should become a handmaid of imperialism? Referring to the agitation in the British press for the abolition of submarines the *Aj* remarks that the policy of commercial exploitation is the root cause of

all the troubles, and it is desirable in the interest of the peace of the world that it should be thrown overboard first of all.

The *Sivaji* (daily edition of the *Awaz* of Meerut) publishes a picture of Sivaji on the front page with the following poem below the figure :—

Sivaji, the son-in-law of Alamgir, was a good Hindu ;
He was full of enthusiasm for the Hindu faith ;
He was devoted to cows and Brahmans.
Those who are the enemies of these two are not the sons of India.
The life of the hero of Maharashtra conveys the lesson,
That Jats, Gujars, Rajputs, Vaishyas and Khatris should, according to their means,
Become again the true protectors of these in the country.
Vote for that person who is the supporter of the Hindu faith.

The Viceroy-Designate.

The *Bharat Dharma* writes :—Although we shall welcome the new Viceroy as the representative of the King-Emperor we have no hopes that we shall get rid of our slavery at his hands. The bureaucratic system of government is so peculiar that even the best of rulers has to adapt himself to it. The new Viceroy will devote his attention to agricultural development which means that the agricultural industry of the country will also pass away into the hands of British capitalists. Lord Birkenhead, Lord Reading and the Governor of the United Provinces are all with one voice talking of rural reform and agricultural development. There can be a political reason for this. Most of our movements, like non-cooperation and the destruction of Councils, have failed. There remains only the work of village organization and of the awakening of the cultivators by means of which the people can be prepared for civil disobedience. The new Viceroy will control this under the plea of agricultural development and will thus take away this weapon also from the hands of Indians. India at present requires a Viceroy who can unravel the existing political entanglements. The *Prem* thinks that all the current talk about agricultural development in India is a fresh noose to entangle Indians. It fears lest this should be a move to set cultivators and zamindars by the ears and keep them aloof from the influence of the *Swaraj* party.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* appeals to Hindus to return only such candidates to local bodies as pledge themselves to support Hindu interests and writes :—"We still hold that the Hindus have reasons, as Hindus, to turn out from the (Lucknow) municipality every swarajist who sat quiet and immovable when Dr. Lakshmi Sahai moved for the closure of the park for the Namaz. If a single Hindu voter gave his vote to a candidate that would not agree to safeguard his religious rights, then there is no use in helpless squeals next time the police stops the procession or the Deputy Commissioner dictates the timings and routes for the *Ram Dol* or *Dassehra* processions. A community that will not organize itself under such intense provocation deserves only to be treated with contempt." The *Garhwali* says that since the Unity Conference at Delhi there have been several Hindu-Muslim riots in the country and the leaders have begun to despair of Hindu-Muslim unity and have adopted an attitude of utter apathy towards the problem. This should be a matter of deep shame and disgrace to India and her children. In the midst of such discouraging atmosphere everybody will welcome Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's appeal to settle once for all the question of cow-sacrifice and of music before mosques and make the field clear for political progress. It is to be hoped that leaders will ponder over the appeal and devise measures to educate public opinion to subordinate religious and communal interests to political and national ones. The *Prabhat* writes :—The problem of music before mosques is getting complicated and the Government has set a spark to the powder by breaking the established practice and prohibiting music before mosques during the Hindu festivals. The executive council of the Hindu *Mahasabha* has been compelled to decide at its Delhi meeting that the Hindus should devise means for preventing all interference in the discharge of their religious obligations. If the Government persists in its policy the Hindu *Sabha* may have to decide upon *satyagraha*. The Government's attempt to stop music before mosques is so unjustifiable that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his recent statement has recognized the right of Hindus to play music before mosques. Muslim leaders should impress upon their misguided followers that they are in the wrong in seeking to stop Hindu music before mosques.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Leader* writes:—We are curious to know in some detail what is the nature of the information the Government of India want and which can only be collected on the spot by a deputation in order that they may take up a strong attitude against the atrocious anti-Asiatic legislation now before the Union Parliament. A conference between their accredited representatives and the Union Government may prove useful, or may not. But what Mr. G. F. Paddison, I. C. S., the hon. Mr. Syed Raza Ali, their still unnamed colleague, and Mr. Secretary G. S. Bajpai are expected or will be able to achieve, is not clear to us. We think the deputation unnecessary and the personnel unsatisfactory. The *Medina* points out that according to the Smuts-Gandhi agreement a limited number of educated Indians who would come to improve the condition of their fellow-countrymen would be admitted into South Africa every year. When the British Empire became free from the dangers, fears and perplexity of the War this agreement was most dishonestly altered to mean that educated Indians would be allowed to stay in South Africa only so long as they worked purely as teachers and religious leaders. This detestable breach of faith has left the educated Indian community at the mercy of officials and now whenever the Government regard the stay of any educated Indian to be opposed to their interests they make use of this agreement to expel him from the country. Only recently when the South African Indians decided to appeal to the Privy Council against the oppressive laws of the country the Union Government expelled all educated Indians except four who were employed as teachers. The result has been that the poor uneducated public is now unable to voice its views. The truth is that the Union Government wants to clear South Africa of non-white races. This is its firm determination and no protests and memorials can avail. Only a free India can devise a solution for this.

The Maharaja of Nabha.

Referring to reports of the "sufferings of Nabha—the brave ruler who is practically interned by the British because he was independent," the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—It would, we think, be a revelation indeed if His Highness should write to the press about his sufferings. We too have heard rumours about His Highness not having received a single pice since he abdicated "voluntarily." We have heard that even his letters are censored and that his movements are shadowed by the C. I. D. Above all, Nabha, the throne of his ancestors, which he loves so well, is mal-administered. We must confess to a deep feeling of humiliation that such vindictiveness should characterize any civilized Government towards a prince. To the pangs of abdication the pangs of privation are added. The people of the State are crying for their ruler. And if to-morrow His Highness should appeal to the people of India, the sympathy of the millions would flow unto him. It is for the princes of India to assert boldly that if the Government intends to use Nabha as an example to terrorize them, the Government is mistaken. We ask the Government of India whether it would be willing to allow two princes, one chosen by Nabha and one by themselves, to inquire into the present administration of the State under the British during the last two years and a half. Commenting on the allegations referred to by the *Indian Daily Telegraph* the *Bhavishya* writes:—Indian princes dance to the tune of the British Government and Maharaja Ripudaman Singh furnishes an example of the misery of those among them who are self-respecting. To-day Maharaja Ripudaman Singh is helpless, forlorn and unprotected. It is a pity that bound in the chains of slavery, Indians have not the power to help him.

The Skeen Committee.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The Skeen Committee inquiry is governed by restrictions and limitations which only reveal that the Government is unwilling to throw open careers of the Army to Indians. The questionnaire is also scrappy and even misleading. It would seem that the dearth of Indians in the Army is due to some defective publicity arrangements. The argument of those who deny to Indians offices in the Army on a large scale is a stale one. They say: "Indians have not the martial instinct of the Europeans; they are not so valorous and venturesome." Indians made good officers in the Army before the English came to India. They ceased to make good officers after the establishment of British rule. Something must, indeed, be very rotten with an administration which saps the genius of a race. The truth is, Indians have greater power of endurance. They have capacity to bear the hardships inevitably associated with a military career.

Sir Fazli Hasan's re-appointment as Minister.

The *Leader* writes: We wonder if there was an understanding that Sir Fazli Hasan should be re-appointed Minister when he was no longer wanted by the Government of India. That the elected President of the Council should be appointed Minister, to vacate the office when the permanent incumbent came back, and possibly to seek election afresh to the *quasi*-judicial office of President, is suggestive more of the familiar "postings and transfers" of permanent officials than of responsible parliamentary government in which the accountability of both President and Minister is to the Legislature and the head of the Executive Government plays very little part. Yet these persistent practitioners of bureaucratic methods sit in judgement over the conduct of the Legislature and solemnly pronounce a verdict in their own favour and against the people and their accredited representatives. If the present system is an experiment, how can the experiment succeed in such adverse conditions?

The Late Queen Alexandra.

The *Leader* writes:—A whole Empire is plunged into mourning to-day on the passing away of a gracious and benevolent queen who had endeared herself to the humblest of her subjects by her graciousness, the grace of her womanliness, and the deep sympathy which she brought to bear upon the numerous philanthropic activities through which she demonstrated her great power of doing good.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* publishes an appeal by Mr. Shaukat Ali to Muslims to become members of the Reception Committee of the Cawnpore *Khilafat* Conference and to help it in every way. The *Zulqarnain* regrets that the Wetherill Committee has not yet published its questionnaire and urges that its scope of inquiry should be widened. It is a pity that Hindu papers are trying to prove that Muslims are sufficiently advanced educationally and require no special help. The *Hamdam* attributes the difficulties experienced by Muslim boys in securing admission to Government schools in the United Provinces to the paucity of Muslim headmasters and requests the Hon'ble Minister of Education to appoint Muslim second masters to the five forthcoming vacancies in that cadre.

ALLAHABAD:
November 28, 1925.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 48 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 5, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Medina* warns the League of Nations that the Turks can never forego Mosul and if more importance is attached to British might than to right, a plebiscite might be held. Ample evidence of Turkish determination is afforded by the massing of 25,000 troops on the Iraq frontier and if war ensues it would be a terrible and decisive one for Islam. In another article the same paper appeals to Indian Muslims to sink their differences in regard to the Nejd-Hedjaz question. The re-installation of any member of the Sheriffian dynasty on the throne of the Hedjaz is out of the question, as the family has incurred much public odium on account of its disservices to Islam. Nor can Emir Ali govern the country without foreign aid which is bound to open the door for non-Muslim intrigues. The Khilafatists do not want to place Ibn Saud either on the throne, but they cannot subscribe to the dictum that the Hedjaz is meant only for the Hedjazis. Muslims all the world over are equally interested in their holy land and it would be best to adopt the Khilafatist plan of establishing the rule of an assembly of Muslim Powers over the Hedjaz and thus barring for ever non-Muslim aggression.

Political propaganda.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* complains of the partiality of Government for "vested classes" and the sufferings of the tenantry from all kinds of arbitrary exactions by the landlords and says:—Thus driven to despair by our own people and humiliated by our so-called "*ma-bap*," we turn to labour as the last resource so that, if democracy has any meaning, labour, by its sheer weight of numbers, will triumph where reason and justice have failed. There is, therefore, nothing politically wrong in seeking the co-operation of the poorest of the poor to change the destiny of a country in which labour especially stands to gain rather than lose, as it has already reached a state that cannot possibly be worse under any other *régime*. The *Prem* congratulates "Raja" Mahendra Pratap on his birthday anniversary and remarks:—There is great need for a selfless and active man like the Raja Sahib for the regeneration of India. Although we may not agree with the policy and programme of the Raja Sahib, yet even his enemies will respect him for his sacrifices and sufferings in the cause of the country. Even a most confirmed pessimist can have no doubt about the bright future and regeneration of India, so long as such devoted men of action are born in the country. Circumstances may well prevent us to-day from appreciating his actions and sacrifices, but free India will surely sing his praises. Commenting on the acquittal of a tea-planter of Assam who was charged with the murder of a coolie, the *Pratap* sarcastically observes:—After all, there was nothing serious. Only an Indian had been killed. Well, has anyone ever investigated the cause of the death of insects and mosquitoes? Why should a hue and cry be raised over the death of the coolie? It is only through good fortune that one gets kicks from white feet. The *Aj* wonders why political offences are found to be rampant when there is on foot some popular political movement or some strong agitation for the grant of political concessions to Indians and says:—The explanation seems to lie in the fact that the Criminal Investigation Department scent sedition where there is none, for otherwise their prospects of promotion, nay, their very occupation, would be gone. In a country where the interests of the rulers and the ruled clash with one another Government is bound to depend more and more on the help of sycophants and the

Criminal Investigation Department. How the Criminal Investigation Department have made the lives of many an innocent man miserable and how the law has been so framed as to make its task easy is evident from the fact that the Criminal Investigation Department does not spare even such philanthropic persons as Mr. Andrews and that the accused in the Kakori dacoity case were shut up in prison without the magistrate's permission. How is it that the supposed omniscience of the police which succeeds in tracing revolutionary activities does not help Government in putting a stop to these activities altogether?

The *Swaraj* party.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The resolution of the Thana conference supporting responsive co-operation must convince the Nehruites that the time has come when facts have to be faced and when the game of bluff must end. The landslide in favour of responsive co-operation is the assertion of practical as against the imaginary truth. The Nehru policy has also been responsive co-operation, but he has not the courage to say so in view of the forthcoming elections. The *Aj* does not agree with the views of Lala Lajpat Rai on the discipline of the *Swaraj* party and remarks that Pandit Motilal Nehru's opinion regarding the discipline of the party is quite sound but that the policy of the party is fickle and calculated to mislead the people. It is now absolutely necessary to change it. Referring to the speeches of Mr. Aney on responsive co-operation at Nagpur, the same paper wonders how the followers of such policy can obstruct administration after accepting office and taking the oath of allegiance for good administration. If responsive co-operators are tired of remaining out of office and do not want to prepare the people for civil disobedience either, they may accept office and co-operate with Government but it is idle for them to throw mud on the liberals by attacking their convictions. In yet a third article the same paper surmises that the whole of Maharashtra, Berar and the Maratha C. P. will raise the standard of revolt against the *Swaraj* party. It remarks that if Pandit Motilal Nehru had exercised moderation and had not openly opposed responsive co-operation the dissensions in the *Swaraj* party would have been avoided for some time more although their outbreak was inevitable sooner or later. The *Bharat Dharma* says that though Pandit Motilal Nehru has been following the policy of responsive co-operation off and on yet he curses the Maharashtra leaders for advocating its open adoption. Undiluted co-operation, pure non-co-operation, and pure obstruction having all failed, responsive co-operation should now be given a trial, as it appears to be the only suitable and practical policy in the existing circumstances. The country is bound to support it sooner or later. Pandit Motilal Nehru cannot manage things much longer without giving up his overweening and intolerant attitude. He cannot have peace after provoking the people of Maharashtra. Ths *Bhavishya* deprecates the propaganda in favour of responsive co-operation and says:—In our opinion the time for co-operation has not yet come, for there has been no change in the heart of Government. By spurning the small demand for reforms put forward by Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Assembly the Government has shown that it does not require our co-operation, but relies on repression alone. We would, therefore, request our Maharashtra brethren to give up the sham of responsive co-operation and come to the right path. No country in the world has ever obtained *swaraj* by means of co-operation. Our non-violent struggle for independence can be successful only when the whole country from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas and from Karachi to Assam is organized. The *Medina* observes that Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, who regard themselves as the followers of Mr. Tilak and are posing as ardent sponsors of responsive co-operation, are most conservative and reactionary in spite of being men of the new light. Mr. Tilak had adumbrated his plan of responsive co-operation long ago when the deluded people of India had not yet become fully convinced of (the efficacy of) non-cooperation with Britain. But when Indians realised that howsoever they might extend the hand of co-operation the Government would not respond, the principle of non-cooperation alone was regarded as acceptable. With this conviction and after the famous co-operation speeches of Mr. Das one is led to suspect the patriotism of any nationalist who raises the antiquated cry of responsive co-operation at this late hour of the day, and, and even if he is regarded as above suspicion he must surely be thought to be labouring under a delusion. What is the good of ministerships and presidentships when the powers do not exist? Responsive co-operation can only be mutual but the responsive co-operation of Messrs Kelkar and Co. means subjection and serfdom.

Congress politics.

The *Prem* writes :—The political future of the next year depends upon the success of the Cawnpore Congress. If the people have become tired of subjection and do not want to see the dance of autocracy on the bosom of the country they should strive hard and whole-heartedly for the success of the Congress. They should once more sound the clarion call so that even dead hearts may be electrified, the indolent may be infused with a sense of duty and the "loud laughter" of autocracy may cease for good in the country. Under the heading "The Cawnpore Congress" the *Vartman* publishes a poem which translated stands as below :—

Let us wipe out oppression, and crush the haughtiness of the enemies.

So long as we live we cannot bear to see the wicked assaulting us.

Let us go to the Cawnpore Congress, let us make full efforts (to make it a success).

Let us uphold the honour of the Motherland and remove misrule.

O *Vyathit*, (writer's nom-de-plume) our countrymen who are worshippers of love and lovers of liberty,

Should all go there to remove our affliction.

The *Shankar* says :—Indian leaders of all shades of opinion are committing moral suicide. The co-operators while wishing in their heart of hearts to get rid of British rule loudly proclaim that they want to keep the British connexion intact. The responsive co-operators while preaching obstruction and co-operation alike talk of getting half power, but have set their heart on getting all powers. The obstructionists profess to follow a policy of obstruction but co-operate in practice. The non-cooperators know that non-violence in mind, word and deed is impossible and that the spinning-wheel cannot achieve anything, yet hold that non-cooperation will succeed. The leaders say one thing in private and another on the platform. All this only goes to propagate moral suicide in the country. It is this sin of moral suicide which is ruining the country.

Cotton excise duty.

Referring to the suspension of the collection of the cotton excise duty the *Leader* writes :—Of course we are thankful for this act of combined benevolence and wisdom, but what the Governor-General has now done should have been done, as it could have been, at the beginning of the financial year in the complete form of repeal of the duty. The next best thing would have been to have done the present act before the mill-workers, numbering a lakh and a half, went on strike. But Lord Reading's Government were obdurate. They elected to stuff their ears with cotton and remain deaf to all appeals of reason and common-sense. If the Government of India had been a responsible national Government they would have been compelled to be a Government of patriots and wise men. In another article the paper writes :—We trust that the repeal of the duty will not be made an excuse to postpone further relief to the provinces. There should be a further reduction, and a substantial reduction, of provincial contributions even if there can be no total remission. We also hope that there will be no reduction of the import duty consequent on the repeal of the countervailing excise duty. In yet another article the paper writes :—A grievance thirty years old has been removed and Lord Reading's viceroyalty will be remembered for the removal of a great fiscal wrong.

Political prisoners' conference.

The *Pratap* supports the proposal to hold a political prisoners' conference during the Congress session and suggests that this conference should be made a permanent organization instead of a temporary one. It adds :—The need for such an organization is established by the fact that even our educated countrymen are not aware of the difficulties, sufferings and sacrifices undergone by political prisoners. The function of this conference will not be to relate prisoners' stories or dwell upon the brutal treatment meted out to prisoners in Indian jails but to provide material for a connected history of Indian revolution. It is the political prisoners' conference and not the labours of Vincent Smith and the report of Justice Rowlatt which can fill up the omissions in this important portion of Indian history. Another important work which this conference can do is to keep note of Indians in exile in foreign lands and work for their relief. The *Sada-i-Muslim* appeals to the public to support the political prisoners' association, as many released political prisoners die of destitution and disease after release. If the

public shows indifference, no one would dare to make bold sacrifices for his country.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Aj* is furious over the news of the attack on a Hindu marriage party at Allahabad while it was passing by a mosque and says that it is the duty not only of Hindus but of every thoughtful citizen including Muslims to oppose this intolerable and altogether new demand which is meant to pick up quarrels with the Hindus. The *Abhyudaya* says :—As we wrote on the occasion of *Dasehra*, the problem of music before mosques will give rise to disputes every day. The authorities who support the unjust demand of Muslims should see the result of their partizanship. The support of unjust demands only encourages further unjust demands and strangles truth and justice. So long as Hindus do not stand up for the protection of their rights we must entertain no hopes from the authorities or any other power on earth. If the Hindus of Allahabad want to preserve their right they too will have to make a show of strength like the Muslims. If they think that to play music is their right they will have to risk their life and die for its protection.

Jails of the United Provinces.

The *Vartman* publishes a series of articles complaining of the ill-treatment of prisoners in jails in the United Provinces. In the course of them it says:—The main reason why Indian prisoners in jails are subjected to brutal tyranny is that we have no means of ascertaining what is happening to them inside the jails, and even if we do occasionally succeed in getting information about them, we cannot procure any proof in support of it. Prisoners often die as a result of getting a severe beating and are reported by the doctor to have died of some disease. The jail officials are ever ready to beat the prisoners on the slightest excuse, although the Jail Manual expressly forbids them to do so. How can those officials who are often found to stoop so low as to accept petty bribes of a rupee and steal loaves of bread from the prisoners' meals claim any superiority over the prisoners? The writer saw with his own eyes that fuel, carpets and other jail property were often taken away for personal use by jailors. He suggests the following means, among others, for the reform of jails :—Regular visits to jails by members of the Legislative Council ; provision for the supply of wholesome food and decent clothing to prisoners ; stopping of *begar* work ; provision for the treatment of sick prisoners by outside *hakims* and *vaidyas* and permission to prisoners to say their prayers without any let or hindrance.

Elections to local bodies.

The *Anand* says that only those persons should be returned to the municipal boards who pledge themselves to champion the cause of the Hindus in religious matters. The dilapidated temple at Amethi, the Mahabir temple in the Aminabad park involved in the *arti-nimaz* controversy, and other demolished and desecrated buildings call upon the voters to save their religion from pseudo-Hindus. The *Gyan Shakti* urges that it is the Hindu *Sabha* and not the Congress which should participate in the forthcoming elections. The latter will suffer if it involves itself in the elections. The elections are a contest between the Hindu *Sabha* and the *Khilafat* League. The Congress should take part in the elections only after the system of communal representation has been abolished and a joint electorate established. The *Aj* writes :—Even in connexion with the municipal and district boards we should have as our representatives men who do not help the bureaucracy directly or indirectly in hampering the country in the struggle for national liberty. It is wrong to say that national liberty has nothing to do with the administration of a town or a district. The local boards can be utilized in helping forward the programme of provincial and national leaders to compel the bureaucracy to grant *swaraj* to the people. We have no hopes of *swaraj* being offered. We want to take it by every peaceful and legitimate means. The voters should therefore vote only for the nominees of the Congress and not for those who have seceded from the national assembly and claim a monopoly of talent for themselves.

The Kakori train dacoity case.

The *Sainik* wants to know why about thirty respectable citizens were thrown into prison at the nod of the police, when the police could not collect evidence of their complicity in the Kakori train dacoity case even within two months after their arrest. What was the harm if the police had not arrested the men who were subsequently released on bail, when it had no evidence against them? Would the British Empire have been endangered if the police had not harassed them in

this way? The *Pratap* protests against the action of the magistrate in the Kakori train dacoity case in keeping the accused Ram Krishna Khanna in his bungalow and arranging, according to his desire, an interview between him and one Baba Hazara of Lucknow and remarks:—This behaviour of the authorities towards Ram Krishna gives rise to suspicion. What was the need for the magistrate to bother himself to comply with his wishes? It is indeed very mysterious that a particular individual should be allowed to remain outside the jail continuously for eight hours and enjoy himself in the bungalow when objections are made to the release of other accused even on bail.

Third class passengers.

The *Medina* appeals to Indians all over the country to join the agitation in favour of humane and sympathetic treatment of third class railway passengers. The high-handed and rich railway officials have been ever indifferent to their woes and it is up to every patriotic Indian to create public opinion on the subject. The East Indian Railway was so far the most comfortable but with its passing under State control we cannot have any hope from it either. If the love of comfort of rich passengers demands it the number of passenger trains may be increased. Trains may be started every five hours. The time-tables should be framed with due regard for the convenience of all. There should be more compartments for passengers and a smaller number should be allowed in each compartment and this rule should be strictly enforced. Comforts should be provided in waiting rooms and railway employees should be required to cultivate politeness and sympathy and then all grievances will automatically disappear.

The problem of unemployment.

Referring to the scheme of land colonization in Travancore in which special concessions and facilities will be afforded to those who take large areas for cultivation and one of the objects of which is "to remove from among the educated classes the canker of unemployment," the *Leader* writes:—The feasibility of starting a similar scheme in the interests of the educated unemployed youths of the United Provinces deserves serious consideration. It is our view that agricultural development on modern lines can be facilitated if some of our educated youths take to agriculture and utilize the information available in the publications issued periodically by the departments of Agriculture in various provinces.

The Commonwealth of India Bill.

Commenting on the Bill the *Pratap* says:—The history of the attainment of self-government by the British colonies shows that rights cannot be obtained without a show of strength. We, therefore, regard it below our dignity as well as detrimental to the cause of national organization to build our hopes on the favour of Englishmen. Moreover, Dr. Besant's Bill does not represent the aspirations of the new awakened India. We can never get *swaraj* within the Empire and even if we get it, it would be a fictitious one. We cannot therefore accept the definition of *swaraj* as given in this Bill. Though we are not able to attain complete freedom at present, we think it necessary to keep it as our goal.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Aj* says that though Indians in South Africa and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu are utterly dissatisfied with the personnel of the official deputation to South Africa, yet the Indian bureaucracy is determined to send the same worthless deputation there. Does not this attitude show that in reality the Indian bureaucracy does not sympathize with the grievances of the South African Indians and that what it is doing is only for show? Our condition is deplorable. Still we believe that the bureaucracy is siding with Indians. If we have half as much faith in God and in self-reliance as we have in the bureaucracy, our condition can be improved in a very short time.

Local Self-Government in notified and Town Areas.

In the opinion of the *Bhavishya* the Notified and Town Area Committees are mere frauds and do not possess any real power. The only duty of the members of these bodies is to obey explicitly the orders of the town magistrates. How can there be local self-government in such circumstances? The Act should be so amended as to make these bodies really self-governing like municipal boards.

Historical Records Commission.

Commenting on the "invaluable work" of the Historical Records Commission, the *Leader* writes:—We should be grateful to the Punjab Government for the great care that they are devoting to the work of preservation, cataloguing and press-listing of historical records in their possession. We wish all Provincial Governments

would take similar interest in the preservation of such records and give all possible help to the Commission in their work.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* thinks that but for the perseverance of Mr. Kitchlew, the All-Indian Tanzeem Committee would have been regarded as a body of self-seeking *ji-huzoors* and appeals to the powers that be in that organization to dispel the suspicion that the Congress and *Khilafat* meetings at Cawnpore are sought to be injured by holding the *Tanzeem* Conference at Aligarh.

Indian States.

The *Naiyar-i-Azam* publishes a contributed article in which the writer complains that Muslims are being excluded from every department of the Jaipur State and are being deprived of their jagirs in spite of their loyal services in the past.

The Co-operative movement.

Mr. Ram Nath Lal "Suman," writing in the *Aj*, suggests that in order to increase the utility of the co-operative movement all its publications should be published in the Indian vernaculars, as the mass of the people who have to deal with it are ignorant of the English language.

ALLAHABAD:
December 5, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 49 of 1925.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 12, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

The *Aj* condemns the proclamation of martial law in the district of Damascus and Haraun and remarks:—Those who, being unable to tolerate the terrible atrocities and blood-boiling insults of the French, are fighting for freedom are styled as brigands, while the imperialists who in the name of the League of Nations suck the blood of other countries are regarded as virtuous rulers. When Bulgaria and Greece quarrelled the League of Nations at once intervened and won a cheap name, but why does it not prevent the murders which the French are committing in its name. In condemning these murders Mr. Baldwin has referred to his "difficulties." Perhaps he remembered the Jallianwala Bagh and the bombing of unarmed men and women of Mesopotamia. The diabolical dance of European imperialists in Western Asia is sure to bear fruit and even Europe will not be able to save itself from the fire produced by the world-wide discontent against the League and its supporters. The same paper says that the reason for the encomiums which are being showered on the Locarno Treaty and on Sir Austen Chamberlain is simply this that the Conservative Government have done nothing so far to impress their electors. In the opinion of the paper it is Germany and not Britain and Italy which has shown the greatest generosity and love of peace in this case. If France had not been busy with the Moroccan and Syrian affairs she would not have allowed her friend across the sea to take the credit for nothing. As regards the self-praise of Britain we cannot forget that it was because of her opposition that the resolution about the treaty for mutual protection could not be carried in the League of Nations. The *Medina* disbelieves Sir Austen Chamberlain's statement in Parliament that the British are blockading the Tangier Zone only to check the secret traffic in arms, and says that whatever pretexts British statesmen may devise to conceal their crafty projects, it is plain that the real object is a blockade of the Moroccan army which was announced by France after her defeat and repulse. The *Najat* remarks that the Mosul, Riffian and Syrian questions have brought about an Anglo-French alliance for the destruction of civilization and the desolation of the world. England will help France in crushing the Syrians and the latter will co-operate with the former if a war breaks out over the Mosul question. But these activities on the part of England and France will cause unity among the Turks, Syrians, Palestinians and the tribes on the frontier of Mesopotamia and Persia, with the result that the "mandate system" which has been imposed upon weak nations will come to an end and the East will be saved for ever from imperialism. The *Medina* suspects that France is handing over to the Druses Syrian territory adjoining Palestine simply to give Britain a pretext to crush the independence movement in Syria. British imperialistic lust can never tolerate that the East also should breathe the air of liberty. May God save our warriors from the moves of the enemies. In another article the same paper utters a warning that the Syrians will never tolerate in their country Emir Abdullah who is acting as a puppet of the British in Palestine. In yet a third article the same paper denounces as pure propaganda the appeal of English clergymen in favour of the continuance of British rule in Iraq for the protection of Christians there. See what new calamity this fight for gold of the oil-sellers and priests of England brings for the poor East. In still another article the paper urges Indian Muslims to make an open declaration of their policy in regard to Mosul before matters come to a head so that Britain may know what internal and external difficulties she would have to face if she elects

for war. Indian Muslims are not now the Muslims of 1914. The class of *pirs* over which Sir Michael O'Dwyer reposed so much confidence has now become weak and Turkish bullets cannot now be stopped by their incantations. We pray to God that the Turks may get Mosul without war, but we must, at the same time, warn Indian Muslims that they should not sell their souls for a few coins as they will at last have to render account to God. In a fifth article the same paper supports the appeal of the *Khilafat* committee for funds for the relief of the refugees of Medina, and says that as winter with all its severities is approaching the time is for practical help and not for academic discussions on the responsibility of Ibn Saud or Ibn Sheriff for the sorry plight of these people.

Political propaganda.

Referring to the revolutionary movements and changes in various Asiatic countries after the war the *Swadhin* writes :—The present wave is much more fierce and terrible than the waves which have been rising from time to time on account of the personal autocratic rule of kings and which disappeared after putting an end to the personalities of these kings. The wave of liberty which is at present passing over the whole world is the result of the despotic domination of some powerful nations over the weaker ones. The rule of Englishmen over India is also like the grinding of one nation by another in the mill of subjection. Englishmen who number only about five crores and a half have put such a noose of their rule round the necks of various countries and nations that they are fattening themselves by depriving the people of those countries of their food and making them dance to their tune. The *Aj* says :—Among the Asiatic countries the history of India and China is very heart-rending indeed. India became truly dependent from the time she came under the British rule, for it was only under the British rule that Indians were deprived of arms and were excluded from high posts under the Crown and India began to be governed not in her own interests, as had been the case under the Muslim and other rulers who made India their home, but in the interests of foreigners. The difference between the rulers and the ruled is being perpetuated by the foreigners and Indians are being humiliated at each and every step. This system of governing India from outside was called "satanic" by Mahatma Gandhi and the National Congress aims at delivering the country from it. The whole world has become, so to say, a kind of pasture for the whitemen to feed upon. Referring to Sir Joynson-Hicks' remarks in his recent Manchester speech that the British conquered India by the sword and would retain it by the sword, the *Shakti* welcomes such outspokenness and wishes that such statements of arrogant imperialist British statesmen may open the eyes of Indians for good, and this dose of insult may serve as a bitter medicine to remove slavishness from the heart of the country. The *Vartman* contends that India's demand for *swaraj* is old and not the product of the imagination of the new generation as some Englishmen think. It says that if the idea of liberty continues to grow at the present rate, a day may come when India will be of one mind on the question of complete independence just as to-day it is unanimous on that of colonial self-government. The question of complete independence is, therefore, of great importance and should be discussed threadbare in the forthcoming Congress and, if necessary, a resolution should also be passed on the subject. Referring to the Associated Press report about the decision of the British Cabinet to send a Royal Commission to India the *Pratap* says :—Our rulers are at present following a mild policy. They are trying to destroy our national awakening by coaxing the Muslims, by patting the untouchables, by determining to end the *swaraj* party with the help of the black laws of Bengal and by cajoling the liberals and are striving to restore our faith in the British sense of justice by offering us small baits. The Government have found a good opportunity in the present split in the Swarajist camp to sow further seeds of discord among Indian politicians by such offers. Indians will do well not to be led away by them. Writing in the *Hamdam*, M. Azad Subhani eulogises communism as the religion of universal brotherhood and asserts that not Karl Marx and Lenin, but Islam and its Prophet were its true progenitors. It is the most efficacious remedy for bringing about the freedom of subject peoples, removing the weakness of the weak, establishing happy international relations and welding all nations into one. The gist of this religion of brotherhood is contained in the maxim that so long as a single person is starving no one has a right to take delicious food. In an editorial the paper dwells on the indifference of the Government towards the rights of labourers and citing the recent sufferings of the Bombay

mill-hands as a case in point urges Indian labour to take a prominent part in the struggle for freedom in order to get their grievances redressed at the hands of "a free Indian Government." In yet another article the same paper refers to the report about the appointment of a Royal Commission on Indian Reforms and says that nothing good can be expected at the hands of the present Conservative Government and Lord Reading has infused so much despotism into the Indian administration that every fresh step in regard to the Reforms only inflicts another cut on India's already lacerated heart. The Muddiman Committee held the Indians to be undeserving of any concession and Lord Reading returned from his conversations in England with a blood-thirsty sword hanging by his side.

The Kakori train dacoity case.

Referring to the release of some of the accused in the Kakori train dacoity case the *Swadhin* writes:—What an injustice it is that the police kept these innocent persons in jail for about two months without any justification and is still making the rest of the accused rot in jail in order to collect evidence against them. If such a thing had occurred in a country having self-government the police would have fared very badly at its hands. But this country is in the hands of aliens whose whole power lies in the police and military frightfulness. The *Sainik* remarks:—If there was a cart-load of evidence against the accused why have some of them been released now? We challenge the Marris Government to produce evidence against these men? Why were they arrested and detained in jails for two months? Why were the district and municipal boards elections held on the occasion of the Congress three months previous to their usual time? Why was the session of the Legislative Council not held in November? Does not this chain of events create a suspicion in the public mind that what was done or is being done is intended to place impediments in the way of the Congress? Why are these things being done? Is the maxim, a drowning man catches even at a straw being translated into action? Is it being thought that the growing power of the Congress can be checked by such things? If so, we pity the intellect which can conceive such things. The *Pratap* writes:—The action of the police in suddenly arresting and then releasing some of the accused in the case shows that at the time of the arrest the police adopted a reprehensible policy and that the men who have now been released have been put to so much worry simply on account of the crooked ways of some C. I. D. officials. We invite the attention of the Local Government to this panicky and hasty policy of the police. The police always tries to prove offences where none exist. If those who hold the reins of the Local Government continue to allow themselves to be duped by the police one day our province too will have to witness the enforcement of the black laws of Bengal. The release of ten men shows that there is not an iota of truth in the talk about the establishment of revolutionary organizations in twenty-three districts and that it was only meant to spread panic in the province and to show to the Government the bug-bear of conspiracy. If there had existed revolutionary organizations in twenty-three districts and the police had received information of them, would only twenty-one men have been implicated in the Kakori affair? Can any one believe that a party of only twenty or twenty-five men had established revolutionary bodies in twenty-three districts? Referring to the discharge of thirteen of the accused, the *Medina* wants to know why the law is so absurd and foolish that innocent men who rot in dark cells for months and are not even released on bail cannot secure amends for their sufferings. Out of false notions of prestige the authorities will never condemn the blundering police.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Leader* strongly supports the proposal for the constitution at Allahabad of a non-party organization in furtherance of the interests of Indians abroad. "It has received the support equally of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. Pandits Gurunadha Sharma and Hari Sankar Dikshit will be the principal workers." The *Vartman* wonders why a deputation has been sent to South Africa at a time when a deputation of Indians there is coming to India, and says:—It would have been better if the Government of India had postponed its departure till they had listened to the South African deputation. But why should the Government care for the wishes of Indians? They have sent a deputation of their own will and it is possible that its decision may also be one-sided. We have very little hopes from this deputation. It may well wipe off the tears of Indians, but without special efforts it is difficult, if not impossible, for it to secure equal rights for Indians. The *Arya*

Mitra wonders why the Government of India has deemed it fit to send the deputation to South Africa when neither Indians in this country nor in South Africa have faith in it. The Government should have first listened to the representations of the delegation from South Africa and then decided to send a deputation there if necessary. The deplorable condition of Indians in South Africa is notorious and has been fully ventilated by authorities on the subject. Everybody knows that Indians in South Africa have fallen victim to ill-treatment owing to colour prejudices. What is required is that the Government of India, if it has the power, should take measures to remove their grievances. It is a mere waste of time and money to send a deputation to inquire into what is already known. The *Aj* heartily supports the two resolutions regarding the education and the protection of the interests of Indians overseas to be moved by Mr. Benarsi Das Chaturvedi in the forthcoming Congress, and says that it is a matter of shame for the Congress to content itself merely with the expression of sympathy in the matter. It is a question of life and death for Indians abroad and of the honour of India. Shocking atrocities are being committed on Indians in the colonies and specially in South Africa. The South African Premier does not hesitate to express his desire to compel Indians to leave the country by starving them out. If the Congress keeps quiet even at such a juncture it will forfeit its claim to be called a national organization. The *Bharat Dharma* warns the elected members of the Legislative Assembly against being taken in by the scheme for the emigration of Indians to British Guiana, otherwise they will add to the number of Indians already in a miserable plight in that British colony. It says that if the Guiana Government is really a well-wisher of Indians it should help the repatriation of those Indians who are anxious to return to India out of the "emigration fund" which is their own property or it should arrange for their colonization in the colony. The new scheme for Indian colonization in British Guiana is nothing but a euphamism for the indentured labour system which is only another form of slavery. This scheme has been dictated by utter selfishness and is an unjust and cruel manœuvre to exploit Indian labour for self-indulgence. The *Sidaqat* regards the official deputation to South Africa as a sham devised by Government to postpone a solution of the difficulties of Indians there which are already fully known to it. Writing in the same strain, the *Medina* says that retaliatory measures alone can avail.

The cotton excise duty.

The *Vartman* gives the credit for the suspension of the cotton excise duty to the Bombay labour and says that if agitation had not been carried on against it, it would not have been abolished. This instance shows that success can be achieved in every agitation which is prosecuted with vigour and firmness. It is now necessary to see that this duty is not re-imposed in future. The *Abhyudaya* congratulates all the parties concerned on Lord Reading's decision to suspend the cotton excise duty and says :—The suspension of the duty marks the end of the injustice which was done to Indians and Indian manufacturers for the benefit of British manufacturers. We wish to impress upon the Government that they should not in future venture to restore this utterly unjust duty on the plea of unfavourable financial position. The *Aj* also congratulates Lord Reading and says that if he had arrived at this decision at least three months earlier a number of the labourers of Bombay would have been saved from tribulations. The *Pratap* remarks :—This extremely reprehensible policy of developing the mills of Manchester and Lancashire by strangulating India's trade is going to end to-day. But we fail to understand whether we should call this the kindness of our rulers or justice, the show of honesty or a move to proclaim their sincerity and to throw dust into the eyes of the world. The mere recollection of the atrocities which the selfish rulers of England have perpetrated on India in connexion with the textile industry makes our heart tremble. Now that the Indian textile industry has been completely ruined, Lord Reading has abolished the unjust cotton excise duty. Should we congratulate the Government of India on this ? If we possess any sense of self-respect we should not even thank them, because in doing so they have only partially atoned for an old sin and have not done any favour to us. The *Swadhin* says :—If the Government had suspended this duty on the first resolution of the Legislative Assembly last year it would have, together with the indigenous manufacturers, earned a good name and would not have suffered so much discredit as it did through its obstinacy. The fatal duty was imposed to encourage the consumption of British goods in this country, and this is why the Government hesitated so much to abolish it. The *Sada-i-Muslim* commends the statesmanship and foresight shown by Lord Reading in suspending the excise duty, but says that

this action would have been more graceful if it had been taken earlier when the Assembly had voted against this duty. It is to be hoped that Lord Reading will now abolish it altogether and also reduce postal charges and railway fares. The *Hamdam* welcomes the suspension of the duty as a relief to the textile industry which deserves the same treatment as the steel industry. Now the mill-owners will have no excuse for reducing the wages of the poor labourers.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The striking addresses of two powerful thinkers like Mr. Jayakar and Lala Lajpat Rai have invested the sittings of the Bombay *Hindu Maha Sabha* with deep significance. Both the utterances are characterized by bold thinking and resolute determination to tackle live problems, not slur over them. There is no mistaking the trend of the Hindu mind. There is no desire for communal representation. The bureaucracy has invented this to enslave India. This must go. Talk of an Indian nation is a dream when communal representation has given birth to political ambitions in the favoured minority. Hindus again are not to keep back from Shuddhi to oblige Maulvis and Christian missionaries. A strong Hindu community will not surely be an obstacle in the attainment of *swaraj*. With this present combination of bureaucracy and Muslims, the only way to *swaraj*, in our opinion, is a united Hindu community that cannot be ignored. Referring to the Muslim feeling against music before mosques the *Brahman Sarvaswa* says.—Like plague and influenza a new epidemic is breaking out in the Muslim community. Its symptom is that the patient feels offended at the sound of music and sometimes even resorts to blows. The Government of India far from combating it is assisting in spreading it. Grief and excitement are prevailing among the Hindus. What we have to urge is that this epidemic cannot be combated by observing *hartals*, petitioning the authorities and stopping processions and *lilas*. These are only aggravating it. The only way to fight it out is to present an organized front and to resort to *satyagrah* where Government puts obstacles in the way. A correspondent writing in the *Aj* deplores the communal tension and discussing its causes writes :—By its conduct on the occasion of the last *Dasehra* festival at Panipat and Allahabad the Government has shown that it has not the slightest regard for the Hindus. It sides with Indian Muslims because with their help it wants to strengthen the hold of British imperialism. Will Muslims take a lesson from the awakening in Turkey and Egypt that nationalism is the only path of progress and that religious bigotry is foolish? Criticising Lala Lajpat Rai's presidential address at the Bombay session of the *Hindu Maha Sabha*, the *Hamdam* denounces the *sangathan* movement as not only anti-Muslim, but also anti-national and insinuates that Government which stands to gain from Hindu-Muslim estrangement is instigating the movement. It asks sober Hindu leaders to realise that such an alliance between the Hindus and Government would be fatal to the interests of the country and wishes the Muslims to go on struggling for *swaraj* even if the Hindus under the influence of their traditional reverence for royalty throw obstacles in their path.

The Maharaja of Nabha.

Referring to the rumour regarding non-payment of allowances to the Maharaja of Nabha, the *Abhyudaya* says that so far as the ex-Maharaja is concerned he has been gagged and rendered altogether helpless. Now it is for the Government to assure the public mind how far this rumour is true. Commenting on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's attack on the Maharaja, the *Aj* refers to the latter's challenge to the former and says that by attacking the Maharaja Sir Michael O'Dwyer has rendered a great service inasmuch as he has supported the popular view that the Maharaja was forced to abdicate. The injustice which has been done to the Maharaja and to the princely family of Nabha is sure to be rectified some day. Mal-administration was not confined to Nabha alone. It is to be found in British India also. Here too people are confined without trial. The chiefs of various other states also may do whatever injustice they like to their subjects, but as they keep their masters pleased their mal-administration is turned into good government and mutual praises are exchanged at the time they invite the Viceroy to dinners.

The *swaraj* party.

Discussing the negotiations between the two sections of the *swaraj* party the *Leader* writes :—The tendency in favour of responsive co-operation has been increasing in proportion as the futility of the policy of obstruction and the boycott of high offices of responsibility has been dawning upon the non-cooperators as it does not

require much political foresight to say that the victory will lie with those among the Swarajists who want to utilize to the best advantage the existing constitution and to press for a further advance. The Maharashtra leaders are to be congratulated on the courageous fight they have put up in the interests of the country, and, we hope, that party considerations will not prevent them from carrying on the fight, if necessary, until the policy which they consider to be right is adopted.

Military training for Indians.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* strongly criticizes the action of the military authorities in refusing to permit a demonstration proposed by the Poona municipality to welcome the University training corps and says:—Unless an explanation is forthcoming, there will be only one answer, namely, that the authorities do not like any enthusiasm for military service to spread among the youths of the country.

The Political sufferers' conference.

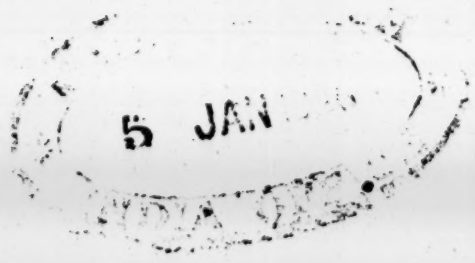
The *Arya Mitra* whole-heartedly supports the holding of the Political Sufferers' Conference at Cawnpore and urges Indian leaders to bestow attention to the question of jail reform so as to improve the lot of Indian prisoners. It is altogether unjustifiable that while white prisoners should be treated well even in jails, their black brethren should be subjected to hellish tortures.

Congress activities.

The *Hamdam* complains that in spite of the sacrifices undergone by them in the national cause and their keen interest in the Congress, Muslims are not being elected in sufficient numbers as delegates.

ALLAHABAD:
December 12, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.



PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 50 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 19, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

THE *Prem* says that France is now enacting the farce of the proclamation of martial law in Damascus and Hauran in order to give an air of justification to her diabolical atrocities there and thereby save herself from condemnation at the bar of public opinion. Imperialistic powers are freely indulging in cruelty in Morocco and Western Asia, but Britain and America, which always swear by peace, order and civilization are utterly indifferent to it. The *Prabhat* is not sanguine that the Locarno Pact will usher in an era of peace and good-will in the world and opines that the European nations have concluded the pact not with any sincere and altruistic motive, but with the selfish object of maintaining their domination over Asia and Africa which they have made a field for their exploitation. The *Shakti* says that the Locarno treaty will give the imperialistic powers of Europe an opportunity to extend their domination in Asia and Africa. It is quite possible that now there may be a war in the near future among Russia, China, Japan, Britain and America for supremacy in Asia. Britain has long been preparing for this war, and the proposed establishment of a naval base at Singapore is one of the preparatory measures. Russia too has not been neglectful in increasing her influence in Central Asia and China. Asia should wake up in time so as to save itself from the clutches of the whites. The *Oudh Akhbar* disbelieves Mr. Chamberlain's statement that the Locarno Pact is meant to restore peace in Europe first and then all over the world, and inquires whether the League of Nations or its important members are really striving for this object. So far as Asia is concerned the answer to this question is in the negative. What has the League done to stop the barbarous atrocities which France has been perpetrating in Syria? Is the League not responsible for them? Is it not the object of the League or Britain to force the Turks to enter into an agreement which may deprive them of their just right to Mosul? The outstanding fact is that Britain and France have entered into an agreement of mutual aid against the Turks and the Druses. The *Medina* protests against the support given by Britain to France in her ruthless policy in Syria and regrets that even the League of Nations has not a word to say about the destruction of Damascus. General Sarrail has not been punished; and not satisfied even with rendering 75,000 human beings homeless, the French satans have declared martial law in Damascus and Hauran. There is no justice in the west for weaker nations, but the sacrifices of the Syrians in the cause of freedom cannot fail to bear fruit. Britain cannot but support France in view of her own interests in Palestine and the need for French help in the matter of Mosul, but she must bear in mind that it is even more important to retain the goodwill of Indian Muslims. Indian Muslims should make it a point to respond liberally to Hakim Ajmal Khan's appeal for funds for the relief of the people of Damascus. In another article the same paper quotes a Copenhagen telegram about Turkey placing an order for 50 aeroplanes and says that though this number might appear insignificant when compared with the mighty air forces of the great European Powers, yet if, God forbid, there is a war in Mosul these 50 aeroplanes will be enough to encompass the defeat of Britain, especially when the prayers of Muslims all the world over will be for Turkey. The *Hind-i-Jadid* regards the decision of the Hague Tribunal on the question of Mosul as unjust and says that as the Turks have done their best to bring about a settlement they will be forced to unsheathe their swords for the protection of their fatherland if the Western Powers do not recognise the claims of Turkey to Mosul, and this would surely cause pain and anxiety to Muslims. The *Medina* dislikes

the idea of Raza Khan founding a dynasty and says that a son does not necessarily inherit the ability and statesmanship of his father. The doctrine of hereditary kingship is not only ridiculous but also repugnant to Islam.

Political propaganda.

Referring to the conviction of some Communists in England the *Prem* remarks:—As a result of these convictions the irresponsible Indian Government will become all the more free to indulge in arbitrary ways. These convictions also show how speedily the British nation, a worshipper of liberty, is moving to its fall. The *Prabhat* says that the recent utterances of Sir Joynson-Hicks regarding the aim of British rule in India will disillusion Indians. These words have been uttered by a responsible British statesman and indicate that those persons are hypocrites who allege that the British rule in India is directed to the advancement of the country. Referring to the Kakori train dacoity case the *Prem* writes:—Repression is the order of the day in spite of the fact that the political life of the country is at its lowest ebb. The object of repression is to give a long lease of life to the subjection of the people by terrifying them. Recently some youths in the United Provinces were arrested in connexion with the Kakori train dacoity simply on the basis of a *khaddar* cap. Persons accused of even theft, robbery and other grave offences are released on bail, but the offence of these youths has been held to be too serious to allow their release on bail. The Indian Government and their police always see visions of anarchy. Though there is neither any organized anarchical society in the country these days, nor does any political party wield any effective influence, yet the police of the bureaucracy is proving the existence of horrible and organized conspiracies. The Government is afraid lest during the present peaceful atmosphere Indians should demand the release of political prisoners and of those interned under Regulation III, and the Viceroy-designate on landing in the country should become aware of the real situation and adopt a liberal attitude. Therefore, such a situation is being created before his arrival as may prevent him from slackening the repression which Lord Reading, the apostle of justice, has initiated. The *Medina* twits Britain on her imposing a protective tariff on imports from Germany while preaching the gospel of free trade in India so earnestly. Is this not selfishness and duplicity?

Congress affairs.

The *Anand* says that responsive co-operation is the best policy for the country and the Cawnpore Congress should adopt it. If it does so the independents and the Liberals will have no objection in joining it. The *Prem* remarks that in view of the existing political slackness, mutual dissensions and communal tension, the political horizon of the country is altogether gloomy and discouraging. It is up to the Cawnpore Congress to dispel the gloom by adopting an impressive programme which can stimulate the national consciousness of the people. If the Cawnpore Congress devotes its energy to village organization it will in a short time create an atmosphere necessary for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Bhavishya* contends that self-government on colonial lines cannot ensure peace and prosperity and therefore urges that at its next session the Congress should declare complete independence to be the goal of the country. The *Aj* says that the great need of the moment is the formulation of a practical and comprehensive programme of work calculated to awaken the masses and infuse new life and vigour among them. In its opinion the present agitation of the Swarajists in the Legislatures depends on the bureaucracy for its success, and if in pursuance of the policy of responsive co-operation Swarajists begin to accept offices also, the bureaucracy will make tools of them and have an easy time. The paper sees no difference between this policy and the liberal policy of petitioning the Government. The obstructionist policy was not bad, but it could only have borne fruit if a persistent agitation had been carried on among the masses and they had been trained for civil disobedience. The paper has no doubt that if *swaraj* is to be obtained civil disobedience will have to be resorted to sooner or later, and if the people are not given the required training for it now, an armed rebellion would be inevitable. If this is considered to be bad, the only means left open for the people is non-violent civil disobedience. The moment they are ready for it Government will be compelled to discuss a scheme of *swaraj* with their representatives. The Cawnpore Congress will have assembled in vain if it does not fully consider this problem. In another article the same paper remarks that the bureaucracy will not give to Indians even a crumb from its table unless it is involved in a great difficulty like that of the Great War. The only effective programme for Indians is that of non-violent non-cooperation culminating in civil disobedience.

The cotton excise duty.

The papers generally welcome the suspension of the cotton excise duty, but the more extreme among them characterize it as a belated and partial expiation of the "sin committed by Britain in destroying Indian cotton industry in the past." The *Prem* says that by suspending the duty Lord Reading has made amends for the injustice which was being done to the Indian textile industry for the protection of the British textile industry for the last thirty years. Perhaps this step was taken to prevent the spread of socialism among the starving labourers thrown out of employment. The *Gramvasi*, while welcoming the suspension of the duty, points out how the Government, acting in the interests of British mill-owners, imposed the duty upon the Indian textile industry and thereby caused its destruction. It says that the credit for the suspension of the duty does not belong to the Viceroy but to the firmness, sacrifices and sufferings of the Bombay mill-hands. This shows that not through excited speeches and mendicancy but through sacrifices and sufferings can the Government be made to do something for us. The *Sainik* writes:—The readers need not be reminded how the sinful policy of the British Government destroyed the Indian textile industry. It was in pursuance of that policy that in the interests of the mill-owners of Lancashire and Manchester a tax was imposed in 1896 on Indian mill-made cotton cloth. The unanimous demand of Indians for the abolition of the said tax was disregarded by Government. Now, however, the tax has been abolished all of a sudden by Lord Reading as if by way of expiation of the guilt. This furnishes a good illustration of how the obstinacy of the bureaucracy can cause incalculable loss to the people of this country. The *Garhwali* remarks:—Government has shown no generosity in this matter. It has only removed a stigma on its selfish policy. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will not be led to abolish the import duty on cotton goods from Manchester. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the suspension of the cotton excise duty has closed a disgraceful chapter of India's economic history. It criticises the British press for being so keen on the enforcement of factory laws in India, and demands that before the enforcement of these laws the Government should protect India's textile industry from the competition of Japan and other foreign countries by imposing import duty on foreign cloth at the highest possible rates. The *Hindi Kesari* praises the labourers for having forced the Government to suspend the duty by going on strike. It adds:—Organized and peaceful agitation has achieved what could not be secured through petitions and deputations. The labourers should further strengthen their organization and the mill-owners should utilize the opportunity for the industrial development of the country and not for their own selfish ends.

Indian States.

The *Hindi Kesari* exhorts the people of Indian states to join the Indian States Subjects' Conference and make it a success and says:—The Indian princes are mere puppets in the hands of the Government and do what the Residents like them to do. This makes the people of their states victims to arbitrary excesses and no one listens to their grievances. The Congress is an All-India organization and hence it should not remain indifferent to any part of the country. The *Vartman* writes:—The people in Indian states are in a very miserable plight and their rulers are extravagant tyrants, who misuse the taxes collected from their subjects, do not give a single pie towards their relief during famines and perpetrate all sorts of religious and political tyrannies on them. Representatives of the rulers and of the subjects of the states should join the Conference and devise means for the removal of the miseries of the people, the prevention of the misuse of money and the establishment of amicable relations between the rulers and the ruled. The *Sainik* remarks:—The position of Indian states will be one of the most difficult and intricate problems which a self-governing India will have to face. With the exception of a few states ignorance and poverty reign supreme everywhere. Rulers of states are mere puppets in the hands of their residents. They are spending their days in fun, frolic and sport and are leading a life of ease and indolence without caring a straw for the welfare of their subjects who are being tyrannised over by state officials. The subjects of the states should muster strong and contribute their mite to help the deliberations of the Conference and to devise means for the betterment of the lot of crores of so-called men and for the removal of the sensuality of the few and the hunger of the many. Referring to the reports of extravagance indulged in by the Maharaja of Patiala and other princes in their European tours a writer in the *Bhavishya* observes:—Even ten per cent. of Indians do not get sufficient food and a number of our patriots who

are in exile in foreign countries and many of our students in those lands are facing starvation, but these princes do not even condescend to see them, not to say anything of helping them. When, however, even a European ass wishes to see them these princes are ready to receive him with open arms. While Indians are dying of starvation and disease, princes like the Maharaja of Patiala are squandering money in this way. Indians should organize an agitation to stop this.

Indians in Colonies.

The *Leader* writes:—An article in the *Daily Argosy* of Guiana on "immigration from India" should be an eye-opener to those in this country who still believe that what is wanted is free Indian labour for the development of the colony. This paper has made it clear that it is not in favour of a genuine colonization scheme and that it wants Indian labourers to work as "coolies" on the sugar plantations for some time at least. . . . The treatment which is being accorded to Indian labourers in Fiji and the plight of Indians in South Africa furnish a warning against further export of Indian labour to the colonies. If British Guiana cannot afford to have genuine Indian colonists, the question of emigration to that colony should be dropped for good. Referring to Dr. Malan's announcement that the Union Government had decided not to agree to a round table conference on the Asiatic question in South Africa the same paper writes:—In the face of this uncompromising attitude of the Union Government was it not an absolute waste of money to send an Indian deputation to South Africa? The Government of India have met with rebuff after rebuff, but they have refused to take the self-respecting course urged by Indian public opinion of adopting retaliatory measures, however limited their scope might be. In all the circumstances of the case the action of the Government of India in sending their weak and ill-chosen delegation to South Africa at the present juncture can only be regarded as an act of lack of self-respect. The Indian public cannot be comforted by the studied moderation and the sweet-tongued conciliatoriness of Lord Reading. The *Abhyudaya* welcomes the resolutions to be moved by Pandit Benarsi Das Chaturvedi in the forthcoming Congress regarding Indians overseas, but urges that educative propaganda in foreign countries will not be able to achieve any satisfactory results unless accompanied by a vigorous agitation in the country itself to compel the Government of India to take up its cause. When Indians themselves will show a firm determination not to allow the ill-treatment of their compatriots in other lands, they will be able to achieve some success in this direction. The *Naiyar-i-Azam* is grateful to Government for sending a deputation of able, experienced and influential men to South Africa in time.

Hindu Maha Sabha and Government servants.

Referring to the report of *Chit Aryan* (Rajamundri) that the Madras Government have prohibited Government servants from becoming members of the *Hindu Sabha* and from participating in its meetings the *Abhyudaya* says:—If this report is true, the action of the Madras Government is wholly autocratic. We wonder what necessity impelled the Madras Government to take such an improper step. Is the *Hindu Sabha* an institution of bomb-throwers or has it for its object the subversion of the Government? The *Hindu Maha Sabha* far from being anti-Government does not take part even in politics. Why does it then rankle in the eyes of the Madras Government? Have Christian and Muslim servants also been asked to shun their religious institutions? If not, why then has the *Hindu Sabha* alone been singled out for such treatment? Is the Madras Government afraid of the *Hindu Sabha* being able to solve the Brahman-non-Brahman problem of Southern India? If so, there can be no more reprehensible move of the policy of divide and rule. The *Hind-i-Jadid* asks the Madras Government to withdraw this "unjust" order.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Awaz* deplores that though Hindus form 88 per cent. of the population of the United Provinces and are better qualified in every respect Government ignore their claims to enter Government service to a great extent. From the appointment of the Muslim Home Member to that of the peons of Collectorates an opportunity is afforded to raise the Hindu-Muslim question. The *Arya Musafir* holds that the teaching of Islam in India has only had the effect of making the converts violent and tyrannical, and if Hindus only begin to follow the dictates of their religion in right earnest and are thereby able to produce healthy children, the influence of Islam will soon be found to disappear and Muslims who, thanks to British rule, have already been shorn of their blood-thirsty and blood-shedding nature to a great extent will probably go back to their original home

in Arabia. The equality of all men by which Islam lays so much store means in practice nothing more than this that some female relatives are taken as wives on the ground of equality. That thousands of women have turned prostitutes and thousands of vagabonds are leading viscious and immoral lives is the effect of the teachings of the immigrants from Arabia. The *Medina* publishes a poem by one Syed Jamil Ahmed *Tahir* of Jodhpur under the caption "What has become of the sharpness of the sword of *tabligh*." In exhorting Muslims to sink their party differences and to further the cause of *tabligh* the poet says:—The banner of *tabligh* will wipe out idol worship . . The liars will not be able to stop the tongue of *tabligh* . . . The idol-worshippers drive us out of India! What has become of the sharpness of the sword of *tabligh*? If those wearing top-knots stoop to trickeries the soldiers of *tabligh* will not leave them unsubdued. Strike, strike the granary of the harvest of paganism and heresy. What delay is there, O lightning of *tabligh*?

Muslim affairs.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's Bill regarding the compulsory registration of Muslim marriages and divorces will remove a number of evils prevalent under the present system, if provision is made for the convenience of the parties concerned and the registration officer is trustworthy. The inclusion of *khala* under divorce is also necessary, inasmuch as it would greatly remove the miseries of the fair sex. The *Bhavishya* warns the Hindus that Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad's Bill is a trap laid for them as the proposed registration of Muslim marriages which this Bill is intended to secure will prevent the *shuddhi* of Hindu women who are being kidnapped, converted to Islam and then married by Muslims in pursuance of Hasan Nizami's scheme. The measure is also intended to throw difficulties in the way of the re-conversion of such Hindus as are led, through deceitfulness or allurements, to embrace Islam and to marry Muslim women. Thus the Bill is designed to hamper the *shuddhi* movement and Hindu members of the Legislative Council should reject it.

Municipal elections.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is disappointed at the election of Rai Bahadur Trilokinath Bhargava as Chairman of the Lucknow Municipal Board as "the antecedents of his public life do not encourage the hope that he can ever lead a popular movement." Proceeding, the paper says: It can never be forgotten that the one issue over which the Swarajists were defeated was *Arti-Nimaz*. We very much suspect that the new Hindu municipal commissioners, except the few who have gone on the *Hindu Sabha* ticket, will not face the responsibilities and sacrifices involved in what is known as the *Arti* question. This would mean that some scheming men, taking advantage of the Hindu upheaval, have crept in to enjoy the powers and privileges of municipal commissioners for three years.

Associated Chamber of Commerce.

The *Leader* writes:—"The Associated Chamber of Commerce" is a misleading and therefore an unjustified title, for *Indian* Chambers are excluded from membership. For this reason we do not think it right that the head of the Government of *India* should so far identify himself with that racial body as to open its annual sessions time after time. This, however, is what Lord Reading has done more than once and again proposes to do. We must lodge a protest against His Excellency's action.

The agricultural development of India.

The *Bahraich Akhbar* doubts whether much can be done towards the agricultural development of the country without seriously disturbing the existing rural economy. The introduction of machinery in agricultural operations cannot but produce wide-spread unemployment among the villagers. It is also not known whence the Government will get crores of rupees to devote to agricultural development. The paper urges that if the new Viceroy really wants to show that he is a well-wisher of India he should prohibit the export of food-grains or at least reduce it by three-fourths.

The Viceroy.

The *Aj* takes exception to the recent tribute paid by Lord Inchcape to Lord Reading's regimé in India and asserts that from the Indian point of view his regimé has been an utter failure. In fact during the last fifty years no other Viceroy has injured India to such an extent as Lord Reading has done. The single object of his rule was to enhance the importance of the British civil servants by trampling upon Indian public opinion, and he has succeeded in this object.

Military training for Indians.

The *Bharat Dharma* lays stress on the need of a regular military training for Indians as a country cannot be saved by mere clubmen. The paper suspects that the appointment of the Skeen Committee was intended merely to while away the time. It opines that inasmuch as Indian Muslims can get military training in independent Muslim countries, it is the Hindus that specially stand in need of such training to enable them to defend themselves in the event of a Muslim invasion of India and appeals to the Hindu members of the Legislatures to take up the question of compulsory military training of Indians in right earnest and have it decided in their favour.

Bengal Ordinance.

The *Leader* writes :—It is in our opinion a scandal that the men interned under the Ordinance of last year should, after nearly fifteen months have elapsed, continue to be detained under the Act which is no better than an executive law, without trial and without any avowed intention of their being either tried or set free . . . . Such methods of Government do no credit to the most efficient of bureaucracies and do not make it less unacceptable to a people whose national consciousness is no longer dormant and who are increasingly sensitive to national honour.

Indian Civil Services Bill.

Commenting on Earl Winterton's speech on the Civil Services Bill in the House of Commons the *Leader* writes :—We know there will be many who would say that Earl Winterton, by representing that the further emoluments now being sanctioned had the support of sensible, reasonable and fairminded opinion here, was insulting Indian public opinion.

U. P. District Boards Primary Education Bill.

The *Leader* writes :—The Bill has been introduced in the Council under very happy auspices. We offer our hearty congratulations to the Hon'ble Minister of Education on the introduction of such a progressive and beneficent measure. Its success after it has passed will, however, depend on the provision of adequate funds by Government and the willingness of district boards to utilize their powers of taxation.

ALLAHABAD :
December 19, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

11 JAN

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

NOTICE.

There will be no issue of the Press Note for the week ending January 2, 1926, on account of the Christmas vacations.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

December 26, 1925. *Government Reporter.*

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 51 of 1925.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 26, 1925.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on the Mosul dispute, the *Leader* writes: It is very doubtful if the prolongation of the mandate, which is involved in the acceptance of the decision, will be at all in the interest of the British tax-payer. A new Arab national consciousness is developing which is intolerant of all forms of tutelage. Iraq has not been paying its way and there are possibilities of complications, external and internal, which cannot be made light of. The *Abhyudaya* writes:—In reality justice demands that Mosul should be placed under the control of the Turks and form part of the Turkish territory. Turkey is not satisfied with the decision. Had it been given six months ago a war between Turkey and England would not have been impossible. But the Locarno treaty has precluded this possibility. Now there will be no war and Turkey will have to bide her time. In the course of a lengthy article inveighing against the injustice of the League of Nations in the matter of Mosul, the *Medina* says:—The statements of responsible European statesmen in this connexion lay bare the veneer of justice and toleration assumed by the League of Nations established by Great Britain and her allies. The veil of deceit woven over their ugly and odious faces with threads of justice and sincerity by these hungry capitalists and imperialists has been torn asunder to-day. All justice-loving people now know that the vaunted justice, toleration and sincerity of the world of capitalism has been sunk in the smiling valleys of the Tigris and the oil-springs of Mosul. The high-handedness and deceit with which the League of Nations is acting is well known. Britain and France have joined hands because these land-grabbers need each other's aid in Mosul and Syria. Attempts are being made to win over Germany also to help their imperialistic ambitions in the East. A correspondent of the *Daily Herald* makes it clear that Britain and France are determined to crush Islamic unity and to work hand in hand in Syria. The Italian press gives publicity to the terms of a Russo-Italian agreement, according to which these two Powers will, in conjunction with Rumania, participate in the war and take their share of the spoils in Muslim territory. In short, it is certain that the whole of Europe is determined to act in unison against the Turks and Ibn Saud. But to-day news is received that the Western god, in spite of its human shape, is nothing less than the wolf which was disputing with the kid for the sake of the gratification of its wicked desire. That League of Nations, of which Mr. Amery had sung pæans of praise like a regular court poet, has become the sacrificial altar of justice and equity at which the innocent blood of lakhs of human beings is crying aloud for justice. The League has most cruelly and heartlessly declared that Iraq is to receive Mosul territory up to the Brussels line provided Britain retains her mandate for 25 years. O, clever men of the West, sitting in your safe forts you have decided to take the property of an isolated and helpless and friendless party and have divided the property of another like thieves, but ponder whether the Angora Assembly will accept this decision or the Turkish sword will be drawn. The Brussels line which was established by the right of victory remains, and Turkey has been denied all her just rights to the vilayat of Mosul. All the lofty pretensions of Britain have been proved to be worthless. The grim humour of our friends has exceeded all bounds and while the Turks have been most deceitfully deprived of their rich and fertile province, Mr. Chamberlain declares that he is very solicitous for friendly relations with the Turks. This means that while the barn of Turkish

politics has been burnt, its greatness and prestige have been razed to the dust, its wealth has been robbed, and it has been rendered helpless and poor, the peace-seeking friends want to enter into negotiations with it. O Indian Muslims, you are helpless and enslaved; you are distracted and restless; you are poor and penniless; your greatness and glory have been snatched away and you have been deprived of all the bounties of this world; but have you also lost your Islamic feeling of fraternity, your realization of calamity, your perception of oppression and your love for your faith? Remember the commands of your religion, and if you fail in your duties you will call on yourselves the curses of your God and His Prophet. Note that if you willingly kill even a single Muslim you will be doomed to eternal perdition. If Angora draws the sword in defence of Mosul, you will have to show that Muslims are not dead. Indian Muslims should be prepared for every trial. Turkey is peace-loving, but if war becomes inevitable Indian Muslims should refuse to help Britain and should take no part whatsoever in recruiting. Those Muslims who have died from Turkish bullets must be suffering great pangs but there will be no rest whatsoever for those who kill Muslims.

Congress affairs.

Appeals to the people to attend the Congress in large numbers and to make it a success are the main theme of the editorial articles this week. A number of papers emphasize the need of declaring complete independence to be the goal of the Congress. The *Shankar* urges the delegates to the Congress to decide once for all the definition of *swaraj* and says: It is impossible that we may get full liberty and still remain within the British Empire. The British statesmen will never allow us to change our constitution on the principle of self-determination. In these circumstances we shall have to fix complete *swaraj* outside the British Empire as the goal of the Congress. Our leaders in the Congress will have to decide the form of our constitution. The mere replacement of the British agency by the Indian agency in the existing system of government cannot ensure happiness to the people. The *Abhyudaya* writes: To-day the national life of the country is in a very deplorable condition and if all the people do not combine to improve it, nationalism will survive in this country only in name. The leaders and the people should, therefore, make a mighty effort once more to inundate the whole country with nationalism. The people should disown those leaders who support party feelings and strifes. They should compel the leaders to act in concert with one another for unity is the one need of the country in the existing situation. People should attend the Congress in their largest numbers and compel the leaders to give up party dissensions and adopt a unanimous programme. Ram Narayan Singh, a member of the All-India Congress Committee of Hazaribagh, writing in the *Aj*, refers to the impossibility of Dominion home rule being ever granted by the British Government to India and urges the Cawnpore Congress to adopt a resolution fixing complete independence as the goal of the Congress. The adoption of such a resolution will remove the existing slackness in the Congress activity. Satya Bhakta, convener of the Indian Communist Conference, writing in the *Bhavishya*, opposes the election of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as President of the Congress on the ground that she signed Mrs. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill, which is a bond of slavery, at the time when India is moving on the road of freedom and every fresh daily occurrence is showing that it is impossible for Indians to remain with Englishmen for any length of time. Moreover, she is an advocate of imperialism and sides with capitalists. The *Pratap* publishes an article by one Jaichand Vidyalankar who appeals to "responsible Indian politicians" in the name of humanity to sympathize with political sufferers whether they be the followers of the violent or the non-violent creed or the innocent victims of the martial law or the Indian Defence Act and to see that they are not subjected to any unjust hardships in jails. Proceeding, the writer says:—If the Congress establishes a permanent office for keeping itself informed of the condition of political sufferers, for arranging for their ordinary convenience, for publishing all news about them, and for keeping itself in touch with their families considerable relief will be afforded to them. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges that all Indian political parties striving for *Swaraj* within the Empire should be taken into the fold of the Congress and allowed to pursue their respective programmes under its ægis. The Congress should not accord any preferential treatment to any particular party and it will thus be able to present a united front to Government. No doubt it will cause a pang to Pandit Motilal Nehru to yield the leading position so far occupied by his party in the Congress but it is not too much

to expect this sacrifice from his patriotism. If the Mahatma is thus able to weld together all parties, he will regain his lost popularity and will again be hailed as the regenerator of the country. The *Medina* appeals to the Congress to declare in favour of complete independence, to define *Swaraj* in full detail and to conclude a national pact. Neither the *khaddar* programme nor the swarajist programme can achieve anything. No amendment of the Reforms can break the present spell of slavery or achieve national unity. Muslims believe that not even the maximum self-government or home rule which Britain can grant to India can restrain those militarist and imperialistic forces which are destroying Islamic countries or prevent India's natural resources from being utilized for enslaving Asiatic countries. The mutual jealousies of the warring races and creeds of India can be subdued only when India concludes a national pact and gains complete independence, as solicitude for the defence of India and for the maintenance of the complete independence achieved by them will prevail over all other sectional sentiments among Indians. Reforms, Home Rule or Dominion self-government under British protection cannot solve the Indian problem. They will only introduce fresh complications in the shape of separate representation, sectional legislation, negation of equality and dissipation of forces. Neither *Sangathan* nor *Tanzim* can really weld the Hindu and Muslim communities. Would the United States have risen so high if Washington had consented to Dominion status after seven years of war? It is only complete freedom that can bring out all that is best in nations and countries. Favouring a national pact, the *Hind-i-Jadid* says that it should provide for the protection of minorities, the unrestricted performance of religious rites in public and complete independence for India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Abhyudaya* says that the anti-Hindu propaganda of fanatical Muslims in Sind has resulted in the re-enactment of Kohat tragedy in Amri (Sind). Muslim dacoits, with shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar*, attacked Hindu homes and shops and plundered them... If these dacoits are not arrested and severely dealt with, Sind will become a prey to a sort of a reign of terror and its inhabitants will never be able to enjoy peace. Besides such incidents cannot be stopped unless action is taken against those people also who incite the hooligans. The *Vartman* writes:—The attitude of the Muslim dacoits at Amri was a very terrible one. They were out, not merely to plunder the Hindus, but also to convert them to Islam. Their attitude towards women and girls was also extremely reprehensible. This matter should be considered in the Congress and steps should be taken to make the Hindus strong enough to protect themselves from the dacoits and at the same time Muslim leaders should be asked to change the mentality of the dacoits. The *Medina* protests against the judgment of Mr. Waugh in a case at Panipat in which he has laid down that the Muslims must take legal permission for performing sacrifice. Sacrifice is a religious duty with Muslims and if Government interferes with it it cannot claim that it allows religious freedom. Does this not mean that we shall to-morrow have to take permission even for offering our prayers? The Dutch officials in Java have placed legal restrictions on *Juma* and congregational prayers. Does the British Government also propose to do the same some day to please our compatriots?

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article the *Bhavishya* deplores that India has not yet made any sacrifices at all comparable with those made by Ireland, Russia and other countries where rivers of blood were made to flow before liberty was attained. Indians too will have to offer adequate sacrifices to propitiate the goddess of liberty, but in the peculiar circumstances of the country the sacrifice will be of a non-violent character. As a preparatory step, the whole country will have to be organized by the establishment of village associations, the chief object of which will be to win over the sympathies of the people by rendering social service and by creating political awakening among them through newspapers and speeches. For this workers will have to be appointed in villages who can be paid out of an "*atta* fund," every house in a village being asked to put some flour in an earthen pot every day for this purpose. Advocating a complete boycott of British goods, the same paper remarks:—If a complete boycott of English goods is effected British labourers will be thrown out of employment and they will compel their Government to concede the demands of India. A fresh agitation for the boycott of British goods will create an enthusiasm similar to that witnessed in 1921 and our waning political agitation will thus be imbued with a new life. We are

convinced that village organization and boycott of British goods are the two weapons which can ensure victory for us in our battle for freedom.

Europeans and Indians.

Referring to the recent death of two coolies in Assam tea-gardens at the hands of two Europeans and to the decisions of the court in the two cases, the *Swadhin* remarks :—So cheap the Indian lives for the mad sport of whites ! In connexion with the disputes between whites and blacks, nay, nay, for developing the brutal sport, frolic, and fancy of the whites such sacrifices of Indian lives, such decisions of the court, and such justice ! No one knows this except the down-trodden and subject Indians wanting in self-respect and the whites who love such murderous sports. Yes, there is earth below and the sky above. But they will not break asunder, nor will God re-incarnate Himself unless the lightning of self-consciousness thunders among the Indians. Under the heading " Their boots and our spleen," the *Prabhat* writes :—Human life is held sacred in all religions and legal codes and no Government can afford to brook any injury to it, but the lives of the individuals of the nation which has lost all and the honour of which is valued by none becomes very cheap. Not one but hundreds of instances have occurred in which a relation has been established between the European boot and the spleen of India. The list of such incidents is getting long and one number has only recently been added to it in the murder of a coolie in Assam by a European. This individual has been fined only Rs. 200. This is the price of the life of an Indian ! We cannot even conceive that if this crime had been committed by an Indian in respect of a European this punishment would have been held to be adequate. Proceeding, the paper criticises the judgment of the judicial officer and says : - Indeed the spleen of the Indian coolie was all to blame, inasmuch as it got ruptured by the slow movement of the European's boot. If the wolf devoured the goat, the latter was to blame for it offered a temptation to the former. The answer to the question why Indians are dissatisfied with the British rule is to be found in such incidents. Such painful disregard of Indian life cannot but produce a deep impression upon the heart of every Indian and no wonder that despite Mahatma Gandhi's insistent advice regarding non-violence, revolutionary conspiracies are heard of in the misguided India. So long as this relation exists between the boot and the spleen India will be the most untouchable and degraded country in the world ; for this disgrace does not affect only a coolie but the whole Indian nation.

The Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on the Viceroy's recent speech at Calcutta the *Aj* says :—The speech shows that in the time of Lord Reading the condition of the country has improved and the military expenditure and provincial contributions to the central exchequer have been reduced, but what economic gain has the Indian public derived from it ? Has any direct or indirect tax been reduced ? No, taxation has, on the other hand, been enhanced. It was in the *régime* of Lord Reading that the postal rates and railway fares were increased, duty was levied on salt and court-fee was increased and thus even the poorest Indian was saddled with some direct or indirect tax a number of times. The reduction in military expenditure was counterbalanced by an increase in the expenditure over the services. Lord Reading wants to take credit for framing laws for the convenience of labour, but hardly has the *régime* of any other Viceroy witnessed such a labour unrest. During his time, not only have there been a large number of strikes but the strikers have also been subjected to firing by the police. He has reduced the number of working hours and increased the age-limit, but has taken no steps to remove the poverty which compelled the labourers to work longer and to make their children also work. He has several times referred to the suspension of the cotton excise duty. This is no doubt commendable, but we cannot be thankful for it because he suspended the duty only when the Bombay mills had been closed for two months, the labourers had gone back to their homes, the mill-owners had suffered loss of crores of rupees and their representatives were running to England. In his *régime* India had to undergo such political hardships as Indians cannot soon forget.

United Provinces District Boards' Primary Education Bill.

Emphasizing the need of mass education the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says :—The masses must know where they stand. They must know that they are the real masters of a country. They must know the immense possibilities of their power. Such strength, self-confidence and consciousness of strength will come from education, without which self-government cannot bring happiness, and freedom will only

be a sham. The supreme need of the hour is the introduction of free and compulsory education in the cities and the villages. That is the most essential step to the goal for which we are striving. The Education Minister of our own province has done a real service to the cause of national progress by bringing forward his Primary Education Bill for striking at the root of illiteracy in the countryside. Posterity will not forget this boldness and this patriotism. But we must see that the Bill is framed in such a way that it gives the people real education and ultimately brings power into their hands. The education must be of a sort that will enable them to distinguish between right and wrong, that would create in them a passion for fighting wrongs, that would make them soldiers of right and justice. It must be an education that would lay the foundation of nationalism in the minds of the young.

Indians in the Colonies.

Under the heading "War on Indians", the *Indian Daily Telegraph* publishes an article in which the writer, Mr. Ranga Iyer, M. L. A., referring to the various "anti-Indian" measures in force in South Africa, says :—The climax of this class legislation will be the fulfilment of the Union Government's promise to place on the Statute Book during the forthcoming session of Parliament the Areas Reservation and Immigration Restriction (Further Provisions) Bill. This is the concentrated venom against Indians. Its object is to kill them outright or drive them into the sea or serfdom. If India were a free country, the only answer to this outrage would be the declaration of war. Maulana Hasrat Mohani and other idealists of the Congress, who believe in complete sovereign independence and separation from the English Empire, cannot conceive of a better ally than the Union Government of South Africa. In the course of an editorial article the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—We must confess that the Viceroy's speech in reply to the deputation from South Africa is full of sympathetic words but does not vouchsafe any tangible deeds that will tell should those words fail to bear fruit. We look in vain for one gesture of resolution, one spark of determination that would resound in South Africa as the voice of an administration with three hundred million British subjects behind it. His speech will not deter the South African statesmen from pursuing their anti-Indian policy. On the other hand the laboured tone of sympathy permeating the viceregal utterance must convey a distinct encouragement to Durban.

The Indian Civil Service Bill.

The *Swadhin* writes :—The speed with which the Indian Civil Service Bill is being passed in Parliament presents before our eyes a heart-rending scene of the mockery with which our country is being treated. Despite our united demand for the amendment of the Government of India Act so as to grant us real powers in administration nothing was done ; on the contrary, the British Government has made a desperate effort to amend the said Act for its beloved white servants. This Bill will result in rendering null and void the decision of the Government laying down equal proportion of Indians and Europeans in higher services.

Indian States.

The *Vartman* publishes a letter from a correspondent who states that the condition of the Hindus in the Hyderabad State is very miserable and that partiality for Muslims is so great that neither any attention is paid to the religious affairs of the Hindus nor are they allowed opportunity to share in the administration. In the educational department the number of Hindus is so small that it seems that there are orders debarring them from entering it. In addition to this, while the number of Hindu holidays is being reduced that of the Muslim holidays is being increased. Lakhs of rupees are being spent on *tabligh* and the boys and girls of the Maharashtra and Tailang communities are living as slaves in the houses of Muslim nobles and are made to increase the number of Muslims.

The agricultural development of India.

The *Oudh Akhbar* says that Government's new policy of agricultural progress will only add to the salaries and numbers of officials of the agricultural department. The real solution of the backwardness of the Indian peasantry lies in making it rich enough to be able to take advantage of the new methods advocated by the department. Besides, land revenue should not be increased simultaneously with the increase in produce, as it would only mean taking away with one hand what was given by the other.

Muslim affairs.

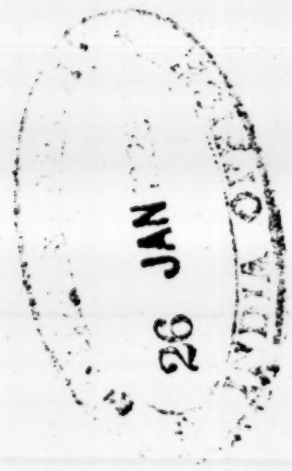
The *Rahnuma* urges that Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's proposed Bill for the registration of Muslim marriages and divorces should be published for opinion, especially of the *ullema* as the *shariat* does not require any such registration and if unregistered marriages are declared invalid, it would amount to an interference with the religious law.

Railway collisions.

The *Bharat Jiwan* draws attention to the progressive increase in railway collisions for some time past and urges the Government to appoint a special commission to inquire into their causes and to devise means for protecting passengers.

ALLAHABAD:
December 26, 1925.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.



PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 1 of 1926.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE FORTNIGHT ENDING JANUARY 9, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

THE *Abhyudaya* remarks:—The League of Nations was formed to make the strong nations stronger and the weak nations weaker. This is why it took no steps against the use of poisonous gas in Morocco and the French atrocities in Syria. Now Mosul has been made a part of Iraq and will be under the mandate of Britain. Turkey is not satisfied with this decision. Mosul will prove the future Alsace-Lorraine for Europe and there will be a war between England and Turkey over it sooner or later. All this is quite plain, but the League of Nations pretends to be quite blind to it. Discussing the inadvisibility of India's signature on the Locarno treaty the *Prabhat* hopes that Sir Sivaswami Iyer will be allowed to move his resolution urging the Government of India not to sign the treaty without the assent of the assembly and that India will be saved from the insult of acting as a tool in the hands of Britain by signing it. Proceeding, the paper says:—The greatest insult to India and the greatest sin of Britain is that India has to work as a tool in the hands of Britain in robbing other nations, in administering opium to the Chinese, and in depriving Mesopotamia of her freedom. She has to send her men and spend her money to commit sins even in matters in which she has no interest. The *Medina* writes: Owing to the refusal of Ibn Saud to cede Akaba and Ma'an from the Hedjaz the clever men of the West are trying to create discord between him and the Imam of Yemen. Britain's move towards an alliance with Yemen is very dangerous for the Arabs. May God save them. In another article the paper remarks that there is no ground to believe Mr. Baldwin's promise to free Iraq as soon as she becomes fit for self-government. No one acquainted with the past political record of England can put faith in all this tall talk of love and sympathy for Iraq. When even after 150 years of rule the percentage of educated persons could not be raised in India from five to ten and the country could not be fitted for the grant of even ordinary powers, when Egypt remained the dunce she was even after fifty years of administration and the barbarism of the Sudan could not be removed, what fool is there who will believe that Iraq will become fit for self-government in the eyes of Britain within twenty-five years? This imaginary paradise can beguile only idiots and it is only Faisal who can dance with joy over thought of it. We, on the contrary, see only disappointment and enervation in store for Iraq. The *Najat* agrees with the *London Times* that if the British Parliament fails to settle the Mosul dispute in accordance with the wishes of the Turks, the next summer would witness a terrible war between Turkey and England, which would put an end to all the disputes between the East and the West. The *Medina* reminds Indian Muslims of the strict Quranic injunctions against the slaying of fellow Muslims and warns them not to forget the lesson taught them at Karachi by the *Khilafat* leaders during the last war. The traditional land-lust of Britain will not allow her to waive her territorial sovereignty over Mosul. The complete domination of Ibn Saud over the Hedjaz will shatter all British dreams of power in the Middle East and Britain can never be expected to refrain from pursuing her imperialistic projects in that quarter of the globe. Similarly, the Mosul territory is like her very life for Turkey and she too cannot be expected to forego it. War, therefore, appears inevitable. Britain roused a terrible storm of anger and opposition by making the Indian Muslims fight against the Turks during the Great War. The non-cooperation movement, the struggle for freedom, the demonstrations and the repeated disturbances were all the fruits of this colossal political blunder. If Britain in spite of her

protestations of religious neutrality repeats this mistake, the results will be still more disastrous now that India is much more alert and sensitive. A still more sullen agitation will spring up and the public peace of India will be gravely imperilled and it would not be strange if India is lost in the attempt to gain Mosul. British statesmen should ponder over all these possibilities. The freedom of India is our ideal and we would be very glad if through some errors of British statesmen that ideal is attained. But we are still more anxious that Indian Muslims may not be guilty of the grievous sin of "slaying believers" and may not ruin themselves in this world as well as the next. This matter concerns the Government of India, the British Government, the general Muslim public and Muslim leaders, and we wish that every individual amongst these may realise his duties and avoid becoming the enemy of the peace and order of the world. Today Mr. Baldwin secures the passage in the Commons of a vote of confidence in the British representatives at Geneva so as to sustain the efforts of the League of Nations for the preservation of the peace of the world. Well and good, but will it be helping the League in maintaining the peace of the world to go to war on the Mosul question, to ruin Islam and the faith of Muslims and to make them fuel for (the fires of) Hell?

Congress politics.

The papers are unanimous in extolling the literary merits of Mrs. Naidu's presidential address, but widely differ in opinion regarding the practicability of the programme outlined by her. A number of them complain that she has not given a definite lead to the country and has not helped in the solution of any of the vital political and communal problems of the day. The *Pioneer* writes:—The orgy of speech-making witnessed at Cawnpore will bring neither profit nor hope. The President was consistently vague and rhetorical throughout, for in closing the Congress she informed her presumably astonished audience that in the course of the three days' session they had repeatedly taken an oath that they would chose between liberty and death. Commenting on the presidential address the *Leader* writes:—It is a piece of literary effort. The poetic fervour is sustained throughout. But an eloquent recital of India's wrongs and grievances, of her internal and external problems cannot make one lose sight of the hard facts of the situation. It should be evident to everyone who does not disdain to look at the practical aspect of things that Mrs. Naidu's idea of problems connected with village reconstruction is of a very ethereal nature. Then she wants the Congress "to form forthwith a national militia by voluntary conscription." She goes further and asks the Congress to consider the question of nautical as well as naval and aerial training. All these suggestions will be a source of amusement and need not be taken seriously. Her constructive suggestions have the outstanding characteristic of impracticability. Commenting on the resolution defining the political programme of the Congress, the paper writes:—The Congress has proclaimed once more that it is not clear in its own mind as to what exactly it wants. The reiteration of the faith of the Congress in civil disobedience coupled with the confession that the country is not now ready for it invests this part of the resolution with the character of a bluff which can serve no other purpose than that of furnishing to our opponents a weapon to fight the cause of progress and of making unity among the political parties more difficult. The door is kept open for attending Council and Assembly meetings even after a formal intimation has been given to Government that the Swarajists would no longer continue to work as usual. The unsophisticated public may be impressed by this deceptive gesture of non-cooperation, but behind this programme of abstention is a not very unselfish motive of finding plenty of time to work for the forthcoming elections. The Swarajists do not want to be hampered by Council work for some months before the elections come off. In another article the paper writes:—Let Mr. Nehru glory as much as he likes in the victory, but he will yet find that honesty is the best policy—yes, even in politics and even in party politics. The people are sick of Swarajist inconsistencies and insincerities which have brought about a revolt in the Swarajist camp itself and which have driven Mr. Gandhi to his announcement of retirement. Political truths are asserting themselves and their victory will mean the rout of those who have been playing ducks and drakes with their pledges and pursuing a policy of bluff and futility and impudence. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's address is worthy of her international reputation. If as a poet of world-wide fame she has captured popular imagination, as a politician she has given a lead worthy of the greatest names in history that have ever directed great human upheavals

for freedom and justice . . . . The prospect of the new struggle is thrilling. We can only pray to God that He might embolden His struggling children in India to make cheerfully the sacrifices that civil disobedience will involve. Verily the " responsive co-operator " is annihilated, the Swarajist non-cooperator still holds the ground. Let Muddimans and Innes beware and act. Eulogizing the literary merits of Mrs. Naidu's address the *Mahashakti* writes :—In its practical aspect also the speech is one that cannot be ignored, except, of course, in the wisdom-laden quarters where any political philosophy which is full-blooded is not understood, and where there is already a pronounced tendency to find nothing in it which can be clearly utilized. It is not true that she has thought out no new line of action. The dynamic campaign suggested by her is a bold idea and having in view our national dignity and self-respect as well as the spirit of the times, is obviously more practicable than " moderate " mendicancy however mellifluent. The *Advocate* writes :—The address is full of high and noble ideals combined with stern realities of life together with practical suggestions for their solution. She has well responded to the call of the nation and has given vent to her inmost feelings. The *Dehra Chronicle* writes :—Poetry and not politics appear to be the predominant part of the address. The policy and programme advocated by her will only lead to a further disruption in our political forces and to a general disorder and lawlessness in the country. A policy of cooperation and persuasion alone can lead us successfully through gradual constitutional reform to our cherished goal of peace and prosperity. The *Abhyudaya* holds that although Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's address was a piece of beautiful poetry, it was far removed from the realm of fact and practicability and did not indicate a royal road to bring about political unity in the country. The *Anand* says that the address did not contain any definite programme and was of little political importance. The *Surya* regards it as extremely disappointing, impracticable, and unsuited to the times. The *Aj* remarks that though the address was inspiring, it contained no definite views on any important questions. Neither has Mrs. Sarojini Naidu discussed any future programme for the country. The paper says that if the Congress devotes its whole energy to a particular item of the national programme, such as the organization of labourers and cultivators, it will be able to do substantial work within the year. It expresses the hope that the Congress will take no reactionary step such as the adoption of responsive cooperation. The *Hindi Kesari* holds the Cawnpore Congress session to be a success. It says that although the presidential address was inspiring it contained nothing to give a lead to the country in future. Neither did the Congress give a practical shape to the question of village organization. It did not act wisely in retaining the condition of compulsory wearing of *khaddar*. Although the Congress did not adopt responsive cooperation, the day is not far off when it will become the only programme of the whole country. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that although the Congress was a success so far as the number of delegates and visitors was concerned, it is doubtful whether it provided any stimulus to the political life of the country, solved any of its problems or planned any scheme for the bright future of the country. Neither did it promote chances of unity among the political parties. On the contrary, it made the task of political unity still more difficult by raising the unnecessary question of *khaddar* and civil disobedience. When the Congress adopted the Swarajist demand made in the Assembly and the Liberals too supported that demand at their Federation it was up to the Congress to unite the whole country on this question but it failed to accomplish this most necessary task on account of its unreasoning love of *khaddar* and civil disobedience which, however, cannot be practised for a long time to come. The paper urges that a special session of the Congress should be held some time between March and September in which all parties should join to place the unanimous national demand of the country before the Government after the advent of the new Viceroy. Commenting on Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution in the Congress, the *Pratap* says :—By providing for constructive work outside the Councils the resolution removes our grievances to a great extent and if the country honestly carries out the scheme enunciated in it, it would greatly further the cause of its emancipation. The *Aj* remarks that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's amendment to Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution in the Congress met the fate it deserved. Had it been passed the country's efforts towards the attainment of *Swaraj* would have come to an end and the grant of *Swaraj* to it would have been left to the tender mercies of the bureaucracy. In view of their past experience Indians can have no faith in the promises of the British authorities and so cannot stop their national agitation. When the old

policy of mendicancy has been tried for over half a century and has failed, it behoves the people to achieve their object through self-reliance. It may be admitted that the country is not yet prepared for civil disobedience, but that is no reason why it cannot be prepared for it within the next ten or twenty years. Commenting upon the future programme of the Congress the same paper in another article protests against the arrangement by which the *Swaraj* party is to have the power-of-attorney to carry on the political work of the Congress. It says that no such power-of-attorney should be held by any particular party. Whatever party commands a majority in the Congress should carry on its political work. It urges that when the All-India Spinners Association has been separately formed it should propagate the use of *khaddar* and *charkha* and no place should be given to them in the Congress programme, otherwise they will interfere with the political work of the Congress. The *Medina* does not regard Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's proposal for a committee to consider the question of separate representation to be practicable, as it would be impossible either to get suitable members for the committee or to inspire public confidence in their decisions. The organization of villages is highly necessary and Mrs. Naidu's reference to military education was singularly apposite. The question of Indian States and the North-Western Frontier. Province should also be taken up by the Congress. In another article the same paper writes:—Mr. Upson, who is of English race, is wroth with Mrs. Naidu for a reference in her presidential address to the "forces of terrorism and violence" of the British Government and has observed that India would have received a taste of such forces if Italy or France had been ruling her. Mr. Upson had probably the destruction of Damascus and Bargal in mind when naming France and Italy, but if he were to abandon his racial prejudice he would find many Damascuses and Bargals in the history of British innocence. Do Jallianwala Bagh and Malabar lament any royal kindness? Bear in mind that as the inhabitants of India are unarmed it is not surprising that the scenes of Damascus and Bargal have not been re-enacted for their chastisement. The substance of tyranny is the same. Otherwise in dealing with armed populations the god of England is equally "kind." The aerial bombing of Iraq and the air raids on the Mahsuds are sufficient to open one's eyes. The handing over of Egypt to the forces of wrath and oppression for the murder of a single Sardar Lee Stack is not an incident which occurred centuries ago. The *Oudh Akhbar* deplores the helpless condition to which Indians have been reduced by the supply of even such essentials of life as water and light through machinery and views with alarm the forthcoming intensive campaign in favour of the use of machinery in agriculture. It is, however, relieved to find that by the acceptance of Mahatma Gandhi's *khaddar* resolution in the Congress subjects committee, the Indian public is freed from the nightmare of Government controlled machinery at least in the matter of supply of cloth.

The Liberal Federation.

The *Pioneer* writes:—Any expectation that may have existed of a clear lead to public opinion from the Liberal Party has been wholly disappointed by the proceedings at the meetings of the Liberal Federation at Calcutta. What is there in the President's address or the pious aspirations expressed in the vague resolutions adopted by the Federation to attract the support that is needed to convert the Liberal Party into a living entity? The Liberal leader's speech, indeed, offers no rallying points; nor are the resolutions passed by the Federation calculated to elicit support. If the Liberal Party is ever to give a lead to solid opinion, it will have to devise new and more statesmanlike tactics. In the course of a highly eulogistic article on the presidential address of Sir M. Joshi the *Leader* writes: "He speaks with the authority of a man who saw Government from inside for five years . . . The people ought not to disregard his words of practical wisdom, as the speaker has nearly 40 years of public service to his credit." Supporting the President's remarks about the possibilities of amalgamation between the Independents and the Liberals the paper writes: Our suggestion is that at an early date a conference of selected Independents and authorized spokesmen of the Liberal party should be held at which the position may be seriously reviewed and conclusions reached which will result in the amalgamation which both of them should be desirous of bringing about at as early a date as possible in order thereby to serve the country better. The *Aj* notes with satisfaction that Sir M. Joshi's address was thoughtful, free from party feeling, and inspired with the desire for unity. Proceeding, it says: Sir Moropant's statements regarding the reforms is very important in view of the fact that he was till recently the Home Member in the Central Provinces. The

Congress has again given an opportunity to the bureaucracy to prove its good intentions. It has extended its hand to the bureaucracy. Is the latter also prepared to do so? Sir Moropant has commended Liberal methods, but we have no faith in them. We have faith in civil disobedience. No doubt the country is not prepared for it but it is our duty to prepare the people for it. Sir M. Joshi has advised the Congress to give up civil disobedience, saying that this would lead to the unification of all political parties in the country. If this is the only obstacle to unity why do not all parties join the Congress and get this change effected in it by their majority?

The All-India Muslim League.

The *Leader* writes:—Sir Abdur Rahim has rendered a great public disservice by the address he has delivered as President of the All-India Muslim League. While leaders on both sides have been deploring the growth of communal feeling and have been trying to find out a remedy for the festering sore, Sir Abdur Rahim has thought fit to express views which can only exasperate the Hindus and feed the forces of communalism. His evidence before the Muddiman Committee had prepared us for a reactionary utterance, but we did not expect from him such an unbalanced and unfair attack on Hindu politicians who are trying to organize their community and to remove the numerous social and religious ills to which it is a prey. Such a provoking and short-sighted interpretation of the awakening among the Hindus to a greater sense of social justice and brotherhood is most unwise and unjust. Sir Abdur Rahim by this most lamentable utterance, which would have been merely childish if it was not so mischievous, has forfeited all title to be taken seriously as a public man who has at heart the welfare of the land of his birth. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* characterizes Sir Abdur Rahim's address as a hymn of hate against the Hindu community. The *Abhyudaya* writes:—Sir Abdur Rahim's presidential address easily takes the first place among all the presidential addresses delivered at the League. Never before was the Muslim case put before the public so ably, although, after reading the address, one is irresistibly reminded of the English proverb that it is the man painting himself not the lion. All the blame has been laid at the door of the Hindus and an attempt has also been made to impress the Englishmen that it is the Hindus who are the root cause of all the trouble in the country. Sir Abdur Rahim's allegations are so baseless and one-sided that it is useless to reply to them. The *Aj* whole-heartedly supports the opposition of the Muslim League to the decision of the League of Nations regarding Mosul and says that though the deposed dynasty of the Sharif may well support the mean attempt to injure Turkey by depriving it of Mosul, independent Muslim public opinion and the well-wishers of Asia will always oppose it. The paper expresses the hope that the whole of India will unanimously endorse the decision of the Muslim League regarding this question. In another article the same paper remarks that the presidential address and the decisions of the Muslim League show that the League is in favour of going backwards. The president plainly stated in his address that the time had not yet come for full self-government in the country. The League has gone against the Congress almost in every matter and wants that all other communities must allow the Muslims representation in excess of their numbers. Surely the Hindus are not prepared to do so, when they are in a majority. If Muslims want special representation they should not insist on separate electorates. This is the only way to harmony and friendship. Muslims are grievously mistaken if they think that by going backwards themselves and by trying to make others also go back they can make the nation give up all its activities in despair.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Prem* says that it would be a folly for Indians to expect anything from the Government of India in connexion with the Indian problem in South Africa. The only way to remove the miseries of Indians in South Africa is the adoption of the policy of tit for tat. The majority of Indian municipalities which are in the hands of the nationalists should boycott these colonial nabobs. So long as the whites are not brought to their senses they will never cease to think too much of themselves. Under the heading "Preparations to starve out" the *Aj* refers to the chances of the Asiatic Bill being passed in South Africa and remarks:—This is how the Empire treats India. How the Indian bureaucracy is opposing this becomes clear from the composition of the deputation sent to South Africa and from the Viceroy's reply to the Indian deputation from there. If the Turks had expressed their desire to starve the Armenians the whole Empire would have been beside itself with rage.

But if the slaves of the Empire, the Indians, are oppressed and the oppressors are whites, then, well, they have a right to do so. So long as we have not the power to retaliate, our opposition will continue to prove futile. It will not do to wait upon the bureaucracy with deputations. The power which has framed the reprehensible black law of Bengal cannot have the courage to protest against these atrocities. So long as we do not get *Swaraj* we cannot be considered to be human beings. Our condition is worse than that of beasts. A man who starves out beasts is punished in civilised countries. But it is no injustice to starve out Indians in South Africa! Commenting on Lord Reading's reply to the Indian deputation from South Africa the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—His Excellency reiterated his old statement that action would be taken in accordance with the exigencies of the time and situation. We fear that under this policy of evasion remedy may be used at the time when the patient's case is past recovery. Indians in the colonies can be helped to some extent only if pressure is exerted on the colonial Governments and the British Government and it is made plain that Indians will never put up with oppression. The *Shakti* writes:—We wonder how the question of Indians in South Africa can be an internal affair of that colony. It is a question of the life and death and of the honour of six lakhs of Indians. Would the Government of any other country have given such an unsympathetic reply as has been given by Lord Reading? India is a slave country. She has no independent existence of her own. The Government of India is not the Government of Indians. When it cannot protect the honour of Indians in this country how can it protect it in South Africa? When the whites who kill coolies by kicks and blows in tea-gardens here are let off with a fine of Rs. 200 at the utmost, how can the bureaucracy get justice done to Indians by the South Africans? The slaves must pay the price of slavery. The *Aj* says:—Lord Reading may well say that South Africa being a dominion Colony the British Government cannot interfere with its internal affairs, but we know that to say nothing of the British Government even small independent states do interfere with the internal affairs of other independent states to uphold the honour of their citizens, to protect their person and property and to save them from oppression. Has Britain not always been interfering in China for this purpose? It is only when Indians are concerned that non-interference is insisted upon. It is alleged that the conflict of the eastern and western cultures in South Africa would result in the extinction of the whites and hence it has become an absolute necessity for the whites to drive out Indians for self-preservation. Cannot this logic be applied against the whites in coloured countries? If any coloured people were to dare to do so, bombs from aeroplanes would be showered on them to convince them of the superiority of the white culture. The cause of the sufferings of Indians in other countries and in their own land is their own weakness. If they cultivate burning patriotism like the whites, become organized in the service of the motherland and adopt the western sciences they can secure their salvation even without the aid of the sword. The whites cannot rule over us without our co-operation. This is their weakness and in it lies our strength. Will Indians never realise this? The same paper supports the expression of sympathy by the Congress towards the oppressed Indians in South Africa and says that if Mahatma Gandhi decides to start *satyagraha* here regarding this question, it will be wholeheartedly supported. We have been deceived again and again. Promises made to us have repeatedly been broken. Our hearts have been trampled upon again and again. We have not the least faith in Government now. This is why we are compelled to support direct action. It is the only way to success. No doubt direct action is difficult in practice, but it is an inevitable necessity.

Political Propaganda.

The *Hindu Sarvaswa* urges the Indian National Congress to establish a federation of Asiatic countries to counteract the imperialistic designs of the League of Nations in Asia and says that if China, Japan, Persia, Afghanistan, and India organize Asia by holding a conference of their representatives, no power can face them. Though by reason of her being a subject country India cannot openly take part in this organization, yet if she follows the principles of true politics her success is certain. The *Aj* urges the *Hindu Sabha* not to take part in politics, but to entrust the work of safeguarding the political interests of the Hindus to the Congress itself. If the Hindus form a separate political organization, it will lead to the formation of similar organizations by minor communities and will thus result in the weakening of the Indian National Congress to the advantage of the powers that arbitrarily rule over the country with the help of military force. The *Vartman*

publishes an article by Bhai Parmanand, in the course of which he urges the necessity for the attainment of *Swaraj* with the help of the Muslims, if possible, and without their help if necessary, and says that in any case it is imperative for the Hindus to organize themselves. The Hindu leaders should, therefore, slacken their political activities for some time and devote themselves to the work of *sangathan*. The Muslims have always been dreaming that if any foreign Muslim power invades India they would rise against the British. The problem which faces the Hindus is different and they have got to decide upon their policy to solve it. It is only in case of dominion home rule that the Muslims want to stand by the Government in order that they may acquire a position in the administration only next to the British. They cannot hope to secure this position from the Hindu majority. The Government knows that for this reason the Muslims do not want democratic government and that it is the Hindus alone who want *Swaraj*. Their policy, therefore, is to suppress the Hindus and to give the larger share in administration to Muslims. In the course of an article published in the *Bhavishya* "Raja" Mahendra Pratap calls attention to the sufferings of Indians who are carrying on political propaganda in foreign countries and says:—I have become an Afghan citizen and I get help from the Afghan Ambassador, but I am pained at the sufferings of those who are being helplessly driven from place to place on account of their service of the mother-land. If the Congress appoints representatives in the capitals of big countries they will be able to look after these patriotic men and in return to take their help in propaganda work. The *Oudh Akhbar* refers to a statement published in London by Mr. Saklatwala and others to the effect that India is bound to be faced with a serious catastrophe as the country is seething with unrest owing to the actions of the British Government. The interference of the British Parliament in Indian affairs even after the passing of the Reforms Act has worked up Indian feeling to white heat and it is only a question of time when the explosion takes place, but it is bound to be terrible whenever it occurs. The only way out is to annul the Bengal Ordinance and call a Round Table Conference before a crisis is reached.

Agricultural development in India.

Referring to the report published in the *Times* that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have decided in favour of a thorough investigation of rural conditions in India, the *Leader* writes:—The factors which are responsible for the backwardness of Indian agriculture are well known. Widespread ignorance and illiteracy, minute sub-division of holdings, lack of a system of education suitable for rural areas, insufficient allotment of funds for the development of facilities for imparting agricultural education, insecurity of tenure, difficulties in the way of the cultivator obtaining cheap credit, an undeveloped and very inadequate system of communications, dependence of large tracts on nature for the supply of water for irrigation, and the decay of village industries which supplied to the cultivators a subsidiary means of livelihood—these are some of the important factors responsible for the depressed condition of Indian agriculture. A costly commission is not needed to find this out. The revenue policy of the Government has an intimate bearing on agricultural progress but it appears from the *Times* forecast that it will not come within the purview of the commission. We yet hope that the proposed commission may not be appointed. It may prove to be a white elephant. The *Oudh Akhbar* apprehends that the agricultural reforms which are being attempted at present will only bring about the import of costly agricultural experts and implements from abroad and the opening of a few demonstration farms by zamindars. They will neither benefit the general body of cultivators nor encourage the educated classes to take to agriculture. The only feasible course is to finance the peasants to improve their old methods of agriculture and to open modern farms only when they become sufficiently rich to be able to take advantage of new methods. Meanwhile, their children should be given a modicum of education which while fitting them for their hereditary industry may not go so far as to induce in them a hatred for manual labour.

The outgoing Home Memebr.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We do not attach any importance to the tribute that was paid to the retiring Home Member in the Legislative Council. We protest against the Legislature being made the theatre for such false pictures and mock sentiments. The career of the retiring Home Member has been one blot of failure. The man has falsified the hopes that his speeches and writings on nationalism had evoked in the public mind. He never gave us a glimpse that a nationalist was in power. The United Provinces have pursued a notoriously communal

policy and helped the Muslims in a Hindu province. And the Indian associated with the Government responsible for this policy is the retiring Home Member. The *Leader* writes:—The Maharaja did a public service in pleading for provincial autonomy and for the stoppage of recruitment in England for the civil service. He may have stood up boldly for the Indian cause on a few other occasions. In day to day administration we can affirm that he has not made good even fractionally while it would be unkind to characterize his work in the Legislative Council. On the whole, it can be said with truth that the United Provinces lose nothing by his separation from the Government, The *Sarfaraz* congratulates the Maharaja of Mahmudabad on his popularity with both officials and non-officials as evidenced by the valedictory speeches in the United Provinces Council on December 23. While there was uniform progress in the departments under his control during his tenure the establishment of the Oudh Chief Court, the building of the Council Chamber and his concessions towards non-cooperation prisoners will be specially remembered. In welcoming the Maharaja back to public life the *Haqiqat* remarks that he discharged his duties as Home Member admirably and despite the surrounding official atmosphere he always proved to be a true nationalist. It hopes that the Maharaja would not disappoint the public in their expectation that he would further the national cause.

All-India Christian Conference.

The *Leader* writes:—Mr. Rallia Ram's presidential address at the twelfth session of the All-India Christian Conference was notable for its broad and patriotic outlook and we heartily commend the views and sentiments he expressed to other minority communities whose aggressive communalism has become a source of great internal weakness and has been retarding progress towards democratic self-government. The Christian community will be giving a very desirable lead to other minority communities if it seeks election through mixed electorates in the manner suggested by the President. . . The Liberal policy has much in common with the policy he advocated and we have no hesitation in saying that it was a sound policy which the president advised his community to follow.

Sir Fazli Hasan's appointment.

Under the heading "A sickening game" the *Leader* strongly criticizes the appointment of Sir Fazli Hasan as a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the appointment of the President of the Punjab Legislative Council as Minister in his place, Sir Fazli Hasan's reappointment as Minister and finally his translation to the Executive Council. Proceeding, the paper says:—Sir Fazli Hasan may be a matchless political and administrative genius, but what business has any Governor to drive a coach and four through the constitution for the sake of a personal pet? To Sir Malcolm Hailey the offices of Minister as well as President of the Legislative Council are evidently no more than administrative conveniences to be utilized as he fancies in order to provide for Sir Fazli Hasan.

The United Provinces Council.

The *Medina* urges Government to act on the two non-official resolutions passed by the United Provinces Council on December 17 in the teeth of official opposition, if the Reforms are not a sham and if all talk of grant of self-government is not a piece of shameless camouflage. Even after 150 years of rule the British mentors of civilization and equality have not been able to remove the restrictions against certain castes in the matter of Government service. What can we say of the mentality of an administration which can go further and even oppose the removal of such restrictions. It is now up to Government to abide by the resolution loyally to do away with all such unfair and foolish restrictions as offend against the spirit of democracy by their exhibition of inequality and ridiculous partiality. The second resolution refers to the degrading and tyrannical procedure of arrest and confinement of zamindars and their agents for failure to pay land revenue. Unfortunately the entire machinery of the Indian Government is devoid of feeling and sentiment and it has no room in its heart for consideration for the difficulties and helplessness of any person. It knows only how to move like the French guillotine, not discriminating between the guilty and the innocent. Such a foolish system leads to many evils, foremost among which are the disgrace and harassment of zamindars and their agents and the consequent offer of bribes by them. The system must go and the Government must respect the opinion of the Council in the matter.

The Currency Commission.

The *Af*[illegible] writes:—The bureaucracy has insulted India by the appointment of the Currency Commission in which Indians of every shade of opinion have no confidence. It will be no exaggeration to say that the bureaucracy is looting India by means of its

currency policy. The Commission started its work also in an objectionable manner. The fact that important evidence is being heard *in camera* shows that the bureaucracy wants to conceal some things. It would have been much better if India had boycotted this Commission. We expect not the least good from it. On the contrary, we fear that it may injure Indian interests.

Special managers of Court of Wards Estates.

The *Awaz* bitterly complains that the beneficent object of the Court of Wards Act is generally defeated by the intrigues of the overwhelming majority of rapacious special managers, deputy collectors, and tahsildars who, being unable to take bribes openly owing to fear of collectors and the law, lie in wait for the death of the proprietor of some estate so that they may give some bribe and become its manager on behalf of the Court of Wards. Once they get the job they resort to all sorts of nefarious practices to fill their pockets. They even corrupt the collectors to be able to pursue their evil designs in peace.

Compulsory education in rural areas.

The *Najat* fears that if the present system of education is not changed the passing of the Primary Education Bill by the local Council will produce a very bad effect on the rural public, because it would divert their attention from agriculture to service and they would prefer to become patwaris and ziladars rather than farmers. Hence, the education should be such as would turn out good agriculturists.

Hindu Maha Sabha.

The *Leader* writes :—The presidential address of Mr. N. C. Kelkar at the session of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha held at Cawnpore, offers a strong contrast to Sir Abdur Rahim's offensive utterance at Aligarh. It is characterized by self-restraint and discusses the communal issues in the cold light of reason. It is free from the spirit of militant communalism and it seems to justify the Maha Sabha movement not by declaiming against and denouncing Muslim sectarian activities, but on its own merits.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD :
January 9, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 2 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 16, 1926.

Foreign Affairs.

THE *Aj* writes:—In connexion with the dispute regarding the Mosul oil-fields the League of Nations did exactly the thing for which it has come into existence. It has undertaken the holy task of entrusting the property and liberty of the whole world into the hands of European imperialists and capitalists. It is through its kindness that a number of Asiatic nations are to-day enjoying civilized government in the form of aerial bombing. It is certain that the European imperialist power embodied in the League of Nations is determined to usurp Mosul. Turkey will not be able single-handed to oppose this by military force. This disgrace and injustice will have to be tolerated quietly and tamely at the present time. But this should place Asiatics on their guard for the future. If the independent, semi-independent and subject nations of Asia do not combine to form a federation, no Asiatic country will be safe from the attacks of the League of Nations. Turkey has displayed foresight in entering into a treaty with Russia. We think that Turkey can save itself only by this method, otherwise God alone may protect it from the League of Nations. The *Medina* states that the political serfdom of India is particularly galling to Indian Muslims because they have to submit to a double subjection. The *Khilafat* conference has not only discharged a religious duty but also considerably advanced the cause of Indian freedom by its resolution on the Mosul question. This question is pregnant with possibilities and may lead to the realisation of the pan-Islamic dreams of Indian Muslims without which they can neither preserve their own existence nor gain independence for India.

Congress Politics.

The majority of the papers express disappointment at the proceedings of the Cawnpore Congress. The *Muslim Herald* is of opinion that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's presidential address contains sage and sound advice and is worthy of one who is bound to figure as an Indian heroine of the present century. In another article the paper writes: The future programme of the *Swarajist* party as defined by the resolution moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru at the National Congress is disappointing. It fails to give the party and country a proper lead, a definite objective and a clear-cut programme. The resolution does not enhance the reputation of the Congress. To avoid inconsistencies and to put vigour in our national life, it is the duty of Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders to give up this canker of civil disobedience and to adopt a bold clear-cut programme of work outside as well as inside the councils of which the latter can only be responsive co-operation. The *Bharat Dharma* says:—This Congress has not advanced the country even by a single step. Personal influence was in evidence throughout the Congress and it was beyond the power of the President to curb it. The Congress did not take any decisive action and everything remained doubtful. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that all the parties being almost unanimous regarding the political programme, it is necessary that the Congress should relax the condition of *khaddar* so that political unity may be established in the country. It urges that a joint conference of the representatives of all the political parties should be held in April next to consider the problem of the unification of the political forces of the country so that a special session of the Congress may be convened in August next to present the national demand before the Government on behalf of all the political parties. The *Shakti* attaches great importance to the passage of Pandit Motilal Nehru's resolution in the Congress

and says that if the *Swaraj* party acting according to the Cawnpore decisions gives up love of legislatures, follows the obstructionist policy and prepares the country for civil disobedience from this day and not only after finding an unyielding attitude on the part of Britain and the bureaucracy, the country's future will certainly be hopeful. In the opinion of the paper the South African question can give more impetus to the present movement than that given by the *khilafat* question to the non-cooperation agitation. The decisions which have been arrived at in the Congress regarding the demand for *swaraj* and the oppression of Indians in South Africa contain enough material for the awakening of India and the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Bhavishya* deplores that, apart from passing a resolution in condemnation of the Bengal ordinance and of the action taken under it, the Congress has done nothing to devise means for the release of the patriots who have been sent to jails like thieves and dacoits and says that sitting quietly after passing merely a vote of censure and condemnation gives still more encouragement to the Government which has realized that Indians do not possess the courage to do anything beyond this. If the Congress leaders regarded the Bengal ordinance as improper and unjust they ought to have devised some means which would have rectified this wrong, compelled the Government to repeal this legislation and led to the release of all the interned youths. One Kamlapati Tiwari, writing in the *Aj*, says that the Indian youths have been seriously disappointed at the proceedings of the Cawnpore Congress, inasmuch as they have neither faith in the councils nor in the *charkha* as a means for the attainment of liberty. For want of an inspiring programme the youths are likely to develop feelings of violence and the leaders will be responsible for any harm that may result from them. It is, therefore, desirable that the leaders should formulate a programme which may enable the youths to go forward for the country's cause enthusiastically. The youths also should organize themselves into one body, raise the cry of liberty from one end of the country to the other, prepare the country for civil disobedience, and invoke Mahatma Gandhi to resume the leadership of the country and lead it to emancipation through civil disobedience. The *Medina* is deeply disappointed at the attitude of the Cawnpore Congress in regard to the question of Council entry and says that there was no resolution passed by that body which can be said to advance the cause of Indian freedom. The dream of civil disobedience has been abandoned. Non-cooperation has been given a burial. The policy of obstruction has been provisionally suspended and the prestige of the Councils has been appreciably enhanced. The Congress has now become the happy hunting-ground of the *swarajists*. Other Congressmen will seek retirement in the Spinners' Association. Still others of the stamp of Kelkar and Moonje, who have got the Muslim bogey on their brains, will secede and form another party. We believe that Pandit Motilal's resolution only provides a pretext for wasting time. Its exterior is no doubt very pleasing and attractive and it may possibly assume a revolutionary form, but apparently the fetters of India's subjection have been made stronger.

The All-India Muslim League and other Muslim Conferences.

Hindu papers bitterly criticize Sir Abdur Rahim's presidential address. The *Aj* writes :—No condemnation can be too strong of the presidential address delivered by Sir Abdur Rahim at the Muslim League. Never before was heard from the lips of any responsible leader such an objectionable address calculated to cause communal hatred. After the perusal of this address one is tempted to think that perhaps the *Sangathanists* are after all right in holding that there can be no unity between Hindus and Muslims. It is no good sign for national unity that this address called forth no protest even from Muslims of nationalistic views. There is already no patriotism among the Muslims and if leaders like Sir Abdur Rahim excite communal hatred among them this quality will never be developed among them. In another article the same paper say that the fire of communal hatred and ill-feeling which Sir Abdur Rahim has fanned through his address cannot but produce fearful consequences. The task of the advocates of unity will now be rendered all the more difficult and communalists will find in this address a justification for their activities. Nationalists will find it hard to work for their ideal unless Sir Abdur Rahim's views are openly repudiated by recognized Muslim leaders. There is not a single good word for non-Muslims in this address. Sir Abdur Rahim's worst advice to the Muslims is to form their separate parties in all Councils. This will only encourage the *Hindu Sabha* to have its own candidates returned during the next elections. If this happens and nationalist Hindus are defeated, Muslims can have little hope of getting special

rights with the consent of the new Hindu members. Thus the Muslims will be laying the axe at their own interests if they form their separate parties in the councils. The *Surya* writes:—The address was most regrettable and would promote communal estrangement. Sir Abdur Rahim has forgotten even ordinary canons of etiquette in making idle and baseless attacks on the Hindus. His speech is full of hatred for the Hindus from one end to the other. We never expected that a learned and respectable person like him would make such an abominable utterance. The *Medina* writes:—The utterance of the Muslim knight of Bengal was most disappointing. Never was such a ridiculous and redundant address delivered during the short span of existence of the Muslim League. It was devoid of political sense, absurd and ill-arranged and even occasionally lapsed into blatant self-praise. It was a regular eulogy of the European allies and presented the existing communal struggle in an objectionable tone of carping criticism and even betrayed pedantry at places. A pleasing contrast was afforded by Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali's address which was a sensible pronouncement, giving a lucid outline of the *Tanzim* programme. It is a pity that the proceedings of the Muslim League and *Tanzim* conference breathe a spirit of hostility towards the *Khilafat* committee and it is feared that instead of coalescing the scattered forces of Islam these movements may only create new schisms. *Al Adl* eulogizes Mr. Yusuf Ali's address as a comprehensive deliverance which can serve as a guide for every discerning person. *Tanzim* is a self-purification movement which is not at all aimed against Hindus and should be welcomed by every patriotic Indian. Commenting on the proceedings of the *Khilafat* Conference at Cawnpore, the *Medina* laments that a sorry spectacle was presented there of the love of ease, disunion, disorganization and selfishness of Indian Muslims. The speeches sounded more like a dirge, a wail, and a lament over these weaknesses which some enthusiastic and sympathetic hearts were uttering. The diminutive size of the *pandal*, the paucity of volunteers, the prevailing disorganization and the dearth of delegates was surely painful. No doubt Mr. Hasrat Mohani's presence, his combativeness and his unprincipled but pugnacious pronouncement infused some spirit though it might have been only that of Milton's Satan up in arms against God for the kingdom of Heaven. The only illuminating ray was furnished by the President's address, but it was mostly a reply to Hasrat's attacks and failed to provide a programme, which while safeguarding Muslim interests would also serve the nation and the country. The conference confined itself to the question of Mosul and the Hedjaz and did not deal effectively with the internal problems of India. No doubt unless the freedom of Western and Central Asia is guaranteed by the Islamic world, pan-Asiatic unity and Indian independence cannot be secured but the presidential address was expected to deal more fully with Indian problems.

The New Ministers.

Commenting upon the appointment of the Ministers the *Leader* writes:—It is quite true that in the United Provinces there is work enough for three Ministers. This is, however, subject to two provisos. It is that they can, and do, work. Given men of knowledge, industry, ability, and courage, as well as adequate funds, there is work for more than three. But if money is not to be had for expansion and reform, and if the chosen are not endowed with the aforesaid qualities even two Ministers may be too many by one. The names of two new Ministers have been announced. Let those who know say what they think of the selections. For ourselves we prefer to say nothing as their qualifications are indescribable. Referring to this criticism, the *Muslim Herald* writes:—The worst enemy of Nawab Muhammad Yusuf cannot deny that recognition of merit in a man who has long been distinguished for liberality of views, uprightness and sincerity of purpose has been made after all. As one of the biggest zamindars of Agra, he has been always remarkable for the consideration that he accords to his tenants, among whom, we can say from personal knowledge, he is highly popular. We are sure that the right man has been selected who will justify the choice. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—By having three shoulders to bear the burden His Excellency Sir William Marris will have considerably added to the efficiency of administration. We shall have, by the way, four Indians as against three to influence any joint consideration of the Government, although, as past experience has shown, Indians, as bureaucrats, are bureaucrats first and patriots next. His Excellency could not have made a better choice from among the landholders than the two striking names published in the Gazette. If now and then they will press the popular outlook on important questions in the Government they will have done much better than we have

learnt to associate with professional politicians who adorned the first ministry of the United Provinces Government. The *Haqiqat* congratulates His Excellency the Governor on his selection of Nawab Muhammad Yusuf as a Minister and says that it will be viewed with entire satisfaction throughout the province both among Hindus and Muslims.

Political propaganda.

The *Sainik* publishes an article by one Govind Dutt Sharma, in the course of which he contends that the bureaucracy's partiality for the landed classes and their efforts to create class consciousness among them is sure to react and to create a similar consciousness among the tenants also. This class consciousness will thus lead to Bolshevism and produce terrible results. In order to protect India from the terrible spectre of Bolshevism it is necessary to curb the crooked moves which are creating class consciousness among the zamindars and tenants. The Government, who pose as the well-wishers of the zamindars, are not even prepared to extend the period of settlement to sixty years or to abolish the practice of confining them in the lock-up on slightest pretexts and yet the foolish zamindars who have lost their common-sense on account of their folly, fear and desire for luxurious living, regard the Government as their *ma-bap*. In order to save them and the tenants from this danger it is necessary to carry on a vigorous agitation. Referring to the speeches at the Conference of British Head-masters on December 23, the *Oudh Akhbar* says that it is now quite clear that the promise of the indianization of the civil and military services was only a hoax, as it has been openly asserted that the presence of the British element is absolutely essential in order to maintain peace in India. How can the Reforms be a success in these circumstances? They have now been unmasked in all their hideous nakedness. Let the Liberals co-operate with Government to their heart's content.

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on Mr. Andrews' telegram that the Union Government is soon going to pass a measure for expelling Indians from South Africa by starving them out, the *Aj* says:—We want to tell our white rulers humbly but firmly that if the Anti-Asiatic Bill is passed into law the Empire must never expect any help from India in any future crisis and the question of governing this country will become still more complicated. If Britain is incapable of protecting India even from such diabolical injustices she should not even presume to call herself the protector of India. Is Britain ruling India by disarming her simply with a view to compel her to put up with such gross insults? If Britain herself does not want to take part in this dispute she may not do so but for God's sake she should unfasten the bonds of India. Britain has given dominion status to South Africa but not to India. Our hands and feet are tied and they have weapons in their hands. They are attacking us and we cannot even defend ourselves. Britain is morally bound to protect us. If she has not the courage to do so she should at least give us the liberty which those who attack us are enjoying. This is humanity and if Britain fails to act according to it she will never be able to protect her honour. In another article the same paper remarks that the whole of India should with one voice request the British Government to make a serious effort to prevent the passage of the Asiatic Bill in South Africa. If this prayer be unacceptable, the duty of the Indians will be plain. They will try to sever their connexion with the British Government and attain *swaraj* as early as possible with all legitimate and non-violent means so that they may acquire the power to deal properly with brutes like the Boers. The *Anand* deplores that the cry of South African Indians which has resounded through the whole world has not succeeded in breaking the silence of the British Government and says that now that Indians of all shades of opinion have unanimously urged the Government of India to stop the injustice which is being perpetrated on their compatriots in South Africa, it is the duty of the British Government to prevent the passing of the unjust anti-Asiatic Bill into law.

United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—For a rapid advance in education the Bill will prove as successful as the eight-unit scheme has proved for the indianization of the army. In order to ensure satisfactory progress of primary education, it is necessary, as is the case in Madras, for every district in the United Provinces to have an elementary education fund. Without such a fund bankrupt boards will be reluctant to apply to the Government for compulsion. The board should be empowered to appoint a District Educational Council and to delegate to it all the powers of the board in respect of primary education, except that the budget and its alteration should be submitted to the board for confirmation.

Mr. B. G. Horniman's return.

Referring to the return of Mr. B. G. Horniman the *Vartman* says:—Government should remove the bar on other worthy sons of mother India in foreign lands like Lala Har Dayal and Mr. Sudhindra Bose. The Government thinks that if they are allowed to come to India they will preach anarchy and bring about revolution. God knows why they think so. Will these men bring artillery with them or will they take control of Indian armies as soon as they come here? If these men are dangerous it is not understood why their writings are not considered to be so. These are regularly coming into India and the public does not rise in rebellion after reading them. It remained quiet even on Mr. Horniman's arrival. How then can it be believed that when these men come here there will be a rebellion in India? Moreover, in this era of non-violence a rebellion is impossible owing to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and the firmness of the British Government.

Lord Reading.

Th *Aj* writes:—We cannot say without sullying our soul that we feel sorry at the impending departure of Lord Reading. It was expected that the dignity of law would be raised during his *regime* but how law has been dragged in the mire in his time by its upholders will ever remain memorable in the history of British India. He has done more harm to India than any other Viceroy during the last fifty years. During his *regime* Indian aspirations have been trampled upon at every step. Even co-operators were insulted. The privileges of the foreign servants were supported by all means. His policy in respect of Indians abroad was also unsympathetic.

Hindu *Maha Sabha*.

The *Medina* complains that in his presidential address at the Hindu *Maha Sabha* at Cawnpore, Mr. Kelkar tried to justify *Suddhi*, *Sangathan* and communal strife with the most misleading and false arguments. It is a pity that while Hindus with their multifarious castes and conflicting creeds can combine in the cause of *Sangathan*, Indian Muslims cannot unite even though they believe in one God and one Quran.

The outgoing Home Member.

The *Muslim Herald* writes:—The retirement of the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan from the office of Home Member would be a sad and severe loss to the State. The absence of his vivid and intellectual face, full of calm energy and resource, the face of one who was at once a profound thinker and active worker, would be felt in the Council Chamber.

Passports.

The *Leader* is glad that the *Times of India* has urged the abolition of "passports" and says:—These might have been a necessity of war time but are not wanted any more. In fact, they are almost a nuisance.

ALLAHABAD:
January 16, 1926.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

I.B. BRANCH
16 FEB 1926

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 3 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 23, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

THE *Aj* strongly condemns the League of Nations as an instrument of hypocrisy and oppression utilized by European imperialists against weak and coloured peoples. Referring to its decision regarding Mosul the paper points out how the League keeps quiet despite injustices and atrocities in Mesopotamia, Syria, Morocco and Egypt and on Indians in South Africa. Proceeding it remarks:—This venomous reptile (the League of Nations) is also nourished by India. We become beside ourselves with rage and shame when we see that this institution despite its black deeds of omission and commission is maintained with the blood of our hearts. By becoming its member we are destroying ourselves and bringing calamities on Asia. We are prolonging the subjection of subject peoples and depriving independent nations of their liberty. We wish India to protest against the contribution made by the Government of India towards the maintenance of the League of Nations and to tell the world that she is not willingly nourishing this cobra. It is only with a view to help in the maintenance of the League of Nations that India has been made one of its members. We do not like to remain its member. We first want to set our own house in order and to form a separate federation in concert with our Asiatic brethren. We have no place in the League of independent nations. We want to be in the company of those who are dependent, who are oppressed and who are struggling for their life. We pray to be saved from institutions like the League of Nations and the Council of the Empire. The *Medina* hopes that France and Italy will not be taken in by the cunning efforts of Britain to secure their co-operation in the event of a war with Turkey. They are not such fools as to forget her favourite trick in every field of war by which she throws all the burden of bloodshed and devastation on the heads of the allies, while she looks on at the fun and takes the lion's share of the spoils in case of victory. But if France and Italy, owing to their old enmity with the Turks, Arabs and Afghans, fall into the crafty net of Britain the results would be disastrous for both. Russia is sure to help Turkey and the war will extend into a struggle between the East and the West and between Islam and Christianity. Indian Muslims are helpless and subject, yet the spirit of Islam is strong and free and India herself will become a centre of trouble and instead of gaining Mosul Britain will have difficulty in maintaining her position in the East. The entire responsibility for the war will rest on those British statesmen who are determined to deprive the Turks of their just rights.

The Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the winter session of the Legislative Assembly the *Leader* expresses its doubts about the utility of a Royal Commission on Agriculture, and says:—"The causes which are responsible for the backwardness of Indian agriculture are well-known and a costly Commission was not needed to find them out. The appointment of a Commission may advertise the solicitude of our 'trustees' for the economic well-being of the masses and may thus serve a political purpose, but it is problematical if its labours will result in substantial good. British capitalists are greatly interested in the economic development of the Empire with a view to find profitable investment for British capital and to bring about an increased demand for British manufactures. It is in pursuit of this imperial policy that the Commission has been appointed." Referring to the terms of reference of the Commission the paper suggests that

it should also take into consideration the part which village industries played in the past in rural economy and make recommendations for their revival and development. From the observations of His Excellency regarding the deputation sent to South Africa the paper infers that the object of the deputation is not to make any representations to the South African Government on behalf of Indian settlers, but to suggest to the Government of India how far it is possible for them to co-operate with the South African Government in facilitating the voluntary repatriation of Indians and to mitigate economic competition. "Such an object cannot commend itself to Indian public opinion and betokens a spirit of co-operation which is based on weakness and not on strength and to which the South African Government is not entitled in view of Dr. Malan's statement that no solution of the question would be acceptable unless it resulted in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population. We hope that in their anxiety for peace and settlement the Government of India will not indirectly yield what is directly sought to be achieved by the anti-Asiatic Bill." Referring to His Excellency's remarks about the conditions for the grant of further reforms the paper writes:—"Innumerable excuses can be found by those who do not want to make a move and the pleas Lord Reading has urged for standing still are utterly lacking in convincing force. There is enough of good-will abroad to justify a further advance and wise statesmanship should seek to increase its volume and strength by timely concessions." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Although His Excellency has been heartless enough to hold out the threat of another revolting infliction of an address to the Indian Legislature, Indian politicians will scan in vain his speech to the Legislative Assembly for any favourable sign. We deliberately state that it is a calculated challenge to leaders of political thought. Does the Government desire to drive Indian nationalism underground by such defiance as is contained in a responsible viceregal statement demanding unconditional, abject, dishonourable co-operation from the people without one vestige of a sign of change of heart on their part? There can be only one reply from self-respecting Indians to such an attitude: that is to throw themselves into the unchartered waters of civil disobedience. We do not attach much importance to the Royal Commission on Agriculture enunciated with such pompous precision and ponderous details. All that it might do would be to place in the pigeon-hole another voluminous report which would not be acted upon. The reference to the Indian question in South Africa at this critical juncture when the country is awaiting the axe of the executioner was truly elaborate, but amidst the Niagra of words we look in vain for any ray of hope. In India and to Indians this jumble of words conveys nothing except an irritating feeling of idle fiddling amidst an all-consuming fire. The *Oudh Akhbar* scouts the idea of a commission to inquire into rural conditions in India and wonders what there is about Indian village life which is not already well known and which this commission will seek to discover. The Indian peasantry is poor, ill-fed. ill-clad and ill-housed. Means of communication and irrigation are lacking. Rents are high. Indebtedness prevails and there is an undesirable division of holdings, and all this is fully known to the officials. What therefore is needed is not a costly commission, but a committee with a majority of non-official Indian public men fully conversant with village life to devise ways and means to remedy these evils.

Indians in the Colonies.

Referring to the "impressive and representative demonstration held in Bombay on January 15 to voice the feeling of indignation and sense of humiliation of the Indian community at the treatment which is being accorded to Indian settlers in South Africa" the *Leader* writes: The entire country is united on the South African issue and if notwithstanding the protests that have been and are being made the great wrong which is threatened is allowed to be perpetrated owing to the pusillanimity or indifference of the Imperial Government, it will proclaim to the entire world its impotence to uphold the cause of right within the Empire and will weaken the moral bonds which hold it together. The *Vartman* approves of the resolution of the Calcutta Corporation against the South African "whites" and remarks that the Union Government must understand that now Indians are no more the Indians who could always put up with the kicks of the white men. They will fight and will not rest in peace so long as they do not achieve their object. The *Sainik* says that the extent to which people having white skins and black hearts can resort to meanness is clear from the legislation known as the Asiatic Bill which is before the South African Parliament for driving out Indian settlers from that country. The Government

of India is no doubt evincing impotence in this matter, but has the British Government also lost its "steel frame" and "tiger qualities"? The *Surya* supports the action of the Calcutta Corporation in resolving to have no trade relations with the South African Europeans and to deny all facilities to them and urges other corporations and municipalities to follow suit. Referring to a recent telegram from Mr. Andrews from South Africa, the *Medina* says that it reveals the hard-heartedness and obstinacy of the Government there. In reality the white-skinned Chengezes of South Africa do not want to make any concessions to Indians or to do justice to them. They have unequivocally declared that the Asiatic Bill would be supported and they have really been encouraged in this attitude of theirs by the Viceroy's words. They were in the first place extremely guarded and lacking in force and he himself enunciated the principle that the question was an internal one for South Africa. How can any stranger then have any legal or moral right to interfere in it? It is a pity that the physician to whom our compatriots resorted for the treatment of their malady gave them such a poisonous prescription that all lingering hopes of the recovery of the patients are now gone.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article on the great war the *Aj* remarks:—It is our conjecture that the alliance of Britain with the Czarist Russia was mostly responsible for the great war. His and Britain's admirers may well laud Sir Edward (now Lord) Grey to the skies, but we, the Asiatics, cannot forget what kind of generosity and benevolence to the world can be expected from those who shared Persia with Russia. Germany no doubt was making preparations for war, but the usurpers of the land of the whole world cannot blame her for it. Under the heading "Distrust of British promises" the same paper writes:—We Indians can give several reasons for distrusting British promises. It has become known to Englishmen also that in India no one believes the word of British authorities. Such grave and widespread distrust cannot be created merely by agitation. There is truth at its bottom . . . Britain had entered into a treaty with Iraq that the latter would get complete independence in 1928. This had led the world and the inhabitants of Iraq to believe that in 1928 British soldiers and officials would leave that country. Through the unbounded kindness of the League of Nations Iraq not only got Mosul and Britain oil, but the Arabs of Iraq had also the good fortune of getting the unbriddled rule of British soldiers and officials for another twenty-five years. It appears that the Arabs are not pleased at their latter good luck. This is their unmannerliness. Are British imperialists uncivilized like the Russian Bolsheviks that they should return to their homes leaving any country, specially non-white peoples, uncultured? Mr. Baldwin says that such a sinful thought never crossed the mind of the British authorities. The granting of independence never meant that British soldiers and officials would be removed from there. This unique meaning of independence is only intended for the non-whites. They should interpret not only British promises but also the phraseology of treaties with the greatest care. We congratulate the Arabs of Iraq. They have got British rule in return for oil. Indeed it is not a bad bargain. Commenting on the judgment in the Dakshineshwar bomb case the *Vartman* says:—If a bomb, a revolver, a pistol or a few cartridges are found in any house it does not follow that that house is a bomb factory or the seat of a big conspiracy. Even if we take as correct the finding of the special court, the question is, why did the Government create such a situation which has compelled the youths to follow this path? The situation created by the Government has not only agitated the youths but the whole country. The people are in extreme distress. They are crying on all sides. They do not get enough to eat, yet taxes and epidemics are increasing and thefts and drunkenness are rampant and there are famines every year. Can all this happen in any independent country? It is but natural that the youths should be more agitated against the system of government which has destroyed the manhood of the country and increased cowardice and turned the rich country into a poor one. There can be no peace so long as India does not get *swaraj*. Repression cannot remove unrest. It only leads to anarchy. In order to establish peace in the country it is the duty of the British Government to grant *swaraj* to India. The *Medina* observes that clever wizards of Britain are assuring the simpletons of India that they should work the Reforms up to 1929 and then a Royal Commission of white gods will descend from the British sky and will, after touring throughout the country and ascertaining conditions, grant them home rule or self-government or dominion status. Certain credulous gentlemen

in India believe these promises and reproach pessimists, but those who know the reality are well aware that the English are not ruling India because their hearts are overflowing with the milk of human kindness and sympathy for the pitiful condition of this ignorant and uncivilized country and they want to convert this hellish place into an earthly paradise. They are ruling over her with the rod and the iron fist because she provides means of subsistence, comfort and luxury for the denizens of the rocky and barren soil of England. Our beloved country is the market for the manufactures of England and she supports the labourers of Britain. India also provides princely appointments for the scapegrace wastrels of England. Every sensible and just person can see that Englishmen cannot willingly abandon a country on which their very existence and national superiority depend. All promises to drop *swaraj* from the British skies are therefore illusory. Only recently the *Daily Telegraph* (London) which is the organ of the present Government and a representative of British public opinion, while commenting on Indian affairs, demanded an assurance that British recruitment would continue for India. When such are the intentions, how unfortunate are those who build their hopes of a worldly paradise on British promises?

The Governor of Bombay and the Hindus.

Referring to the reply of the Governor of Bombay to the Hindus of Sindh that they could not be given more high posts as their representatives in the Council always voted against the Government the *Bharat Dharma* says:—Who can repose faith in the good intentions of the bureaucracy after perusing the reply of a responsible Governor who professes to make the reforms a success? This reply also shows why the liberals and moderates have remained in Councils so long. The Governor is to be thanked for revealing a secret policy. The people are to blame as they do not come to their senses even after receiving repeated kicks. God only knows when they will get tired of them. The *Aj* remarks:—By offering the bait of Government posts the bureaucracy wants elected members of the Council to act according to its wishes. Establishing its control over Legislative Councils in this manner the bureaucracy would govern India in the name of elected members. How far this administration will be popular and beneficial to the people can be easily conceived. In our opinion to interfere with the liberty of electors by offering the bait of Government posts is more objectionable than to save a murderer or to send an innocent man to jail by offering bribe to the police or the judge. But who can blame the strong? Whatever they do is all proper and right.

The new Ministers.

The *Abhyudaya* writes:—We congratulate the provincial Governor on his securing two Ministers instead of one. We had been hearing for long that he was much perplexed in his search for even one Minister. It is rumoured that the Muslim members held out a threat to the provincial Council that if no Muslim Minister was appointed they would either wreck the ministry or resign their seats in the Council in a body. Is it for this reason that the Governor increased the number of Ministers from two to three and appointed a Hindu and a Muslim as Ministers or had work increased in the province? If this has been done owing to the increase of work, do the persons appointed possess any special aptitude? The *Arya Varta* takes exception to the appointment of two Ministers instead of one and says that this was done probably because the Governor wanted to please both the communities. Now the entire ministry consists of taluqdars. The Governor cannot be congratulated on the appointments from the public standpoint as they will be an unnecessary burden on the tax-payer.

Corruption in public offices.

The *Awaz* complains that bribery in some form or other is rampant in every department of Government in India. Even some High Court judges sweep in money with both hands. Numerous deputy collectors openly make illicit gain in cases and many collectors defray their household expenses from bribes. *Raises* corrupt some collectors for the sake of titles and such other empty favours. The same is the case in the Railway and Police departments. People run after service simply for the sake of illicit income. Government of course does not tolerate bribery, but some officials, though high-placed, consider it contrary to their interests to check corruption. Englishmen can live most comfortably on their high salaries while in India, but they are always thinking of the difficulties of living in England after retirement and many of them resort to all means to amass money. Following this bad example Indian subordinates also begin to take bribes. Now matters have come to such a pass that people do not even

regard it as a crime to take bribes. Even Viceroys empty the pockets of the Rajas and Nawabs in December *dalis*. The law is today helpless and cannot stop bribery.

The Muslim League.

The *Medina* points out that while the slave mentality of the Muslim League did not allow it to go beyond making appeals to Britain in regard to the Mosul question, the *Khilafat* Conference boldly tackled it and declared that if there was war with the Turks over Mosul the scene of the Karachi trial would be re-enacted in India and service would become a sin for every Muslim soldier and policeman, and that if there was war with fire and iron in the fields of Mosul, the battle of non-violence and passive resistance would be waged in India also. Can any one now claim that the moving spirits of the Muslim League are inspired by any devotion to God and His prophet or by any sentiment of self-sacrifice?

The Hindu Sabha and the Madras Government.

Referring to the Madras Government's order prohibiting Hindu Government servants from becoming members of the Hindu Sabha the *Bharat Dharma* exhorts the Hindus of all shades of opinion to sink their party differences and to agitate from one end of the country to the other and even to resort to civil disobedience, if necessary, to compel the Government to withdraw this order, and says that this order shows that the Government also is opposed to Hindu *Sangathan* and has violated its pledge not to interfere in any religion, and that it is not only the Muslims but also the bureaucracy who are bent upon ruining the Hindus.

Indians in Burma.

The *Leader* writes :—We protest most strongly against the unjust action of His Excellency the Viceroy in giving his assent to that outrageous measure—the Expulsion of non-Burman Offenders Bill. That the Viceroy should have made himself a party to a Bill which, with the Sea Passengers Tax Bill, virtually creates for Indians a Kenya in a province under his jurisdiction is an ironic commentary upon His Excellency's assurances and efforts in behalf of the Indians of Kenya and South Africa. Sir Harcourt Butler, the friend of India and lover of Indians, has succeeded after all. How well Burke's " Birds of passage " keep up their well-advertised affection for the land in which they make their " rupees and reputations " is so admirably illustrated in this kick to Indians administered by our late taluqdar Governor whom Allahabad remembers with tearful gratitude.

" King's proposed visit to India."

Referring to a report in some newspapers that the Government of India propose to invite the King-Emperor again to India in November to make some special announcement and that the province of Delhi would be enlarged and given a Governor with an Executive Council the *Awaz* remarks that Indians do not want any more costly toys, and if the second instalment of the Reforms is not less costly and more substantial than the first, the King should not be troubled in his old age.

Hindu Muslim relations.

The *Prem* publishes an article by one Brahmachari Bhadrajit who contends that under the present circumstances it is vain to expect the Muslims to co-operate with the Hindus in the struggle for freedom and says that the narrow-mindedness of Muslims and their new demands which are detrimental to the interests of the nation have exhausted the patience of even the most forbearing community in the world. The Hindus should, therefore, organize themselves to promote the work of uplifting their community and to carry out the decisions of the Hindu Maha Sabha.

Lord Reading.

The *Hindi Kesari* writes :—The Black Act of Bengal, the recommendations of the Lee Commission and the increase in the salt-tax are the monuments of Lord Reading's régime. The aspirations of Indians were trampled upon and Mahatma Gandhi and twenty-five thousand Indian youths were thrown into jails for the service of the country during his time. His memory will long remain fresh in the minds of Indians owing to the black law of Bengal.

The Bengal Ordinance.

Referring to Lord Lytton's speech on the subject of penology at the Rotary Club the *Leader* writes :—That such liberal and humanitarian views should be expressed by one who is responsible for shutting up for an indefinite period a number of young men without any trial and whose guilt has not been proved by any judicial inquiry only shows the extent to which the Governor of Bengal has strayed from the ideal in which Lord Lytton believes. No offence has been proved against those

who have been deprived of their liberty under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and yet they are being punished on the ground of their supposed criminality.

Lotteries in Indian States.

In the course of an article on the increase of gambling in its various forms in the country the *Aj* refers to the loss which people in British India suffer through lotteries organized in Indian States, and inquires whether Government does not consider it to be its duty to protect them against such lotteries which are in reality but a system of indirect organized robbery.

ALLAHABAD:
January 23, 1926.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
23 FEB 1926
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 4 of 1926.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 30, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

In the course of a review of the Mosul question the *Muslim Herald* writes:—If self-determination has any value in the eyes of the League and Great Britain, they ought to know that Iraq and Mosul are determined to be free. We hope Great Britain will rise above the temptation of grabbing Mosul and her oil wells. Such greediness may cause another conflagration. The *Sada-i-Muslim* is surprised at the news of the declaration of the sovereignty of Ibn Saud over the Hedjaz and the silence of the *Khilafat* deputation on this matter and says that it should be asked to explain its conduct on its return to India. *Al Adl* is grieved at the report and hopes that even now Ibn Saud will try to follow the Islamic *shariat* and will not imitate European diplomatic tactics. *Al Bashir* regrets that the report has led to further schisms among Indian Muslims. It is a pity that instead of devising means for averting the catastrophe that is awaiting them in India, Indian Muslims busy themselves with foreign matters over which they can have no control. The result is that their condition is going from bad to worse day by day. Indian Muslims should realise that they cannot survive if they persist in this attitude.

The Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the winter session of the Legislative Assembly, the *Muslim Herald* writes:—The speech falls short of the expectations that even the most moderate amongst us entertained. The important subject of constitutional reforms was dealt with at some length by His Excellency the Viceroy, but we looked in vain to find something in it that might, by any stretch of imagination, be called remarkable. He again harped on the same old string and played the same old tune. He asked for cooperation which, in plain words, meant unconditional surrender. He has made the task of cooperators more difficult by the stand-offish way in which he has couched his appeal for cooperation. The announcement of the Royal Commission on Agriculture also falls short of our expectations. We are certainly disappointed in the Commission that is going to study the problems of agriculture in India. Its terms of reference are too narrow to render any great help to agricultural development in India. In another article, referring to the Royal Commission the paper says: A costly Royal Commission has been appointed, but can it do any good to the masses when by its very terms of reference it is powerless to touch the problems that vitally affect the rural prosperity? It is simply another of those costly shows that are arranged for the entertainment of the world, but which always leave India more or less in the same old condition, only with the difference that it always has to pay the piper without being, in the least, entertained. The *Aj* considers the speech to be wholly unsatisfactory. No sensible Indian could expect anything more from the Viceroy. India can get nothing from him beyond verbosity and diplomacy. This time the illusive net of agricultural development has been spread. This will not, and cannot, benefit Indians. Indeed this arrangement has not been made for the good of the Indian cultivators. It is only to deceive the world. It is intended to show to the world that the foreign rulers of India are busily engaged in improving the country and to create hopes in the minds of simple Indians that perhaps this time the bureaucracy is going to do some real good to the country. But the Indians will once again be disappointed in trusting the word of the bureaucracy. The Royal Commission on Agriculture will only

mean waste of money and energy and the creation of a few highly paid posts. It is all a snare of illusion and represents an attempt to divert the attention of Indians from the struggle for *swaraj*. Referring to His Excellency's remarks regarding the South African problem the paper opines that they are wholly void of substance and are more or less formal. Lord Reading has practically yielded entirely, although in an indirect manner, to the Boer Government. Commenting on his remarks regarding the political situation the paper says that His Excellency wants Indians to give up all sense of self-respect and become wholly subservient to the bureaucracy. The country cannot acquiesce in this insulting and heart-rending position. Awakened India is not prepared to lie low at the feet of the bureaucracy which is what Lord Reading demands. The Government has replied to the national demand. The All-India Congress Committee should now hold a session to settle the future programme. The Swarajists too should at once cease to take part in the deliberations of the Legislative Assembly and devote themselves to the task of preparing the people for the future non-violent but firm and ceaseless struggle. The *Vartman* writes:—So long as economic reforms are not effected and self-government is not granted to Indians, there can be neither co-operation nor peace in the country. The fact that the Royal Commission on Agriculture will leave out important questions and consider only worthless ones is sufficient to prove that it is unnecessary. The *Pratap* remarks:—Lord Reading's remarks in connexion with the South African question show that the Government of India want to help Indians, but that His Excellency is not prepared to adopt a strong policy. Interference can be made even in the internal affairs of a country if they are of an international character. The Viceroy has in a way said that so long as Indians do not kneel down before the Viceregal throne the British and the Indian Governments will not listen to their clamour for further reforms. The Viceroy and his lieutenants should not even dream that the Indian National Congress will so debase itself. It is an insult to India to ask her to give up political agitation and to kiss the gracious feet of Government. Lord Reading and his successor will see what India does in future. The *Abhyudaya* says that perhaps His Excellency wants the Indian leaders to repent of their past conduct, to stop agitation altogether, and to bow down cheerfully to the decisions of the Government whatever they may be. His Excellency has undoubtedly complained against Indian leaders, but has not at the same time said when and how many times the Government extended the hand of brotherhood, friendship and cooperation to them. The *Aj* refers to Lord Reading's statement that owing to the abolition of the cotton excise duty provincial contributions will not be reduced to the desired extent and remarks:—Well, can the bureaucracy of India ever do an unmixed good? There was no complaint of a deficit in the budget when, trampling upon Indian public opinion, increases were granted in the pay of white officials and other facilities were provided to them, but it has become inevitable to strangle the provinces for the abolition of the cotton excise duty. What a fine specimen of financial readjustment and of justice! The *Surya* contends that the Royal Commission on Agriculture will do no actual good to the country, but will only trumpet all the world over that the custodians of India are striving to effect the economic advancement and agricultural development of the country. It goes on to say that the self-interest of the British people lies hidden in this dense cloud of agricultural reform. A careful perusal of Lord Reading's speech makes it perfectly clear that this Commission has been appointed to give a chance to the capitalists of England to invest their capital in India and find a market for their goods. The *Sainik* writes:—We see nothing but harm in the proposed Royal Commission on Agriculture. The money of the poor people will be wasted and false hopes will be raised in the hearts of foolish and credulous persons. We are afraid that, in the name of agricultural development, industrial progress will be stopped, the fire of ill-feeling will be kindled between towns and villages, and the minds of the people will be diverted from the battle for *swaraj*. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that agricultural development will enable big British firms to drain away the grain of the country. The agricultural development owes its origin to the apprehension that when Indians attain *swaraj* the Islanders (the British) will not be able to earn their living simply by Indian trade. They, therefore, think that if they take to cultivation in this country no one will be able to drive them out and they will live here comfortably whether India gets *swaraj* or not, as Indian agriculture will pass into the hands of foreigners after the tenure of the office of the "reformer of agriculture" in the same way as injustice reigns supreme in the country after the *régime* of the "apostle of justice." The *Pratap* contends that

in the matter of the appointment of a Royal Commission on Agriculture the Government have not been moved by any feeling of sympathy for the afflicted and starving tenantry, but that their real object is to popularize the use of modern implements of agriculture as used in Europe and America. If the Commission had been empowered to report on the existing rent, revenue and settlement systems the condition of the tenants would have greatly improved, but the Government are afraid of doing this. Besides, the Government appear to undertake this scheme with a view to win over the masses from the national cause. It may also be a precautionary measure against the next elections. The *Sada-i-Muslim* writes :—A Royal Commission on Agriculture would prove of no benefit to Indian peasants, as Indian produce is exported for the advantage of English consumers and the question of import and export is beyond the province of the Commission. As regards cooperation, the Congress has suspended non-cooperation, raised the triple boycott, and included Council entry in its programme. Pray, what more is needed in the way of cooperation? The false issue of cooperation is really raised only to postpone further reforms till 1929. The *Oudh Akhbar* appeals to Swarajists to grasp the hand extended by His Excellency and thus give him an opportunity to do something towards the close of his *régime*.

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on the Asiatic Bill the *Hindi Kesari* remarks that so long as Indians do not become free in their own country they will continue to be kicked in foreign countries and congratulates the Calcutta Corporation on its adopting the policy of retaliation against the South African whites. Urging the people and the Government of India to present a united front to the Anti-Asiatic Bill, the *Arya Mitra* says :—It is the Government of India alone who should and can carry on the most vigorous agitation at the present juncture. In the absence of freedom Indians are being subjected to untold miseries both at home and abroad. They are being treated even worse than dogs and cats. Surely the interests of India would not have been thus trampled upon if there were *swaraj* in the country. The *Shankar* says :—The Government of India should realize that if the Union Government does not give up its obstinacy and the Asiatic Bill is passed into law there will be a very terrible agitation all over India and Indians will show to the Government that they will not be able to put up for long with the meanness of the Union Government. The *Aj* asks Indians to assure their compatriots in South Africa of their full sympathy and all possible monetary support in their struggle. Protest meetings like the one held recently at Bombay should be held throughout the country with a view to create strong public opinion against the Bill which amounts to a complete negation of the very principles of humanity. If we could get this Bill rejected by a widespread and vigorous agitation we would establish that we can get *swaraj* and have the fitness to attain it. Referring to Lord Reading's reply to the Indian deputation from South Africa, the paper asks whether a similar reply would have been given if Englishmen had been subjected to the same treatment as is being accorded to Indians. The Imperial Government can by all means interfere in this matter and it should certainly get this Bill rejected. In another article the same paper points out that the attempt to drive out Indians from South Africa is one of the examples of the world-wide white domination which seeks to carry things all its own way, in utter disregard of the rights of the coloured peoples. It is this world-wide white domination which is the key to the secret of the perpetration of atrocities on coloured races in the world. It is under the influence of this world-wide domination that pledges made to coloured peoples are not redeemed. This is a universal malady and universal methods should also be employed to combat it. We Indians should try to lay the axe at this white domination in our own country, while the Indians in South Africa should make common cause with the natives and try to deal a blow to the white domination there. If we are to protect our compatriots abroad, if we are to save from extinction our race and culture we should attain *swaraj* in the country, establish friendly relations with other Asiatic countries, and awaken the coloured peoples in other countries to take measures for self-protection. Referring to Sir Deva Prasad Sarbadhicary's statement about the attitude of the Union Government towards the Indian South African deputation, the *Hamdam* says that no greater insult could be offered to India than the refusal of the Union Government to give an interview to her representatives. India's money spent on this deputation has been wasted for nothing. The *Medina* urges that the example set by the Calcutta Corporation by its retaliatory action against South Africans should be widely followed by other municipalities and corporations.

It will make the South Africans realise that Indians look down upon them. The utmost that the South Africans can do in reply is to expel all Indians from their country, but that will at least put an end to their tyrannies.

The All-India Muslim League.

A number of Muslim papers have published Sir Abdur Rahim's address *in extenso*. The *Mashriq* congratulates Muslims on their courage in throwing off the yoke of the Congress and rescuing the Muslim League from the position of an appendage of that body by holding its session separately at Aligarh. Educated Muslims will not be able to cast off this attitude of dependence until they realise their own strength more fully and adopt the ideals inculcated by Sir Syed. It is a matter for gratification that all leading members of the Muslim educated community joined the session and it was presided over by a sagacious, liberal-minded, and outspoken gentleman like Sir Abdur Rahim. The speech was closely reasoned and showed deep insight into current affairs. He was nowhere carried away by emotion or prejudice and he has given a very sound lead to his community. Instead of attacking non-Muslims, Sir Abdur Rahim has exhorted all communities to live in peace and unity. In spite of the fact that the Hindu community has gone beyond limits in its anti-Muslim attitude he has only objected to the mischievous *Shudddi*, *Sangathan* and *Maha Sabha* movements and the still more dangerous Hindu movement which aims at depriving Muslims of their political rights and an adequate share in the administration and hus weakening them and destroying their political importance. While admitting that unity is essential for progress, he has emphasized the need for Muslims learning self-dependence and continuing the Muslim League and its communal programme. In reality, the differences between Hindus and Muslims are so fundamental in their nature that they can never become one nation. Sir Abdur Rahim was quite right in resenting the view of the Hindus that India was their country alone. He gave very sound advice to Muslims when he urged them to cooperate with Government. We must however differ from him where he urges that Muslims should accept representation according to their numbers, as this would mean their swamping by the Hindus. Muslims should get equal rights as the conditions in the country and the political importance and interests of Muslims demand it. The attacks of the Hindu papers on Sir Abdur Rahim and particularly Lala Lajpat Rai's comments in his paper, the *People*, have roused the resentment of the Muslim press. The *Surma-i-Rozgar* says that these attacks mean nothing but that Muslims should forego all their rights and claims and throw themselves entirely on the mercy of the Hindus. *Al Aziz* writes:—Sir Abdur Rahim neither abused any Hindu leader nor attacked the Hindu community. He only laid bare what the Muslim heart felt about Hindu oppressions. If the utterances of the Lala of the Panjab and Pandit Malaviya of Allahabad were compared with the presidential address of the League, it would appear that a sober and urbane person was stating his case in dignified language before people who were retorting with foul abuse. Referring to Lala Lajpat Rai's criticism of Sir Abdur Rahim's address which appeared in the *People*, the *Hamdam* remarks that Lalaji himself is responsible for this change in the mentality of Muslim leaders. The activities of the Hindu leaders in connexion with *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* have convinced Muslims that the Hindus want to deprive them of all their rights and privileges and are trying to weaken them. Sir Abdur Rahim has only enunciated the grievances of Muslims. He is never opposed to the idea of a united Indian nation, but at the same time he and other Muslims in this country cannot bear to throw themselves on the mercy of the Hindus. In another article the same paper takes exception to the *People's* comments on Mr. Jinnah's speech at the League and says that not a single word of his can be quoted as being opposed to the interests of a united Indian nation. The only difference between the view of Mr. Jinnah and Lala Lajpat Rai is that the latter wants to crush the Muslims and then attain *swaraj* without their aid, while the former considers the attainment of *swaraj* without the help of the Muslims impossible.

The new Ministers.

The *Wealth and Welfare* writes:—His Excellency has earned the thanks of the public by his having raised the number of Ministers to three and having nominated right persons to discharge the duties of Ministers. With the increase in the number of Ministers there ought to be improvement in the administration of the transferred subjects. The *Shankar* sarcastically congratulates Sir William Marris on appointing two Ministers in place of one and wonders if it is due to the threat of Muslim councillors to resign in a body if a Muslim Minister was not

appointed that he has done so. It goes on to say that in appointing them the Governor has burdened the public exchequer with an additional expenditure of Rs. 1,20,000. Is this justice? If it is so, we doubly congratulate His Excellency. The *Aziz-i-Hind* eulogises the statesmanship shown by Sir William Marris in settling the question of the appointment of a successor to the Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Sa'id Khan. Nawab Muhammad Yusuf's ability was unquestioned, but a Muslim majority would have invited criticism and therefore a third Hindu Minister has been added. Both the new Ministers are young and capable. Writing in a similar strain, the *Mashriq* says that the selection has been viewed with satisfaction by both the communities and even the bitterest critic of the Government cannot have any objection to it. *Al Adl* remarks that Nawab Muhammad Yusuf has fully deserved the appointment by his public services in the past and will fill his new office with credit. *Al Aziz* says that Nawab Muhammad Yusuf is a very capable and popular person and his appointment as Minister has been welcomed by both Hindus and Muslims. It is to be hoped that he will adequately safeguard Muslim interests. The *Azad* remarks that though better men could no doubt be found in the Council, yet it is to be hoped that both the Ministers would do the best they can for the good of the province.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article commenting on Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's speech at Lucknow on "Cawnpore, Aligarh and Calcutta" the *Aj* writes :—The most serious drawback of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani is that he has no faith in the Indian public . . . He has firm faith in the constitutional methods obtaining in Britain and thinks that success will be achieved in India too through these methods. But a learned man like him has never considered that the constitution which the British possess today is not the outcome of any constitutional agitation. To obtain this constitution or the representative system of government the British too, despite the fact that their king and rulers belonged to their own country, race and religion, were compelled to have recourse to unconstitutional methods. Now a constitution has been established there and the British can get any changes effected in their government with its help, i.e., by the creation of public opinion. In this country we are struggling for a constitution itself and hence our agitation cannot be a constitutional one, and it is a matter for surprise and regret that a keen-witted thinker like Mr. C. Y. Chintamani is unable to grasp this point.

Indian States.

Referring to reports about the forthcoming "voluntary abdication" of the Maharaja of Indore the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—We are prepared for anything against the Indian princes from the viceroyalty of Lord Reading which "arranged" the voluntary abdication of Maharaja Ripudaman Singhji and has withheld from him the annual allowance . . . We have Barodas bleating for original sovereignty and Bikaners protesting for an examination of treaty rights at a time when a policy of terrorization of the princes by the weapon of voluntary abdication is actually pursued. The *Aziz-i-Hind* asks for a more sympathetic treatment of Indian ruling chiefs by the Government of India. Government can rely on their support alone in case of a revolution and they deserve better of it. It is being widely remarked these days that Government has been showing studied indifference towards some of them and Lord Reading has not made a single concession to them. The Nabha affair is still fresh in people's memories. Lord Reading showed no consideration for the chiefs when amending the Press Act and whatever was done later was insufficient. No special regard was shown for them in the amendment of the Arms Act. His Excellency has got the cases of certain chiefs before him just now and he should do nothing which may create secret unrest. The most important case is that of the Maharaja of Indore. In reality there is not a shred of evidence against him and a number of lives have already been sacrificed in place of one. If the Holkar is vindictively pursued he will only become the object of popular sympathy and a secret resentment will spread among all the Mahrattas against Government. Even if the Maharaja was really guilty of any error owing to his folly or inexperience, he has paid sufficiently for it in disrepute and mental pain. In the same way the question of the succession of the Bhopal, Tikamgarh and other States should be decided in such a manner that the well-wishers of the British Government may not be disappointed.

Muslim affairs.

Mr. Maqbul Husain writing in the *Medina* complains that the Muslim strength is being further weakened by the nomination of members of the depressed classes to municipal

boards in these provinces. Muslims want fifty per cent. representation and their claims should not be overlooked when nominations are made. Writing in a similar strain *Al Bashir* urges that only non-Hindus should be nominated except in boards in which the Hindus are in minority. If a member of the depressed classes has to be nominated he should be a *mehtar* or a *chamar* not under the influence of the *Hindu Sabha* people. In justice some of the seats at present reserved for Hindus should be set apart for members of the depressed classes. Outsiders should be eligible for election as chairmen only if they are non-Hindus and the boards should not be allowed to raise such all-India questions as those of cow-slaughter and script. The Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf would be rendering a public service if he musters up moral courage enough to tackle these questions in spite of Hindu criticism. The *Hamdam* strongly supports Mr. Yakub's resolution in the Assembly for increasing the Government grants to the communal universities and says that besides the recurring grant, the Aligarh University deserves a non-recurring one also in view of its financial embarrassment. Such a grant of about a lakh and a half has already been given in the past to the Benares University and it will be only fair to make a similar grant to Aligarh also.

Reforms.

Referring to Sir Alexander Muddiman's reply to the questions regarding the national demand the *Aj* says that a more unsatisfactory reply cannot even be conceived. The Viceroy's evasive speech coupled with this reply leads us to make the suggestion that if the *swaraj* party has faith in the people it should give up love of the Council and devote itself to the task of preparing the people for non-violent direct action. There is not the least hope of achieving success by indirect methods, and the authorities have completely closed the door in that direction. The *Vartman* remarks:—On the one hand Lords Reading and Birkenhead want Indians to cooperate, and on the other they do not give even a satisfactory reply to questions of the day. How can then the talk of cooperation be believed? Cooperation is possible only through mutual love. Clever moves and diplomacy only lead to non-cooperation. Are Lords Reading and Birkenhead not aware that the existing system of government has utterly impoverished the country? How long can peace be established by giving evasive replies? The Government of India are responsible for the growing misery of the people caused by the delay in changing the system of government.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an article on the Arya Samaj *Nagar Kirtan* at Lucknow the *Vartman* writes:—The police at first placed some obstacles in the way of the *Nagar Kirtan* and the Muslims wanted to make mountains of mole-hills, but 4,000 Hindus became ready to die and proclaimed *satyagraha*. Although Muslims gave evidence of their inborn meanness, real heroism triumphed. The Hindus should learn the lesson that so long as fear of death prevails among them they will continue to be beaten, to incur humiliation and to blacken the face of their community. Their rise will begin the moment they muster up courage to give their lives and have the wisdom to present a united front. Every Hindu should be prepared to sacrifice his life whether it is a question of a brick of a temple or of a piece of wood for *Arya Samaj havan*.

The Council of State.

The *Oudh Akhbar* notes with regret that the Government of India have nominated only such persons to the Council of State as will always support it. However, owing to the election of a number of *swarajists* the Council will no longer be the packed body that it was previously, yet it is a pity that the Government of India has nominated only such members as will always support it.

ALLAHABAD:
January 30, 1926.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 5 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 6, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the visit of Dr. Pillai to India to popularize the League of Nations, the *Aj* writes:—We wish to warn Indians that it is wholly improper in Indian interests to support the League which is entirely controlled by a few imperialistic powers of Europe. They should keep aloof from the League if they do not want to injure the interests of non-white nations which are struggling for their liberty, for their honour and for their very existence. Surely Indians will not like to tell the world, by supporting the League, that the representatives of the alien Government who speak in the name of India are really her representatives. In the course of an article condemning the League of Nations as a clique of imperialistic powers, altogether indifferent to the wrongs perpetrated by the whites on non-whites, the same paper remarks that, in view of the constitution and the political record of the League, India considers it to be harmful for the non-white world but is prepared to judge it impartially in respect of its activities in other directions. The *Sada-i-Muslim* suggests that now that Ibn Saud has declared his sovereignty over the Hedjaz all controversy should cease. No doubt his action is indefensible, but his sovereignty should be acknowledged by all representative Muslim bodies of India, as protests would only rekindle the smouldering embers of discord in the country. The *Haqiqat* says that the victorious soldier (Ibn Saud) will not go abegging for the crown of the Hedjaz before the proposed Islamic Conference. A representative deputation of Indian Muslims may, however, proceed during the Haj season and settle all disputed matters with Ibn Saud personally. The *Medina* admits the justice of Ibn Saud's act but wonders at his silence about the Islamic Conference in his reply to the letter of the *Jamiat-ul-ullema*. We hope the Conference has only been postponed till all internal administrative matters are settled and unanimity is arrived at in the Islamic world. The *Oudh Akhbar* commends the Kandahar speech of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan and says that the Government of India should abandon its policy of encouraging separatist tendencies by according preferential treatment to particular communities. It should, on the other hand, help to build an Indian nation. The *Medina* regrets that Hindus constantly harp on the menace of an Afghan invasion though all great Indian leaders and independent journals have declared it to be an impossibility and Muslims would never prefer Afghan rule to freedom. Swami Satya Deo raves about Afghanistan having an eye on Sindh and the North-West Frontier Province. But do the non-Muslims of these provinces stand to lose by Afghan rule? His Majesty the Amir's speeches show that they would be much better off.

The Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on the Viceroy's speech, the *Arya Mitra* refers to his expression of sympathy with Indians in South Africa and says:—Mere expression of sympathy will not do. It is the duty of the Viceroy and his Government to carry on a most vigorous agitation and make all possible efforts to mitigate the sufferings of Indians overseas. Referring to the question of the grant of further reforms, the paper says:—His Excellency is right in asking the country to cooperate but this is possible only when the Government also change their angle of vision and pay attention to the grievances of the public. Cooperation presupposes reciprocity and we are of opinion that it is difficult to restore good-will between the rulers and the ruled, so long as the colour-bar stands between them. Referring to the announcement regarding the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the *Shakti* wonders why

the Government, who have burdened the Indian tenantry with so many taxes and who do not give them even arms to protect themselves from wild beasts have all of a sudden been inspired with sympathy for them and says that their object in appointing the Commission is to champion the cause of the British capitalists, to trumpet their sympathy for their subjects before the civilized world and to divert the attention of the Indian public from the *swaraj* movement. The Viceroy's remarks on the South African question show that his anxiety not to displease the whites is greater than his desire to protect the honour of Indians. His remarks about cooperation are simply meant to quell whatever agitation for *swaraj* still remains. Non-cooperation was started only about five years ago. Why were the reforms not granted before this when people were cooperating with the Government? By cooperation the bureaucracy means complete self-surrender and Indians should prefer death to this. The *Najat* says that the speech only seeks to save the prestige of the bureaucracy by trying to make the Indian public bend to its will. The Royal Commission on Agriculture would appear to be good at first sight, but is it not meant to pave the way for official propaganda among the peasants so that the next Viceroy may be able to enlist rural support for Government? In the light of their past experience, Indians cannot attach any value to the Viceroy's advice to them to secure their political rights by negotiation with British politicians. Indians should learn self-help and self-respect if they are to deserve the aid of others. In another article, the same paper remarks that all these moves about agricultural development are meant to secure the loyalty of the peasants and to befool Indians. It is a pity that, knowing all these things, we, Hindus and Muslims, do not stop our mutual strife which is strengthening the enemies of the country. The *Medina* regards the speech as lacking in sincerity and seriousness and totally disappointing. How can friendly relations with neighbouring countries help the peasants and save these teeming millions from the selfishness of capitalists? There was only a passing reference to trade and as British capitalism and militarism depend for their very life on Indian agricultural industry, much space was devoted to it. But will a Royal Commission help its development? This object can be achieved only by promoting better relations between landlords and tenants, by reducing the responsibility of landlords regarding revenue and cesses, and providing facilities for them for improving their properties, by freeing tenants from ejectments and usury, by encouraging personal holdings, by improving land, by acquainting peasants with modern methods of agriculture, and by providing cheap and simple means of irrigation. The export of grain should also be restricted and only the surplus should be allowed to go out.

Indians in the Colonies.

The question of Indians in South Africa is receiving prominent attention in the Press. A special number of the *Chand* (a monthly magazine issued from Allahabad) contains thirty-seven articles on the condition of Indians in various colonies, especially in South Africa and Fiji. The edition has been specially edited by Pandit Benarsi Das Chaturvedi. In an article entitled "A Plea for Retaliation," Mr. S. M. Sharma, Bar.-at-Law, writes.—"A year of honest, sincere and thorough retaliation will do more than ages of humility and *satyagraha*. God has taught even the worm to turn and we are men." In an article on "Indians in South Africa—their Present Position," the editors of the *Hindi* (Natal) write:—"If England is unable to interfere will she remain neutral when India decides to send her army to South Africa to assert her rights? But will India, the India of to-day ruled by *firungees* ever contemplate taking such an action which would teach the handful of South Africans the potency of Hindustan? We in South Africa await India's answer but in the meanwhile we are getting ready and are keeping our powder dry. We know when the drum of battle sounds, India will respond, to do or die." The *Prem* says that if the Government of India had been really opposed to the Anti-Asiatic Bill it would not have been possible for the Union Government to introduce it. But what does the Government of this country care for the welfare of Indians? Its chief object is to uphold the interests of the whites. If our leaders and institutions follow the lead of the Calcutta corporation and stop all dealings with the South African whites, it is possible that the eyes of the latter may be opened. The whites are intoxicated with pride and blinded with power. In order to bring them to the right path Indians will have to follow the policy of "evil to the evil-doer." The *Najat* deplores the supplicatory attitude of the Government of India in spite of the great humiliation to which the Indian South African Deputation was subjected by the Union Government and wonders whether it is also a party to

this conspiracy against Indians. The despotism of the South African whites knows no bounds and now they do not want to budge an inch from the position they have taken up and refuse to receive the deputation officially. Anyway it is clear that the Government of India will put up with this humiliation gladly as it is only a matter between blacks and whites. We hope however that Indians will never brook this insult.

Political propaganda.

Reviewing the proceedings of the last session of the United Provinces Council, the *Sainik* writes:—During the last two years the swarajists have demonstrated that the Councils are nothing but temples of illusion. In their sittings money collected by snatching away morsels of food from the mouths of the poor is wasted like water. The Councils cannot do anything for the public good. In the wit and humour column of the *Vartman* "Mansukha" writes: Lord Reading is to go soon, but he is still busy with tours and the *nazranas* of the States. The Viceroyalty is like the collection of rent of a zamindari. The foundation becomes strong for seven generations. In an article under the heading "Subject India—the World's Blood-smeared Picture," the *Prem* contends that it is only with the object of keeping India under subjection that the British have waged so many wars in the past and says that so long as India remains in subjection the world will always be confronted with the menace of war and that if ever a war is declared the subjection of India will be at its bottom. The welfare of the world, therefore, lies in making India free in the interest of the peace and happiness of mankind. The *Vartman* contends that all the grievances of the people can be removed without difficulty if the rulers are dutiful and gives illustrations of the solicitude of ancient rulers for the welfare of the people. Proceeding, it says:—In India thefts are rampant, women and children are kidnapped in broad daylight. There are murders and plunders but the guilty remain untraced. Bribery is rife, but is not being stopped. The reason is that the authorities are unduly remiss; the law is defective and the rulers take only nominal interest in improving the condition of the country. One Indira Raman Shastri, writing in the *Aj*, deplores that though the leaders know that civil disobedience is the one effective means of the emancipation of the country they are wasting their time and energy in unnecessary activities. The writer urges young men to take up the task of nation-building through the organization of cultivators and workmen. The masses are sure to come under their flag. Under the heading "The Crowding of Sheep" one Professor Chatursen Shastri, writing in the *Prem*, contends that the Cawnpore Congress was nothing more than the crowding of sheep and that it presented the appearance of a meeting of banias for adjusting their accounts with the object of applying for insolvency. Proceeding, the writer says: Can anyone say how we can remain peaceful while alive even though a burden of millions and trillions of tons is placed on our breast and hundreds of afflictions are tormenting our bodies? If Mahatma Gandhi realises our sufferings, we want to tell him that we cannot remain peaceful. It is impossible for us to continue to remain non-violent. We cannot quietly work at the grinding-mill in jails; we cannot drink urine in place of water. We cannot allow faeces to be thrown at us. We are slaves and are impotent but still we are men. Why does the Mahatma teach us the unreasoning lesson of peace? There is only one way to keep us peaceful and that is that the Mahatma should kill us by administering poison . . . . . It cannot be believed that the country is not prepared for complete independence. Votaries of the *charkha* and *khaddar*, you should go on working at the spinning-wheel like widows. We are making our own humble preparations. We have resolved that we will sacrifice our lives but not our honour. This time we will not work at the grinding-mill, will not drink urine, will not submit to shoe-beating, and will not get our moustaches cut in the jail. If such an opportunity occurs now we shall hazard our lives, and if we do not happen to possess any weapon in our hands we shall use our natural weapons, the teeth and the nails, so long as we are alive. Stop your story of peace; let us first read the story of war. The *Oudh Akhbar* complains that the Hindu-Muslim tension and the Afghan bogey are being exploited to postpone the Indianization of the civil and military services respectively. Hindu-Muslim disturbances persist in spite of the presence of the British element and if the Indianization of the civil services is to be postponed till the Hindus and the Muslims cease quarrelling it may well wait till eternity. It was not the British element which always saved India from foreign foes.

The All-India Muslim League.

Referring to Lala Lajpat Rai's attacks on Mr. Jinnah, the *Sada-i-Muslim* says that Muslims will never forego separate representation whatever the consequences. If the Hindus

establish their own rule without the cooperation and partnership of Muslims, the latter will resort to civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. *Al Barid* is glad to note that there were some signs of animation in the last session of the Muslim League, the special feature of which was the presidential address. By means of facts and figures Sir Abdur Rahim ably called attention to the political importance and distinctive nationality of Muslims and laid bare the present mentality of the Hindus. He has given such an apt retort to the utterances of Hindu leaders about communal relations that one cannot help sincerely admiring his depth of knowledge and insight. The *Haqiqat* points to the continued fury of the Hindu press against Sir Abdur Rahim and says:—It is Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhanand who are responsible for the present tension and the change in Muslim mentality, but not a word is said against them. Sir Abdur Rahim only voiced the feelings of Muslims which have been excited by these leaders. The *Nizam-i-Alam* writes:—For three years the Hindu leaders have been pursuing their undesirable *shuddhi* and *sangathan* propaganda and saying all sorts of false and inflammatory things against Muslims. What is Sir Abdur Rahim's reply to the *sangathanists* in comparison with the deliverances of the Hindu leaders? Sir Abdur Rahim's plain talk cannot be compared with the vilification of Lala Har Dayal or the inflammatory harangues of Lala Lajpat Rai. But no Hindu paper had a word to say against them and now there is a regular howl from every corner of the country over Sir Abdur Rahim's presidential address. The *Mashriq* thinks that Sir Abdur Rahim has indicated the best political course for both Hindus and Muslims and has clearly pointed out that the salvation of India is impossible without inter-communal unity. Hindu *raj* and Muslim *raj* are idle dreams and the English will not grant self-government until both communities are united. The *Medina* says that a membership of the Legislative Council cannot possibly be coveted by a man of the position of Sir Abdur Rahim. In spite of our disagreement with his views, we cannot leave him in the lurch when he is being hounded by the Hindu press.

The Hindu *Maha Sabha*.

In the course of an article exhorting Hindus to join the forthcoming session of the All-India Hindu *Maha Sabha* and to devise means for their organization and protection, the *Bhavishya* writes:—The invitation to the Maharaja of Nepal to preside over the session should be accompanied by a moving appeal on behalf of twenty-two crores of Hindus. One of the advantages in having the Maharaja as the President will be that we shall be able to establish closer relations with the Gurkhas. For want of organization big venomous serpents are devouring thousands of Hindus every day. If this state of things continues for some time Hindus will become extinct. The *Abhyudaya* exhorts the Hindus to join the *Maha Sabha* and make it a success and remarks:—To-day there are many problems before the Hindu community which urgently require solution specially when it is being attacked on all sides and is confronted with the question of its very existence. Social, religious, and political rights of Hindus are being usurped by others who cannot bear even the idea of their rise and unity. The speech of Sir Abdur Rahim at the Muslim League is enough to serve as an eye-opener to them. The *Prem* urges the election of the Prime Minister of Nepal for the Presidentship of the forthcoming Hindu *Maha Sabha* and says that the *Maha Sabha* will have to consider the serious situation created by the absurd utterance of the President of the Muslim League and devise means for increasing self-confidence among the Hindus in order that they may advance more zealously in their efforts to extricate the country from the bonds of subjection. It is also necessary to accord serious consideration to the question of the abduction of Hindu women and children by Muslims.

Release of political prisoners.

The *Muslim Herald* writes:—The members of the Legislative Assembly have done immense service by bringing to the fore the question of political prisoners in India and Indian exiles abroad. The operation of the Bengal Ordinance and other repressive laws form some of the most scandalous and disgraceful chapters of British administration in India. These instruments of tyranny that have been specially designed to check the growth and development of patriotic sentiments are a treason to law. The *Leader* takes exception to "some of the vituperative utterances in which upstarts suddenly sprung into fame indulged" in the Legislative Assembly during the debate on the resolution regarding the release of political prisoners. The paper wonders whether it is not a part of the duties of the President of the Assembly to discourage unparliamentry language by compelling its authors to withdraw objectionable expressions employed by them. Proceeding, the paper

strongly criticizes the attitude of Government with regard to the case of those who have been deprived of their liberty without any form of judicial proceedings. The *Muslim Herald* takes strong exception to the remarks of the *Leader* regarding Mr. Ranga Iyer and the President of the Assembly and writes:—India needs to-day bold politicians and courageous men who will not count the cost of things but go ahead strong in their faith, bold in their unflinching determination to do and die for their country and their religion. Timid, halting, calculating politicians have been the bane of every country that has fought for its honour and liberty. Liberty has never been won by the help of logic or literature nor yet by logicians and literary luminaries. The price paid for it has ever been in a coin forged on the anvil of martyrs' sufferings and trials and polished and refined by the holy blood of men who knew how to die.

Unemployment.

The *Leader* writes: The debate in the Legislative Assembly on the unemployment problem in the country, which has assumed grave proportions, elicited from Sir B. N. Mitra a speech which shows that the Government on whose behalf he spoke, are not sufficiently alive to their duty in this matter. The swelling list of educated youths knocking from door-to-door in futile search for employment, is one of the greatest tragedies of modern India. The remedies are those indicated in the amendment of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and the speech of Babu Bipinchandra Pal, and they must be applied by provincial governments and by the people themselves. In the opinion of the *Muslim Herald* it is impossible for a thinking person to congratulate the Government of India on the attitude they adopted in connexion with the resolution regarding unemployment. "It is rather hard to love a Government which is so absolutely unmindful of the public welfare." The paper holds that the communal tension, the religious riots and fanatical pronouncements and deeds are all the results of unemployment. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* criticizes the official speeches at the debate in the Legislative Assembly on this subject and says:—The debate has been most disappointing because of the surprising evidence that it has afforded of the conscience of the authorities not being touched by this positive scandal of unemployment. It is not realized that middle class unemployment is directly due to the system of education and the Government of this country has closed several careers for our young men.

The release of Akali leaders.

Commenting on the release of certain Sikh leaders, the *Pratap* says that this is in reality the triumph of Sir Malcolm Hailey and not of the Sikhs, inasmuch as by releasing these men on verbal undertaking to support the Gurdwara Act he has succeeded in creating a split in the Sikh camp and in organizing a party against those who are opposed to the Act. He has also played the trick that while the leaders have been released, the common people are still rotting in jail. The *Abhyudaya* cannot thank the Government for the release of Akali leaders, as owing to its unjustifiable obduracy and considerations of empty prestige their sufferings were unnecessarily prolonged. The *Vartman* also writes in a similar strain.

The Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Aj* refers to the reports of the financial distress of the Maharaja of Nabha and says that the country has a right to know whether the Maharaja has been given his allowance so far or not. It urges that if the Government does not publish a *communiqué* on the subject, members of the Legislative Assembly should interpellate it regarding this painful affair. Commenting on the Maharaja's appeal to the public to provide books for his son, the *Pratap* says:—Such is to-day the condition of the man who could spend lakhs of rupees like water! This illustrates the undesirable character of the policy of the British Government. How low it is!

Communism.

The *Samyavadi*, a new fortnightly organ of the Indian Communists started at Cawnpore by Satyabhakta, publishes a number of articles explaining the aims and objects of communism. In one of them it deplores public apathy towards the movement and says that capitalists and political workers have joined hands to oppose it. But we prophesy that this state of things cannot last long. The time for change is fast approaching. The cultivators and labourers are waking up. The poor have begun to realise the cause of their misery. The oppressed untouchables are becoming alive to the clever practices of the higher classes. What is wanted is that all these forces should organize themselves and then make vigorous efforts to obtain their rights. When these hungry and naked people will unitedly proclaim their rights, the capitalists and their parasites, the politicians,

will be found nowhere. That will be the day of the victory of Communism. In another article Radha Mohan Gokulji impresses upon cultivators and labourers the need for mutual sympathy and organization for liberation from their present lot of thraldom and misery and says: Dear cultivators and labourers, to-day we communists have come to you and want to open your eyes. We want that your property which is being looted may be saved. Great and rich men and fashionable leaders cannot secure your emancipation. Your good can be accomplished by communists who, like you, are poor and work with their hands. In the course of an article under the heading "Class-war" the *Pratap* refers to the anti-Congress activities of the Indian communist party and says that this is not the proper time to start class-war in India. If this war is started at the present juncture when a third power is oppressing us, the result will be that the rich and their relations will play into the hands of the authorities and in the quadrangular conflicts which will thus ensue the poor will be the greatest sufferers. Those who are beating the drum of communism are therefore not doing any service to those whose cause they profess to champion.

Muslim affairs.

Al Bashir appeals to Muslims not to oppose Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's Bill for the registration of Muslim marriages and divorces. In order to save expense and trouble marriages may be registered by qazis who, unlike sub-registrars, can be found everywhere. The qazis may be required to pass an examination and be appointed by Government and their records should be submitted to judges. The *Mansur*, on the other hand, protests against the Bill in its present form as opposed to Islamic law and thanks the Raja Sahib of Salimpur for his amendment referring it to the *ullema*. The *Aina* also is opposed to the Bill and says that it will prove not only vexatious but also costly to Muslims. In an article in the *Hamdam* Rao Abdur Rahman Khan criticizes the Primary Education Bill and says that as it would apply to all district board and municipal schools and as these bodies have already begun taking drastic action for the exclusion of Urdu, it will prove detrimental to the interests of the Muslims. It will also divert the attention of the peasants towards service. Abdul Haq, writing in the *Medina*, inquires of the *ullema* whether it is permissible for Muslims to use articles made by *kafirs*, specially sugar refined with the bones of dead animals and soaps made of hog's lard.

New Ministers.

The *Muslim Herald* writes:—Sir William Marris has made a radical and wholesome change in the system of appointing his colleagues. With knowledge and experience acquired as Minister and with the advantages of tact which is a great asset in a Home Member's character it may be safely asserted that the Hon'ble the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari will be able to do great and useful work and prove worthy of the confidence His Excellency has reposed in him. We are confident that Nawab Muhammad Yusuf will prove equally successful in the experiment of carrying on the administration. The *Sada-i-Muslim* is sorry that Muslims are flooding Nawab Muhammad Yusuf with congratulations even before he has proved his worth as a Minister. Was he really the most capable and experienced Muslim of these provinces eligible for this post? We should wait until he proves his capacity and fitness. Just now we have to note what he does to amend the United Provinces Municipalities Act to safeguard Muslim interests. If he is not able to do even this much, his lineage would not make much difference.

The Maharaja of Indore.

Referring to the report about the appointment of a commission to inquire into the Maharaja of Indore's connexion with the Bawla murder affair, the *Surya* urges the appointment of 30 or 40 jurors, elected by the people, and says that if the Maharaja is found guilty the efficient administration of the State should not be replaced by that of the employees of the bureaucracy and the people should not be made to suffer for the personal faults of their ruling chief. The *Aj* urges that the inquiry should be openly held so that the public and specially the tax-payers of Indore may have an opportunity to discuss the Government decision. The *Haqiqat* welcomes the appointment of a commission, as it would give an opportunity to the Maharaja to vindicate his position and would also serve as a warning to chiefs who remain steeped in debauchery. The paper, however, insinuates that this action was taken owing to the advanced views of the Maharaja which the Government does not like. The *Hamdam* urges that public sentiment and the dignity of the Indore State must be respected. If an inquiry is at all necessary, the Maharaja should be judged by a majority of his peers and should be given every facility for his defence.

Indian States.

The *Muslim Herald* pleads for a speedy settlement of the question of succession to the Bhopal throne and says :—At her age the Begum deserves complete rest and undisturbed peace of mind and yet we find that her cares have made her an exile. Any further delay means unbearable suspense for the aged lady. The *Medina* appeals for a sympathetic consideration of the Begum of Bhopal's request for the nomination of Prince Hamidullah as her successor. Her bereavements, her age, and her troubles should touch the heart of every feeling human being. If Prince Hamidullah's education and liberal-mindedness cannot be tolerated by the Government of India in the Indian atmosphere and it is feared that he might improve the condition of his State, why not obtain an undertaking from him that he would do no such thing? Why entrust the State to a tender boy who would always depend on his English guardians? The *Awaz* complains that though Hindus form 96 per cent. of the population of Hyderabad and contribute most of the revenue, they have got only 10 per cent. of the high posts. Though they speak Tamil or Telegu they have to read Urdu. Hindu States are much more liberal in employing Muslims in high offices, but Muslim States do not respond to this generosity.

Honorary magistrates.

The *Nizam-i-Alam* appeals to Government to change the present system of selection of honorary magistrates and says that many of them are not only ignorant of law but also illiterate. Generally they are not of good moral character and use their public position to further their private ends.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD :
February 6, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 6 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 13, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

REFERRING to the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons on the question of Iraq, the *Muslim Herald* writes:—These European statesmen have not learnt to recognize the fact that the Turk would much sooner die than yield an inch of his land in Asia Minor or Europe to the hungry wolves whose appetite is never satisfied through territorial annexations and dishonourable political expansions. In the course of an article under the heading "Lessons of Damascus" the same paper writes:—"Let us not suppose that the Damascus tragedy is an isolated instance of the policies and activities of the standard-bearers of the capitalistic civilization. Whenever and wherever their vested interests, disguised in one form or another, are menaced, they never for a moment hesitate to take up measures of which even the most barbarous savage will feel ashamed. The Jallianwalla Bagh in India and the opium war against China and various similar activities of other imperialistic powers go to prove our contention." The *Sada-i-Muslim* suspects that Britain has an eye on the holy land of the Hedjaz also as her agent Mr. Philby has discovered minerals there and is trying to induce Ibn Saud to grant mining concessions to Western capitalists. We hope that Ibn Saud will see that Mr. Philby and Mr. Cleighton leave his country at once.

Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on the Viceroy's speech in opening the session of the reconstituted Council of State, the *Leader* writes:—In spite of what the Viceroy said about the appointment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture we still think that the costly commission will be a superfluity. The announcement about the creation of an Indian Navy will cause satisfaction, but Indian opinion cannot be satisfied with the reservation of only one appointment out of three to the post of executive officers every year. The navy should be Indian not only in name but also in reality. We wonder if the Swarajists will regard the announcement of the Viceroy as a generous gesture. We welcome it as a step in advance, for it means the acceptance of the policy of the creation for India of a naval service of her own. The beginning is very small and cautious but it marks an important departure. Proceeding, the paper advises the Swarajists to abandon their "futile and injurious obstructive tactics" and to accept Lord Reading's advice regarding co-operation and see if any good result follows. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regards the speech as nothing more than an irritating reiteration of what was said in the Assembly. Proceeding, the paper says: It is positively insulting to the intelligence of Indians that we should be asked to show "good-will and co-operation" when every day we feel the naked hand of the bureaucracy on us. The announcement of an Indian navy, in spite of all efforts to capture Indian imagination, will fall flat. We must know whether what is called an Indian navy will be different from the Indian army—Indians being employed only to clean the dust and shove the coal. Referring to the Viceroy's remarks that the Government were not prepared to consider any proposal for further reform so long as Indians did not act upon Lord Birkenhead's advice, the *Anand* contends that Indians are fully co-operating with the Government at present and it is not possible for them to co-operate to a greater extent. It is now the duty of the Government to come forward and make this co-operation lasting by making suitable reforms in administration. Commenting on the Viceroy's remarks about the South African question, the *Prem* says:—If Lord Reading's Government had adopted a stern attitude in the matter not only the Union but also the

Imperial Government would have been compelled to concede to their wishes. But why should Lord Reading worry about the miseries of Indians? The only object of his Government is to strengthen the British Government by trampling down Indians somehow or other. But he should bear in mind that Indians have now begun to realise their condition well and in safeguarding their interests they are not going to fear the "steel claw." The paper remarks that the reason for the sympathy with the tenantry as evidenced by the appointment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture is to dupe Indian politicians for the next five years and to win over the enormous power represented by tenants because if this power wakes up and plays into the hands of Indian politicians the present despotic Government will end. The *Garhwali* deplores that the King-Emperor did not make any mention of India in his inaugural speech at Parliament and also expresses dissatisfaction at the Viceroy's speech at Delhi. It says that his remarks about the South African question are evasive. The Indian question in South Africa would have been easily solved if India had been free today. Referring to the question of further reforms, the Viceroy urged the necessity for true co-operation. In our opinion the Government were the first to follow the policy of non-cooperation. Co-operation is possible only when both sides extend their hands sincerely. The Viceroy's remarks regarding the appointment of a Royal Commission on Agriculture sound well, but we beg to ask His Excellency how many tours he has made during the term of his office with the object of learning and improving the condition of the tenantry? If the authorities had desired that India should make progress and should not starve, her condition would not have been so miserable to-day.

Indians in the Colonies.

In the course of two leading articles entitled "A fight for India's Honour" the *Muslim Herald* writes:—The campaign of persecution that the South African Government is conducting against Indians is absolutely barbarous and unworthy of a nation which claims to possess even an iota of civilization. It is our duty to answer this challenge against our manhood, our national honour, and give all the support we can to help Indians in South Africa. Let us for once forget our quarrels and sink our differences and work unitedly to impress it upon the Imperial Government and the Government of the Union of South Africa that we can stand fresh indignities no more and that we are determined to have our protests heard. Discussing the Indian problem in South Africa the *Aj* asserts that the Boer Government is seeking to break the Gandhi-Smuts agreement against the universal principle that no agreement can be altered without the consent of both the parties contracting it and remarks that surely Indians are not prepared to submit to this injustice quietly. The *Surya* wonders why the British Government which declared war on Germany for disregarding the provisions of the Belgian treaty is silent now that the Union Government has thrown the Gandhi-Smuts agreement into the waste-paper basket. Referring to the passing of the Colour Bar Bill by the Union Parliament the *Aj* writes:—The whites have become intoxicated with pride of power. They want to suppress the non-whites for good. As a result of this measure the natives will not be able to compete with the whites in mines and factories. The non-whites will have to starve while the whites will get arbitrary wages. This is white civilization. It is in this manner that the whites protect the non-whites.

The Maharaja of Indore.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—News from Indore points to the probability of His Highness the Maharaja facing the ordeal of a commission. Not only innocence but courage was necessary to assume such an attitude: to stand before the common man and offer to clear his character that is sought to be assailed. The question is whether the treaties now existing between the Indian States and the Paramount Power confer on the British powers to try a prince. The Princes Protection Act must very soon be amended: as it is, the princes must be protected not against the public in British India but against the bureaucrats in power. The circumstances that have forced the Maharaja of Indore to stand for trial must convince him and his brother princes that their treaty with the British is something very like what Belgium possessed at the hands of Germany. While condemning the deeds of the Maharaja of Indore the *Sainik* insinuates that a commission is being appointed in order to get rid of the Maharaja, as he is a ruler with an independent spirit. "We sympathise with him in his trouble which has come over him on account of the crooked policy of Britain." The *Anand* considers the proposed appointment of the commission as unjustified and says that the raking up of the dead question of the Bawla murder affair will

bring discredit on the Government of India and make the public think that this show of justice has been got up because the British Government could not bear to see the progress which the Indore State is making under the present ruler. The *Pratap* says that Lord Reading wants to exhibit a specimen of his justice on the eve of his departure. The real cause of the appointment of the commission is not that the Maharaja has been leading a licentious life. There are dozens of ruling chiefs in this country who do things which the Holkar may not even have dreamt of but so long as they bow to the sweet will of their "masters" they are free to do what they like. But the Holkar is an independent man and he thought he would be able to pull through even by adopting an independent attitude towards the "masters." Here he was mistaken and it is only on account of this blunder that he has to see these evil days and fall a prey to the justice of the apostle of justice. The *Abhyudaya* considers the appointment of the commission to be wholly improper, unnecessary, and unjustifiable, specially when no evidence could be produced against the Maharaja of Indore before the Bombay High Court and remarks:—We apprehend that such inquiry commissions are an encroachment upon the rights of Indian chiefs and we think that if the system of such commissions obtains in the country the Indian chiefs will lose even the little self-respect and liberty which they still possess. The Maharaja of Nabha has already fallen a victim to such commissions and if they continue to be appointed what Indian chief can consider himself to be safe? If some of the Indian chiefs are bad the Government of India and their Chiefs College are responsible for them. If Indian chiefs are to exist their dignity, honour, and rights should be fully protected. To encroach upon their authority, to prosecute them and by such methods to show that they are unfit is altogether improper. Only the subjects have the right to hold an inquiry into the conduct of their ruler and even to hang him. Why are the Government of India usurping this right of the subjects of the Indore State? We could have appreciated the action of the Government of India if we had seen that they had instituted an inquiry into the conduct of Indian chiefs for maladministration, atrocious oppression, and injustice. Could not the Government of India place the Indore affair before the Narendra Mandal for decision? The Maharaja of Indore should clear himself not before the Government of India but before a tribunal of his compeers before which the Government of India and Mumtaz Begum should also present their case. The *Medina* is of opinion that the Maharaja of Indore should be punished only if he is involved in the Bawla murder but should not be indirectly victimised for his political leanings. The *Haqiqat* has confidence in the personnel of the commission appointed to inquire further into the Bawla murder case but says that such a commission against an independent ruling chief is humiliating not only to the Maharaja of Indore but to all other ruling chiefs also. The *Sada-i-Muslim* appreciates the action of Lord Reading in holding the scales of justice even and not making any discrimination in favour of a ruling chief.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In an appeal published in the *Muslim Herald* calling upon Muslims to organize themselves the writer, Mujib-ur-Rahman, complains of Hindu atrocities and outrage on Islam in the Monghyr and Arrah districts and says:—"We are giving way before the Hindu *Maha Sabha* activities not because we are in minority but because we are bereft of our Islamic spirit—a spirit which had been the glory of Islam since time immemorial. By this spirit I mean a spirit of *jehad*, a holy crusade against the powers of evil which our Prophet, peace be on him, waged against the evil forces of his day. . . We should not be afraid of our lesser number, for it was with a handful of followers that our Prophet got the upper hand. The success of Taloot over Jaloot is a glaring example of the above fact. So my appeal to my co-religionists is to be up in arms against these infidels and to carry on a work of consolidation and organization amongst ourselves." The *Bharat Jiwan* deplores the present apathy of the Hindus towards the protection of the honour of their women and says that if they want to lead honourable lives and to move about in their den like lions they should learn to die and resolve that whenever they see their sisters being abducted by others they should teach the miscreants a lesson for their doings regardless of consequences. The *Hindu Sarvaswa* says that the country or the nation which does not act according to the policy of evil for evil and respect for respect falls victims to injustice and hardheartedness. The same is the condition of the Hindu community today. The Government and also others are taking advantage of its indifference, cowardice, and greed and are leaving no stone unturned to destroy it. Somewhere Hindu women are in trouble, somewhere their children are assaulted, somewhere there is no vacancy

for them in services and somewhere they are being turned out of them by force. If dacoities are committed the victims are Hindus. They have to undergo all these sufferings because they are cowards. They have not yet been able to shake off their lethargy because they have probably not yet suffered adequately. It seems as if they are desirous of being humiliated still more, because they always put obstacles in the way of their organization.

Communism.

The *Samyavadi* dwells on the necessity of the adoption of communistic principles for the betterment of the lot of the masses of the world and remarks: At present the condition of India is in many respects different from that of other countries. First of all, she is under the subjection of foreigners who have completely fettered her people in order that they may not try to emancipate themselves. In spite of our sympathy with the communistic parties in other countries it is impossible and harmful for us to establish relations with them. Indian labourers will have to depend upon themselves for their organization and not upon outsiders. Writing in the paper Maulana Azad Subhani says that like other countries India also has a right to make efforts to get rid of the tribulations she is undergoing. Communism is the only remedy to remove them. Communism will cut off and throw away the chain of slavery from India's feet. Mr. Singarvelu, writing in the same paper remarks, that there is a great field for communistic work in India and that its future in the country is bright. He says that Indians cannot get rid of their afflictions so long as the masses or their unions do not secure control over land, mines, factories, houses and ships, railway trains and the like. The condition of the unfortunate labourers and tenantry can greatly improve if the money which goes to zamindars and capitalists in the shape of profit is justly spent for the well-being of the public. The paper contends that the Congress cannot be expected to do any real work so long as it does not take up the work of organising labour and says:—We should form regular committees of labourers, tenants, and other wage-earners in order that they may be able to fight for their rights and to oppose the injustice done to them. In another article the paper refers to the abject economic and political condition of Indians and asserts that if Indians can ever get *swaraj* it will be only through the organization of labourers and tenants and other wage-earners. We take *swaraj* to mean that the peasants should be the sole masters of their land and its produce and that no zamindar or jagirdar should have the power to eject them or impose taxes on them. If the political workers of the country take up the work of organizing labour and tenantry and establish their committees, unions and kisan panchayats in every place they will be able to create an irresistible force in the country and then Government will have to concede self-government to Indians, because neither the Government nor the rich can do without labourers and if the labourers stop their work even for a week the Government and the capitalists will have to give way.

Political propaganda.

The *Sainik* deplores popular indifference towards politics and fatalistic notions regarding the ruling powers and says: The people do not realize that instead of remaining slaves they can become rulers. They have become so stupefied that even the fresh examples of Russia, Turkey, and Persia do not awaken them. They do not know that they can get rid of their miserable plight today if they wish to do so. They should know that from the Government down to the *chowkidar* all are their servants. But they regard their servants as their masters. If they shake off this delusion they can get *swaraj* today. The good of the country lies in the removal of this delusion and in the adoption of *satyagraha* and non-cooperation. Rishi Narayan Sharma, writing in the *Aj*, urges provincial Congress Committees to undertake the work of organization of villages at once, bearing in mind that the strength of Indians lies in the rural population and that they cannot fulfil any programme unless they enlist the sympathy of the masses. If they are able to knit together the rural population no power on earth will be able to destroy their organization. The youths of the provinces should be asked to accomplish this task, as they alone can put forth the enthusiasm and make the sacrifices required for the purpose. Babu Raghupati Sahai, writing in the *Saraswati*, adumbrates a scheme for the infusion of spirit into the Indian people. He says that such an organization as has been begun by Mahatma Gandhi by the establishment of the All-India Spinners' Association can be utilized to infuse spirit into the people, so that they may wrest the administration from the British Government and establish *swaraj* in the country. If under *khaddar* boards villagers are organized to spin and weave as a corporate body and thereby learn to lead a corporate life for self-preservation, they will also come to learn to sacrifice themselves in a body.

Muslim Affairs.

Most of the Muslim papers reproduce Khwaja Hasan Nizami's appeal for the avoidance of fireworks on the Shab-i-barat day and urge the stoppage of such un-Islamic displays. The *Sada-i-Muslim* appeals to Muslims not to make themselves the laughing-stock of non-Muslims by a display of fireworks on the Shab-i-barat day. This dangerous amusement involves a colossal waste of money and only serves to fill the pockets of non-Muslims of foreign countries. The *Jadu* is strongly opposed to the proposed Bill for the registration of Muslim marriages and says that no respectable person would consent to take a newly-wed bride to the registry office. This work should, therefore, be entrusted to qazis, who should be vested with full legal powers in this behalf. The Hindu opposition to the introduction of the reformed system of Government in the North-West Frontier Province has been resented by many Muslim papers. The *Medina* regards this opposition as most illogical and says that it only shows that Hindus are grossly selfish and inimical to Muslims. The *Sada-i-Muslim*, ridiculing the opposition, remarks that the Hindus are too much afraid of the Afghans. Is this consistent with the Hindu claims about nationalism? The Hindus really cannot tolerate a Muslim majority in any province. The *Zul Qarnain* is suspicious of Babu Khem Chand's resolution about special Government aid for the education of the depressed classes and characterises it as an indirect attempt to prejudice the cause of Muslim education. If acted upon, the resolution would involve a recurring annual cost of about 3 lakhs of rupees. Will low-caste Muslims be also included in the special benefits given to the depressed classes? If this is not done it would appear that all this is part of the *shuddhi* movement and is meant to make Government help *shuddhi* in an indirect manner. In another article the same paper complains that an attempt is being made to pamper primary education by instituting comparisons between the percentage of literacy among Muslims and the percentage of literacy among the higher class Hindus and the depressed classes taken together. If the figures for Muslims and higher class Hindus only were compared it would become patent that Muslims still stand in need of adequate Government aid in primary education and they should muster strong at the forthcoming provincial Muslim educational conference at Pilibhit to press their claims on the Government.

Unemployment.

Al Adl deplores the indifference of the Government of India towards the problem of unemployment and deprecates its efforts to transfer responsibility to the shoulders of the Local Governments. It urges that every Government should try its best to rid the country of this incubus and thus incidentally also stamp out anarchism. The *Medina* complains that the Government of India has been showing criminal negligence in the matter of Indian unemployment and appeals to it to appoint a commission of inquiry in regard to this subject as desired by the Assembly. Educated Indian youths should be taken into the army and navy in adequate numbers. Technical education should be widely imparted and posts should be created for trained men. Greater attention should be paid to agriculture and gardening. Young men should be trained in commerce, banking, and economics and should be provided with capital to start in life. The difficulty which Indians have in entering various professions owing to their poverty should be removed.

The Viceroy.

Referring to the tribute paid to Lord Reading by the British press the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—It is undoubtedly the greatest achievement of Lord Reading that he used his diplomatic mind to divide and rule, to tie the raving fanatical Khilafatist to the chariot wheels of the bureaucracy. The British Empire in India may long rest on the Hindu-Muslim differences thus created.

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ALLAHABAD:
February 13, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 7 of 1926.

16 MAR 1926

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 20, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

REFERRING to the report that Turkey, with the help of Soviet Russia, has undertaken the fortification of several Turkish ports in the Black Sea, the *Muslim Herald* writes:—"We are simply sorry that England, the Empire in which the largest number of Muslims live and which is the greatest Asiatic power, should have missed the opportunity of making friends with Turkey and other Asiatic countries and thus help the Soviet Russia to popularize the Bolshevik propaganda in the East. But in its haste to obtain immediate gains and to carry out the orders from its masters, the capitalists, the Conservative Government had been rushing headlong to alienate the feelings and sympathies of the Eastern peoples from the policy, practice, and ideals of the British Empire." The *Medina* denounces the League of Nations as a society of shroud-snatchers designed to deprive the smaller nationalities of their just rights and regrets that efforts are being made to popularize it in India. It is meant simply to divide the territories of weaker powers by deceitful intrigues and is a tool to maintain and strengthen the capitalism, imperialism, autocracy, and militarism of Britain, France, Italy, Japan, etc., and to settle the internal disputes of these robbers who parade in the guise of guides. What need has India for such a League of Nations when she is helpless and her resources are being controlled by others? The Indian representative on the League will only repeat what he is tutored to say. It is sheer waste of public money to establish branches of the League in various Indian centres. Did this champion of world-peace and international equity ever raise even its little finger when the ancient culture of Damascus was vainly protesting against its destruction by French fire, when hundreds of men were being herded in the jails of India, when the blood of the labourers of Shanghai was being shed, when Indians were being deprived of all civic rights in South Africa? The *Najat* extols the frankness and love of truth displayed by Mr. Ranga Iyer in characterising the League of Nations as a league of thieves meant to strengthen slavery and remarks that Dr. Pillai's propaganda in favour of the League is simply meant to mislead Indians. The *Medina* recounts the benefits bestowed by Islam on Europe and regrets that every weapon of political chicanery and economic deceit was employed by Europeans from the very beginning of the nineteenth century to despoil their Muslim benefactors. The histories of Morocco, Tripoli, Sahara, Algiers, Tunis, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, etc., bear ample testimony to this fact. These selfish and ungrateful people consigned treaties to the waste-paper basket to further their imperialistic and capitalistic designs. From the Arctic to the Mediterranean these sons of Christ brought their heads together and formed alliances to destroy Islamic civilization and polity. They pursued inimical designs under the cloak of outward friendship. They took possession of territories under the guise of grants and leases. They returned favours with dark conspiracies and ruined the unwary Muslims under the pretext of protecting Christian minorities. In short, there was no device which the human brain could invent which was not employed to enslave the true believers and but for some parched beds the entire garden of the glory of Islam was devastated by the ruthless foreigners. Even these few blighted beds cannot be tolerated by the white-skinned people of the West and the signs of progress and awakening that are visible in most Islamic countries are giving them sleepless nights. Disturbed by the reforming activities of most Muslim rulers, Europe is concocting fresh schemes to maintain her imperialism and militarism. Internal differences have been sunk and Islam is held forth as the common enemy.

The valiant struggle of the Riffs, the Sennousi movement, the efforts of the Zaghloulites in Egypt, the realization of pan-Arab dreams by Ibn Saud, Sultan Pasha Atrash's fight for the freedom of Syria, Kemal Pasha's reforming activities in Turkey, H. M. Reza Khan's reorganization of Persia and Amir Amanullah's progressive régime in Afghanistan have again raised the bogey of pan-Islamism in their brains and they are busy concerting measures of defence. Continuing the theme in its next issue, the paper says that the entire diplomacy of Europe is converging towards one end—the enslavement of Islam, Asia, and Africa. The Locarno Pact, the agreement between the European Powers, the League of Nations, the Balkan Union, the establishment of aerial and naval bases, are not things to be overlooked and it is a pity that Muslims are unmindful of their consequences and are blindly pursuing a fatal course. The occasion demands that Muslims should combine not only among themselves but also with people professing other Eastern faiths and prepare for a world-wide defence against Western designs. The responsibilities of Indian Muslims will grow with the lapse of time and just as France is to-day using her Senegalese and Algerian troops against the Riffs and her Siamese and Cameroonian troops against the Druses, the Indian Muslims also will again be forced to participate in war. It is no doubt a noble ideal of life to wage war in the cause of right and justice but to fight in support of the unrighteous militarism and enslaving imperialism of any nation means disgrace in this world as well as the next. They should, therefore, decide upon a common course of action which may save their future generations from the unavoidable perils that are to come. In another article the paper agrees with Maulana Azad's view that though Ibn Saud has made no reference to the Islamic conference in his recent message, he will consent to it if pressed by Indian Muslims of all parties. The greatest need of the moment is that there should be absolute unanimity lest foreign intriguers whose mouths are watering for the minerals of Arabia may take advantage of Islamic discord and gain control over the Hedjaz.

Viceroy's speech.

Referring to the Viceroy's announcement regarding the creation of an Indian navy the *Muslim Herald* writes:—The Viceroy tried to stretch out a hand for friendship but he did not stretch it far enough. The policy outlined may satisfy some people, but to a large majority of Indians it can be nothing else but disappointing. What India wants is a real Indian navy and not a navy Indian only in name, as has been in the case of the Indian army, the Indian civil and police services, and so many other imperial services. The *Sainik* writes:—The Viceroy is a past-master in the art of throwing dust into the eyes of the world. His reiteration of the appeal for co-operation has become disgusting. What guarantee is there that if the people grasp the hand of co-operation further reforms will be granted? Our experience, on the other hand, shows that whenever we are foolish enough to grasp the hand of Government believing it to be friendly we find our hand bleeding under the grip of a steel claw. The *Surya* holds that the decision to create an Indian navy is very satisfactory and will meet a crying need of the time. It, however, urges that now India should no longer be required to contribute towards the expenditure of the imperial navy and that the number of Indians in the naval service should be adequate. Referring to the Viceroy's remarks regarding further reforms the paper says that the existing reforms should be fully utilized and deplores that the *swaraj* party does not realize this and is simply groping in the dark. The *Pratap* thinks that the Viceroy has furnished an unambiguous answer to the national demand made by the Legislative Assembly and reminds the people of the decision of the Cawnpore Congress that in the event of an unsatisfactory reply the whole country would devote itself to village organization with a view to preparing for *satyagraha*. "It should be borne in mind that if our demands are to be conceded, they must be backed up by strength." The paper thinks that the real object of the creation of an Indian navy is to strengthen the British navy in the interests of British trade. The *Aj* says:—India is fighting for the right of self-determination and unless this right is conceded it is idle to expect co-operation between the rulers and the ruled. We are sorry we cannot express gratification at the proposal for the creation of an Indian navy, for we are not sure whether despite the expenditure of Indian money on it, the Indian navy will be exclusively used in the interests of India. We are afraid that, like the Indian army, the Indian navy will also be utilized to keep us in subjection and to deprive other Asiatic countries of their liberty. It is no good news for Asia. As for India, it will only mean further expenditure of her money. The *Anand* approves of

the decision to establish an Indian navy and says that it is now necessary for the Government of India to give proper naval training to Indians so that people may not be led to think that the Indian navy is being created to provide Britishers with livelihood. The *Vartman* remarks that the scheme of an Indian navy will mean an additional burden on Indians who are already crushed under the weight of the existing taxation and while Indians will be made to pay, the benefit will go to Europeans. The *Medina* wonders why the Government of India have suddenly developed such enthusiasm for agricultural reform when they had been silent so long in spite of the insistence of Indian politicians. Besides giving some English agricultural experts the benefit of a festive trip to India, securing orders for agricultural implements for British firms, and sustaining dyarchy, does this proposed agricultural commission mean to consider ways for the welfare and prosperity of Indian peasants? After all, how long will you go on befooling Indians and overburdening the exchequer? In another article the paper says that the Royal Indian navy may be needed to overawe Iraq and Persia and to keep Afghanistan from penetrating to the sea-coast but India for one does not require it.

Political propaganda.

The *Sainik* publishes an article by Chandradhar Jauhri in which the writer gives examples of "twelve great men of the world who were at first regarded as revolutionaries but afterwards were made ministers of big empires." The writer expresses the hope that some of the young men of India who are at present regarded as dangerous and mad will in time occupy high places in the nation. In the course of an article the *Bharat Jiwan* writes:—Is there still any room for doubt that the sole object of Britain is to suck Indian money and that she will never of her own accord make India free? All the political parties should, therefore, sink their mutual differences and work unitedly to solve the problem of India's freedom. The *Aj* says that the construction of the naval base at Singapore has for its object not only the defence of the empire but also its expansion. Britain wants to exert pressure on Japan and her preparations for this purpose will be the cause of a terrible war in future. In the course of an article on mandates the same paper writes:—Under the cover of the League of Nations imperialists wanted to exploit the non-whites and this is exactly what is being done. Britain is an adept in this art. No country can compete with Britain in the art of extending her empire at the expense of men and money of others. France is imitating her but her activities have created quite a consternation in Syria. The mandate is meant to free the Arabs in Syria but the French are enslaving them. It is for the non-whites to consider how they can protect themselves. The *Bharat Dharma* emphasizes the necessity of forcing the hands of Government to grant further reforms. The *Bharat Jiwan* refers to a number of cases of outrage on women in which they have not been able to secure full justice in British law courts and remarks that the indifference of the Government in such matters leads one to the conclusion that in the Western code of morality the value of chastity is very small. This view is strengthened by the fact that an actress in England occupies a higher position in society than the Vicereine. In India too the hand of Government is seen extending for the protection of fallen women. The Mumtaz affair is the most recent case in point. The British civilization is so anxious for a prostitute that it wants to uproot an ancient Indian State for her sake. The *Shanker* reproduces an article from the *Japan Times* showing that India is the root cause of all the wars and as such the Indian problem is not a question between India and Britain alone but affects the peace of the whole world. It says that the British Government is bent upon keeping India under its control by all possible means. But fortunately for her the white nations are quarrelling among themselves for bringing India under their sway. This mutual war of theirs will some day afford India an opportunity of emancipating herself. The one remedy to cure this white malady is that all the yellow states should unite for mutual defence and establish close relations with India. The *Haqiqat* is sorry that the present policy of the Imperial Government is driving the Indian people towards Bolshevism. The situation cannot be relieved by patting the sycophants and abusing the Swarajists. The poisonous propaganda of the Russian delegation at Kabul is proving successful and who knows when the Bolshevik deluge will overwhelm India. Some even hold that it will prove catching like non-cooperation and even its opponents will be forced to support it under pressure of public opinion. The *Najat* praises the *Morning Post* for its frankness in confessing that the real object of British rule in India is trade. This explodes all the camouflage which is resorted to in official utterances to beguile simple-minded Indians. The *Medina* wonders why the

responsive co-operators have cut adrift from the Congress and weakened the Swarajists when they are prepared to follow a policy of persistent obstruction.

The Maharaja of Indore.

While recognizing that there has been a public demand for some action by the Government of India and that the circumstances of the Bawla murder required thorough investigation the *Leader* does not think that the first thing for the Government to do was to announce a decision to set up a commission. A point of the greatest importance is that before the decision, much more before its publication, the Maharaja ought to have been informed of the charges against him and given an opportunity of explaining them. Was this procedure followed? If it was not, a grave injustice was done to him, and through him to all ruling princes. We shall yet hope for an authoritative official statement in this behalf. We are all anxious that justice should not be cheated of its due. But let not the attempt to do justice be tainted by any injustice, even to an Indian ruling prince. The *Aj* supports the suggestion of the *Abhyudaya* that the Indore affair should be investigated by the Narendra Mandal or by a commission composed of five Indian chiefs to be jointly selected by the Maharaja of Indore and the Narendra Mandal. It says that the commission appointed by the Viceroy cannot justifiably try the Maharaja of Indore, as he is an ally of the King-Emperor and his position is equal to that of the Viceroy according to treaties. By appointing the commission the Government of India are interfering with the rights of the Indian chiefs and their subjects alike. The *Prem* remarks:—The appointment of the commission, after the judgement of the High Court, has removed the remotest suspicion as regards any connexion of the Maharaja of Indore with the Bawla murder affairs, is indeed quite unintelligible. The proper authority to pass a verdict on the Maharaja is not the Government of India but the public of Indore. The paper concludes by insinuating that the patriotism and the independent-mindedness of the Maharaja are at the root of the action that is being taken against him and by exhorting all the self-respecting Indian chiefs to raise a voice of protest against it. A writer in the *Haqiqat* characterizes the commission as a party affair, as all the members have been appointed by the Viceroy himself. The Maharaja is, however, fortunate in this much that he has, unlike his father and the Maharajas of Bharatpur, Panna, and Jhalawar and the Nawab of Tonk, been allowed to produce his defence. In truth ruling chiefs are independent only in name. Another writer in the same paper is, however, satisfied with the commission and assures the Maharaja that being in the nature of a tribunal it cannot be partial or unjust. The *Najat* objects to all the members having been appointed by the Viceroy and says that His Excellency could at least have delegated this power to the Chamber of Princes. Failure to do so shows that this investigation is merely a formal one and that the Government of India do not want that the commission should command public confidence.

Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

The *Leader* does not approve of the resolution of the executive committee of the North-West Frontier Province Hindu Sabha opposing the introduction of the Reforms in that province and says:—The mentality of the Hindus in the province is evidently obsessed by the terrible Kohat tragedy and influenced by the unfriendly Muslim attitude towards them, but the antagonism shown by them towards the introduction of democratic institutions cannot be justified on principle. The Hindus, who are in a minority, can ask for the provision of safeguards, as Muslim minorities have been doing in other parts of the country, for the protection of their interests, but it is wrong of them to oppose the introduction of Reforms. Their attitude is much more narrow and short-sighted than that of Muslim minorities in the majority of the provinces in British India. In a subsequent issue the paper says:—We do not blame the frontier Hindus for looking at the question mainly through communal spectacles, for they have suffered much and long at the hands of the majority community, but they would have strengthened their case if they had laid greater stress on the general, financial, administrative, and political aspects of the question. The reasons enumerated by Major Akbar Khan in opposing the grant of reforms are weighty and cannot be ignored. Referring to Syed Murtaza's resolution regarding the extension of the Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province the *Muslim Herald* writes:—The Muslim League has expressed itself in clear and strong terms in favour of extension and we do not hesitate to endorse its views. Sir Abdul Qayum's attitude reflects the attitude of the Muslim world and the Hindu attitude is evidently that of the man who cuts his nose to spite his face. The *Abhyudaya* says that Congressmen have

declared the Reforms to be inadequate and unsatisfactory and the *swaraj* party has pledged itself to wreck them and yet the Muslim members of the Legislative Assembly, moved by self-interest, want the rule of the Reforms in the Frontier province. The *Medina* deplores the unjust and unpatriotic opposition of the Hindus to the extension of the Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province simply because they are in a minority. Can narrow-mindedness, bias, selfishness, and jealousy go further? Can they deserve *swaraj* after this? They are really cutting their nose to spite others. The *Najat* says that when it is clear that the system of government obtaining in that province is worse than despotic, the opposition of the Hindus only means that they cannot bear to see the Muslim majority obtaining its just rights. The *Hamdam* appeals to the Swarajists to support Mr. Murtaza and not to be led away by the selfish Hindu minority in the North-West Frontier Province. The *Haqiqat* deplores that Messrs. Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, and others are opposed to the resolution simply on account of their communal antipathy and urges the Muslims and enlightened Hindus of other provinces to support this just demand.

The Panipat case.

Referring to the judgement in the Panipat case the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The court has supplemented the *lathi* blows of the Panipat police by sending the Hindu accused to jail. The judgement will be received throughout Hindu India with a feeling that will not add to public confidence in the British courts of law. The *Vartman* writes:—Such long sentences were awarded to the Hindus but the officials who were guilty of dereliction of duty at the time of the disturbance were not even fined. This is creating an impression on the mind of the public that partiality is shown to officials in the courts. The attitude of the Magistrate towards the Hindus was not good. This is reflected in his judgement also. The *Hindu Sarvaswa* strongly criticizes the attitude of the Magistrate towards the defence counsel and says: All this clearly shows that the Government is openly siding with the Muslims in the case. We want to tell the Hindus that the time has come when they will be beaten with their own shoes. They have become so worthless and cowardly that taking advantage of their cowardice others are bent upon ruining them.

Muslim affairs.

Rao Abdur Rahman, writing in *Al Bashir* says, that Sir Abdur Rahim reflected the true sentiments of his community in his presidential address at the Muslim League. The Hindus have never shown any tolerance towards Muslims and it is time that in view of their political importance the latter got equal representation with the former. In another article the same paper complains that Muslim rights are being constantly trampled upon by the Hindu majority in various local bodies and urges that Muslims should not only refuse to join in any demand for further reforms but should also show to the Hindus that they cannot retain even the present Reforms without their co-operation. It is then only that the Hindus will come to their senses and agree to a reasonable compromise. The *Sarfaraz* complains that *Shias* are unable to succeed at elections owing to the selfishness and bias of the *Sunni* majority and urges that Government should show special regard for *Shia* rights in making nominations. As, however, Government patronage cannot always be depended upon, it is imperative that *Shias* should be granted separate representation and to carry on an agitation in its favour the *Shia* League should be revived and deputations sent to the higher officials. Referring to the recent Arya-Muslim disturbance at Agra, the *Agra Akhbar* urges Government to prohibit foul attacks on other religions by the Aryas, as these lead to disorder resulting in loss of life and property. The *Naiyar-i-Azam* complains that objectionable plays like Rezia Begum, Shah Jahan, Amar Singh Rathor, etc., which are being staged and screened in Bombay seriously wound the feelings of Muslims by their slanderous attacks on their rulers and appeals to the Government of India to prohibit such films and plays specially in Bombay and Bengal where they are most popular. In another article the same paper welcomes the Bill for the registration of Muslim marriages, as it will prevent the falsification of records and thus put an end to much unnecessary, costly, and prolonged litigation. The *Mashriq* urges Government to frame rules for the regulation of cow-sacrifice unless it wants to win the unenviable notoriety of being a fomentor of communal disturbances. The *Jadu* regards the decision to import meat for Indian troops from Australia to be another device to set Hindus and Muslims by the ear. *Al Barid* suggests the picketing of fireworks shops to prevent their display on Shab-i-barat. The *Haqiqat* supports Khwaja Hasan Nizami's appeal to the authorities to stop the grant of licenses for the sale of potash.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Leader* is not sanguine as to the result of the reference of the Asiatic Bill to a select committee in view of the determined attitude of the Union Government to drive out Indians as quickly as possible. "It seems to us that the 'delicate negotiations' have resulted in a concession which may amount to nothing." As retaliatory measures against the Union Government of South Africa for the ill-treatment of Indians the *Vartman* suggests the imposition of special taxes on all goods imported from and exported to that colony and also restrictions on the landing of South African ships on Indian ports. The *Nejat* says that the passing of the second reading of the Colour Bar Bill by the Union Parliament shows that either the Government of India have failed to stop it or they do not care for the welfare of Indians. Indians should, therefore, rectify the wrong by boycotting South African coal and other imports and bring the South Africans to their senses by severing all relations with their compatriots in India. It is vain to expect anything from Government because if it had been alive to its sense of duty it would have of itself taken care of those whom it has sent there on its own responsibility.

The Commonwealth of India Bill.

The *Aj* says that Mrs. Annie Besant's advice to the provincial councils and to the Legislative Assembly to reject the budgets of the Provincial and Central Governments in case the Commonwealth of India Bill is not allowed the second reading in Parliament amounts to the advocacy of pure and simple non-cooperation. The question of *swaraj* is the question of unity and organization and speeches in Britain and debates in Indian Legislative Councils will never secure self-government to India. We are of opinion that as yet the country is not prepared for the non-payment of taxes *en masse* but there is no other means than mass civil disobedience or the no-tax movement for the attainment of *swaraj*.

The Viceroy.

The *Awaz* bitterly attacks Lord Reading's régime and says that by his Indemnity Bill and his fatal blows at the Eka and non-cooperation movements and Hindu-Muslim unity and his treatment of Nabha he has earned the execration of the entire civilized world. He murdered justice through every device of cunning and trickery and he would have been hanged in Raja Ram Chandra's days. He was no whit less bad than General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Rather his ravages extended to the whole of India while theirs were confined to the province of the Punjab. He prostituted the name of law, order and justice to smother Indian nationalism and proved much more dangerous than Clive, Warren Hastings, Dalhousie or Curzon, as they acted avowedly in the interests of the empire and never claimed to have done anything in the interests of justice. But all the murder and rapine of Lord Reading was committed in the sacred name of justice. To feed the flames of Indian vengeance and to keep the fire of their nationalism burning a paper effigy of His Excellency should be burnt every year at the close of the national week.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an article under the heading "Another bomb on Hindus" the *Vartman* strongly criticizes the speech recently made by Sir Abdur Rahim at a Calcutta dinner and says:—Impartial persons should pay attention to these poisonous effusions. What will this attitude of Muslims lead to? Such are the persons who incite mischievous Muslims and cause disturbances. Mian Rahim cannot stop *shuddhi* or *sangathan* but by such speeches he can certainly cause estrangement between the two communities.

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ALLAHABAD:
February 20, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

INDIA BRANCH
24 MAR 1926
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 8 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 27, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the League of Nations' decision regarding the Mosul question the *Aj* remarks :—Europe must remember that the memory of this fresh injustice will always rankle in the hearts of all sensible Asiatics who have thus been enabled to see the black heart of the League of Nations. It is a matter for regret and shame to us that the hard-earned money of Indians also goes to maintain this dangerous institution. The *Vartman* strongly criticizes European nations and European civilization and says :—Those who, like organized bands of robbers, are reducing big countries to destitution are called civilized and saviours of the world. We, however, find that the science and knowledge of Europe are ruining the world. The abuse of power makes one's heart tremble. The power which should have been used in removing oppression and immorality is being utilized to crush and rob innocent, peaceful and poor people. The *Najat* states that a war between Britain and France on one side and Turkey and Russia on the other is inevitable on the question of Mosul and says that a glimpse of British preparations for this war can be had in the Viceregal announcement regarding the establishment of a navy in India. Commenting on Mr. Amery's speech in Parliament on the Anglo-Iraq treaty, the *Hamdam* writes that it is incorrect to say that the Turks have lost the sympathy of Indian Muslims. So far the Turks have done nothing which might exclude them from the fold of Islam and so long as they are Muslim their relations with the Islamic world will remain unaffected and any injustice done to them will move the entire Muslim world.

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Bharat Jiwan* views with satisfaction the Viceregal announcement regarding the establishment of an Indian navy but says that the navy can be really useful to the country and worthy of its name provided 50 per cent. of its officers are Indians and this number is increased year by year. One Manohar Pant writing in the *Shakti* says :—The Viceroy has appealed for co-operation. We do not understand what sort of co-operation he wants. If he is not satisfied even with our co-operation for the last 150 years what are we to do? Recently in the Punjab we walked on our knees, crawled on our bellies and even pulled our ears. Does he want anything more than this? If so we bid him good-bye. He should give up this hope. For God's sake he should let India's skeleton alone and refrain from appointing any parliamentary enquiry committee. He should forget his dreams of co-operation. Co-operation is impossible now and though non-co-operation also is impossible to-day it is not yet dead. Fire is still burning in the hearts of the people. It cannot be extinguished. It would blaze forth in time. The *Bharat Dharma* says that the real object of the establishment of the Royal Indian navy is to forge new chains for India's subjection and to protect England by enabling her to combat the situation created in the Near East by Russia and Turkey on the Mosul question. The defence of India is only a pretext. India's money will be spent and her men will die but England will be protected. It would also give an opportunity to England to boast that she is following the policy of disarmament and thus to conceal her innate love of bloodshed. By making India bear the cost of this new fleet England will be able to reduce her naval expenditure and to obtain from poor India a large sum of money by making her purchase old British warships. The *Azad* says that the scope of the agricultural commission is so limited that it can hardly do any

good. However only those who command public confidence should be appointed to the commission. The swarajists should co-operate for a year or two to see what lies behind the repeated promises of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. The *Haqiqat* is very much satisfied with the proposal about an Indian navy and says that though it would be expensive, without it Indian youths cannot develop enthusiasm for a sea-faring life.

Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the only condition under which reforms can be extended to the Frontier is that every official drawing above Rs. 500 and entrusted with authority must be a Hindu, who alone can be expected to safeguard the interests of the minority at a crisis. "The Hindus can see the peril confronting their brethren. The only safeguard is not the speech and the vote of a solitary Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Legislative Assembly but the united force of *Sangathan.*" The *Muslim Herald* says that the resolution regarding the extension of reforms has exposed the hollowness of the sincerity of many a Hindu leader. With a malicious glee did Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya vent his spleen on the Pathans, accusing them of ruthlessness and barbarity. There is, it seems to us, a secret repository in the heart of this man where he stows away racial hatred and bitterness without fear of diminution. The *Aj* does not support the opposition of Hindus to the Muslim demand for the introduction of reforms in the Frontier Province and advises the members of the Legislative Assembly to settle this question by mutual agreement. While deprecating the consideration of the question merely from the communal standpoint the *Abhyudaya* wonders if the province will be able to bear the increased expenditure involved in the introduction of reforms. The *Pratap* contends that the introduction of reforms can never be detrimental to the interests of the country or those of the Hindus. The *Medina* denies that the grant of reforms to the North-West Frontier Province will endanger the security of India or lead to increased expenditure. The Hindu opposition is really inspired by the fear that any political advance in the province might raise the dormant Muslim majority and thus prejudice the privileged position at present occupied by the Hindu minority. It is up to the Swarajists to demonstrate their freedom from communal bias by either voting for the reforms or by totally abstaining from voting. The *Sadaqat* condemns the Hindu opposition and says that the minority argument can be used to deprive other Indian provinces also of the Reforms. The opposition is a great misfortune to the country and merely indicates the anti-Muslim mentality of the Hindus. The *Sada-i-Muslim* warns Mr. Malaviya that he was pursuing a fatal will-o'-the-wisp when he was arguing that the Frontier Province should be denied political reforms because the Muslims were in a majority there and were not on good terms with the Hindus. This change of mentality is really deplorable and Panditji should bear in mind that he would be hoisted with his own petard if Government were to tell him that because of the Hindu excesses at Arrah and Katarpur the Reforms should be withdrawn from the other Indian provinces also. We appeal to Government to give proof of their liberal-mindedness by extending the Reforms forthwith to the Frontier Province.

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on Kunwar Maharaj Singh's report on the British Guiana colonization scheme the *Leader* writes:—The plight of Indians in other Crown colonies where they are denied the rights of free citizenship and are treated as mere coolies, makes it absolutely necessary that before the Government of India accept any scheme of colonization, however favourable and generous on the face of it, it must insist upon the political status of Indian emigrants to British Guiana being clearly defined. India is unwilling to supply labour for the benefit of white capitalists and must oppose all proposals for recruiting Indian labour for the development of the colonies unless guarantees are forthcoming that Indian settlers will be treated not as hewers of wood and drawers of water but as self-respecting citizens and independent farmers. The *Pratap* regards the message of consolation sent by Mrs. Naidu assuring the South African Indians of India's help as illusive and says:—We should not dupe the afflicted people with hollow assurances. We should tell them frankly that we have no strength. The Government of this country is despotic and not ours. We are a subject people and as such suffer from the evils of self-forgetfulness and self-degradation. We cannot do anything for you. The earth is not meant for white domination. May this idea encourage you and may your soul force lead you to success. The *Aj* remarks that it is the duty of Indians to protest unanimously against the action of the Government of India in not standing up courageously for the full rights of their compatriots in

South Africa and contenting itself with the Asiatic Bill being referred to a select committee before the second reading and with the Paddison Commission being allowed to appear before it. If there had been a national Government in India the problem of Indians in South Africa would have constituted a sufficient cause for declaration of war or for the matter being referred to an international court of arbitration. But as things stand this question should at any rate be referred to an imperial court of arbitration composed of the representatives of all the colonies and presided over by the representative of Britain. India in her present position will surely be willing to accept the decision of this court. The *Haqiqat* urges an economic boycott of the South Africans as the Government of India will not budge even if the callous Government of South Africa gets all Indians there pelted to death or thrown into the sea. The *Hindu Gazette* has a cartoon suggesting that the only solution of the South African problem lies in the British leaving India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Muslim Herald* regards the Hindu *Maha Sabha's* invitation to the Maharaja of Nepal to preside over its forthcoming session as a novel method of attracting the attention of the masses and enlisting their sympathies and says: "Our own suggestion is that the *Maha Sabha* should first of all come to a conclusion on the point whether or not they finally decide to expel the Musalmans from India." The *Abhyudaya* says that Sir Abdur Rahim has by his recent Calcutta speech sprinkled salt over the wounds of Hindus caused by his previous speech at the Muslim League. Before condemning the *shuddhi, sangathan* and Hindu *Sabha* movements he should have taken notice of the *tanzim* and *tabligh* movements and of the activities of the Muslim League itself. Hindus should take a lesson from the black effusions of Sir Abdur Rahim and realize that so long as this is the mentality of Muslims they cannot look for any good at their hands. The *Gyan Shakti* remarks that the repeated yielding of Hindus to the Muslims has failed to establish the desired unity between the two communities. The petty-minded address of Sir Abdur Rahim shows which way the wind is blowing. It is time that the Hindu *Sabha* should arrange to return only orthodox Hindus to the Legislative Councils in the next elections as the swarajists cannot safeguard the interests of the Hindus. Referring to the formation of a separate Muslim party in the Bengal Legislative Council by Sir Abdur Rahim the *Aj* says that that gentleman should bear in mind that he is sowing seeds of poison and that he will have to taste their fruit also. The Hindus will be compelled, despite their nationalistic spirit, to act like Muslims in self-defence. This may well benefit the Muslims of a few provinces but they will suffer badly in most of the provinces. No doubt in these provinces the Muslims will count on the favour of the bureaucracy but the price of this help will mean their enslavement.

Muslim affairs.

The *Sada-i-Muslim* protests against the resolution regarding the prohibition of the slaughter of certain classes of bullocks and cows carried by the Hindu majority in the Cawnpore Municipal Board in the teeth of the unanimous Muslim opposition. This action is inspired solely by religious motives as the slaughter of buffaloes also would have been forbidden if economic considerations alone had been kept in view. It is up to Muslim members on the Council and the Local Government to interfere in the matter. The *Zul Qarnain* complains that Muslims do not gain at all from special representation as they still remain in a minority in most district boards and Government have not incorporated in the District Boards Act the other clause of the Lucknow Congress League Compromise laying down that a resolution to which three-fourths of the minority are opposed cannot be moved. Muslims have been further seriously handicapped by the recent nominations of members of the depressed Hindu castes to local bodies and they should try to secure an amendment of the Act so that Muslims may be appointed as chairmen at least once in every three terms, and non-members appointed as chairmen may be non-Hindus. If the Muslim members of the local bodies cannot secure these amendments within their present term of office they should resign in a body as it is useless for them to continue in boards in which they cannot exercise any power. *Al Bashir* refers to the discussion in the local council about the educational advancement of the depressed classes and urges Muslim M. L. Cs. to find out from Government the number of Muslims and members of the depressed classes in mixed schools with a view to convince it that more is being spent on the education of the higher caste Hindus than either on Muslims or members of the depressed classes. They should also secure figures about the members of the depressed classes employed in various Government

departments in order to show to Government that the high caste Hindus have got more than their legitimate share in the public services also. It should also be ascertained whether any provision has been made for the education of the Muslim depressed classes also or all special measures are reserved for the depressed Hindu castes only. Once these statistics become public the clamour of the high caste Hindus about Muslims receiving more in educational facilities and Government employment than their numerical proportion entitles them to will receive its quietus and Government will also be roused to a proper sense of its responsibility in regard to the education of the Muslim depressed classes.

Communism.

In the course of an article under the heading "On the tomb of Lenin" the *Varıman* writes: Mahatma Lenin took rest when imperialistic England, the possessor of powerful brute force, had received a smart slap on the face and the Labour leader, Mr. Macdonald, had become Prime Minister. But the conservatives bought up the people of England by all sorts of means. Now capitalism is fearlessly extending its scope. The imperialists of Europe are employing the most detestable capitalistic methods. In the illusory calm the goddess of war is silently arraying herself. It should be remembered that in all wars it is the poor who suffer most. Do the imperialists and capitalists go to fight in wars? It is for their money that peasants, labourers, soldiers, clerks, peons and coolies have to sacrifice their lives. If you wish to die die for your own sake. Die for independence. When you learn to die for yourselves capitalism and Imperialism will both come to an end. But that will not be called your victory. The wreath of victory will be laid on the tomb of Lenin who taught you to die. The *Press Bandhu* publishes an article by Satya Bhakta in the course of which he says: The times are now changing. In spite of being repeatedly suppressed and beaten by capitalists the labourers are steadily gaining power and are becoming strong whereas the capitalists in the glamour of their opulence are becoming indolent and careless. Therefore the time is not distant when the capitalistic injustice and treachery will be destroyed and the labourers will themselves become masters of mills and factories. For the progress of the labourers and the removal of their grievances it is essential that they should be strongly organized and their power augmented in every possible manner.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* points out that there is no fundamental difference between responsive co-operators and liberals and advises both of them to form one party under a common name to avoid multiplicity of political parties in the country. The paper suggests that if the *Swaraj* party wants to retain the support of the country it should make a definite declaration that it aims at attaining *swaraj* through civil disobedience. The *Oudh Akhbar* regards the swarajist and independent support to Sir Alexander Muddiman's Criminal Law Amendment Bill as a fresh proof of co-operation and appeals to Government to utilise this swarajist gesture to make some announcement which will satisfy the public and remove unrest.

The Madras Government.

The *Pratap* wonders why the Madras Government is so tired of the Hindus and the Hindi language that it has forbidden Hindu Government servants to become members of the Hindu *Sabha* and refused Government aid to schools in which Hindi is taught. The *Abhyudaya* says that the Madras Government by issuing the circular prohibiting Government servants from becoming members of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* has not tried to remove communal tension but has played a trick to prevent the Hindus from becoming stronger and to render impossible the solution of the Brahman and non-Brahman problem. The same paper condemns the order of the Madras Government against the teaching of Hindi in schools in the presidency as unjust and short-sighted and remarks that it constitutes an attack not only on the national language of the country but also on the spirit of nationalism. The *Aj* writes: Is it any crime to learn Hindi? Is this the Madras Government's reply to the Congress resolution advising every Indian to learn Hindi? As Hindi is the only language which can become the *lingua franca* of the country and thereby help in the welding of Indians into one nation they should unanimously protest against this action of the Madras Government. The *Bharat Dharma* says that the reason why the Madras Government is opposed to the teaching of Hindi in schools is that the propagation of a common national language will encourage the spirit of nationalism in the country and lead to fraternization between Northern and Southern India. This will hamper the Government in its policy of divide and rule. The paper remarks that the Madras

Government has evinced the same sort of madness in forbidding Hindu Government servants to become members of the Hindu *Sabha*. Such orders of the Madras Government will only lead to the increase of communal friction but the Government does not know that this friction will one day end even the peaceful Government. If the Government does not get rid of this madness by withdrawing these orders the public should take the work of removing it (madness) in its own hands.

Indians in Burma.

The *Matri Bhoomi* contends that the non-Burman Offenders Explusion Bill is simply meant to drive Indians out of Burma. Just as South Africa has made colour an excuse for expelling Indians the Government has made "*badmashi*" a pretext for turning them out of Burma. In doing so it has only followed the English saying "give the dog a bad name and then hang it." The *Surya* says that the Bill is based on the policy of divide and rule and is meant to cut off India completely from Burma. The Government of India will therefore be well advised to reject it. The *Aj* argues that there can be no other object of the Bill than the expulsion of Indians from Burma because of their predominant participation in the liberty movement in that province. It is utter selfishness on the part of Britishers to seek the expulsion of Indians from Burma when they themselves encouraged their migration thereto formerly to serve their own ends. It is against all principles of government that one province of a country should legislate against another but the existing Government has no principles and is guided only by the policy of divide and rule. In view of the character of the Indian bureaucracy, of the Indian police and of the administration of justice this measure cannot but prove fatal to Indians.

The United Provinces Tibbi Committee.

The *Zul Qarnain* regrets that the Tibbi Committee has decided in favour of unqualified vaids and hakims being allowed to practise and says that as quacks constitute a serious menace to public life and health unqualified physicians must submit to an examination before being granted permission to practise. Agra would prove more suitable than Allahabad for the Tibbi school as most of the students for that institution would come from the western districts. A writer in the *Oudh Akhbar* however approves of the committee's decision about the registration of vaids and hakims.

"Nationalist Party."

The *Muslim Herald* bitterly criticizes Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for forming a nationalist party and says: "Divide and Rule India" is the policy pursued by our benevolent masters, the British. "Divide and Destroy India" is our wise Pandit's unalterable policy. His success is greater than that of the Government. His achievements are more brilliant as they are likely to lengthen the term of our bondage more than the high policy of the benign Government that safeguards our interests here on our behalf.

Back Bay Reclamation Scheme.

In the course of an editorial note the *Muslim Herald* writes:—The Back Bay scandal brings into relief the helplessness of a slave nation. By revealing the autocratic tendencies of its masters, the English, one can have a full gaze at it and satisfy himself as to the actual dangers of the imposition of a foreign unsympathetic rule over an alien people, alien in culture, civilization, traditions and general outlook on life. A number of other papers including the *Leader* have also strongly criticized the scheme.

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ALLAHABAD:
February 27, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 9 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 6, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

In the course of an editorial note the *Muslim Herald* writes:—"It is high time the English and other European powers changed their attitude towards Turkey. The patience of the Musalmans of India is well-nigh exhausted . . . It is against all canons of political morality to set up a secret combination of ambitious and scheming Christian powers against a tired nation that has defied their collective strength for centuries without being allowed a moment's respite. But European or the so-called Christian diplomacy is divorced from all moral considerations of right and wrong. Their own selfish interests constitute their best moral and spiritual tenets and these are scrupulously respected and command their whole-hearted reverence." The *Najat* infers from the debate in Parliament on the Anglo-Iraq Treaty that the British Government has decided to deprive the Turks of Mosul which they regard as an inseparable part of their country and says that now Turkey cannot but resort to direct action.

District Boards Primary Education Bill.

Referring to the walking out of Muslim members during the debate on the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We offer our congratulations to the United Provinces bureaucracy; the scene that comes from the Legislative Council must do it good. The scene was inevitable, and it has come. The false veil is being torn and we are fast getting to face the situation. The Muslims and the Government pull one way and the nationalists pull the other way. The *Leader* writes:—While we are not opposed to the imparting of religious instruction in educational institutions we cannot appreciate the action of the Muslim members who walked out of the Council Chamber. The Hindu members who opposed the amendment did so not because they were opposed to such instruction but because they realized the difficulty in the way of making a compulsory provision for it for all classes. And yet a communal colour was given to their very reasonable opposition. Under the heading "A Pagan Council" the *Muslim Herald* writes:—The United Provinces Council has discredited itself in the eyes of the thinking public. It has been found hopelessly wanting in sobriety of its views and sanity of judgement. Grave issues of far-reaching importance have been raised by the rejection of the motion for the introduction of religious education in the primary schools of the Province. It is nothing short of a triumph of materialism over spiritualism, of western culture over time-honoured eastern traditions and of bigotry and fanaticism over true tolerance and catholicity . . . The scheme of religious emancipation and political regeneration is spurned by a haughty, unheeding, unpatriotic section of the people that seeks shelter under the tyranny of the majority over a helpless minority. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that if an attempt had not been made to rush the Bill through in defiance of the wishes of the Muslim members they would not have been forced to walk out of the Council Chamber as a protest. Hafiz Hidayat Husain's proposal did not deserve such scant consideration. The Muslim members were not inspired by any communal feeling but only desired to secure necessary amendments in the Bill. Where was the harm if theology had been included in the list of additional subjects? Muslim children could be taught the Koran and Hindu children the Ramayan and the Gita. According to the *Hamdam* the Muslim members deserve the thanks of their entire community for not participating in the passage of a measure likely to prove detrimental to the interests of their co-religionists

in rural areas. The indifference of the Hindu swarajists is deplorable; they should at least have got the consideration of the Bill postponed. The Bill is wholly inopportune, as neither the public is prepared for it nor does the Government possess funds for its enforcement. A Bill passed by the vote of single community can carry but little weight.

The Maharaja of Indore.

Strongly criticizing the attitude of the Government towards the Maharajas of Nabha and Indore, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Lord Reading has rendered the British Raj as unpopular among the princes as among the people by his action against His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha, characterized by a vindictiveness in stopping his allowance that can only be described as unparalleled in civilized rule. We are not sorry; the princes and the people of India must be one and the iron hand of bureaucracy descending on the princes might be the best incentive for them to seek the love of their subjects instead of banquetting the political officers and arranging for the Viceroy's tiger-shooting. In another article the paper says: It was agreed on all hands that the Maharaja of Indore had an excellent case and in abdicating Maharaja Tukaji Rao Holkar has sacrificed himself in 'the higher interests of the state. The *Leader* writes:—We regret the Maharaja's decision. On personal grounds His Highness would have hesitated to take a step which is certain to be interpreted as a sign of weakness . . . In any case, we are sorry for His Highness. He is reputed to be a well-intentioned, he certainly is a popular ruler. He is generous-hearted. We do not think anyone can say that his subjects have been unhappy during his reign. The *Muslim Herald* is of opinion that since the Maharaja has preferred abdication to a commission of inquiry his position is legally weak. "It appears to us that the disparity of the treatment meted out to poor men who had the misfortune to be involved in this case and the consideration shown in the case of one whose acquired temporal dignity made him immune from a tighter grip of law, is remarkable. It is here that we have to recognize the triumph of Islam over the recognized conventions and tenets of governments and societies in their dealings with men. Islam recognizes no difference of status or position." The *Aj* says:—Despite some of his faults, we never wished that the Maharaja should be obliged to abdicate. He was naturally of a good nature, patriotic, self-respecting and a well-wisher of his people. It was possibly because of these qualities that he was an eye-sore to the bureaucracy which fell upon him when an opportunity presented itself. The *Aziz-i-Hind* is sorry for the great humiliation of the Maharaja of Indore during Lord Reading's régime. His Highness has still so much faith in Government's generosity that he has disbanded his army as a precaution against any ebullition on its part. The loyalty of the Indian princes is a valuable asset and it is to be hoped that the Viceroy will do an act of mercy before his departure. The *Hamdam* says that Lord Reading cannot be congratulated on the Indore abdication, as it has cast a gloom not only over Indore but over the whole of India and has made the ruling chiefs nervous about their position and prestige. The *Awaz* foresees serious unrest among the Mahrattas owing to the Indore commission and inquires what act of justice, if any, has the high priest of justice, Lord Reading, done so far in India. Did he punish bloody Dyer and (Sir Michael) O'Dwyer and those judges who hanged innocent persons? The Maharaja himself is not connected with the Bawla murder and he cannot be condemned for the crimes of his subjects. If this novel doctrine of the responsibility of the ruler for the acts of his subjects is to be accepted, then Lord Reading should have to be hanged any number of times, as it was during his régime that hundreds of patriots lost their lives, hundreds of Hindus were killed, and hundreds of Hindu women were abducted.

The *Holi* festival.

The *Abhyudaya* says:—This festival occurs every year to remind us of the power of our ancestors to humble the pride of oppressors. It is to be deplored that to-day we do not possess their determination and their courage to oppose injustice. To-day we do not possess the spirit of self-sacrifice and that is why we are insulted at every step and our rights are being taken away. The *Holi* has come with a message to us to sacrifice ourselves for our religion. We wish that every Hindu should to-day get rid of cowardice and slavishness and be immersed in the spirit of communalism and nationalism. The *Bhavishya* draws attention to the unity which is to be seen during the *Holi* among Hindus of all castes and sub-castes and says:—If the Hindus are similarly united (permanently) in the bond of *sangathan* the atrocities perpetrated upon them will come to an end, the Hindu nation will regain its ancient glory and will be freed from the fear of being beaten and

robbed and of its temples being broken. The *Hindi Kesari* publishes an article in which the writer, Pandit Yagna Narayan Upadhyaya, M.A., LL.B., M.L.C., says :—Before her subjection India never celebrated the *Holi* festival so miserably as she does now when she is so ill-fed and ill-clad. A comparison of her old glory with her present position brings tears into one's eyes in the midst of the *Holi* festival. Will the Indian leaders consume their differences in the *Holi* fires and pay heed to the sufferings of the rural population? It has indisputably been established that unless the Indian leaders exert united pressure on the bureaucracy it will not advance a single step. It is their mutual dissensions which have encouraged the bureaucracy to demand self-surrender on the part of Indians. If the forthcoming assemblage of leaders at Delhi does not carry a thoughtful resolution on the critical condition of the country we shall have to suffer slavery for a very long time. The bureaucratic offer for cooperation is only meant to mislead the people. The bureaucracy taking advantage of disunion among the people wants to humiliate the country. This should suffice to open our eyes and we should renew our struggle, uniting our scattered forces and bearing in mind that mendicancy will never give us freedom. In the course of an article on the *Holi* festival the *Bharat Jiwan* refers to the story of the tyrant Hiranyakashyapa and his virtuous son, Prahlad, and says :—History repeats itself. On the one side there was the materialistic Hiranyakashyapa and on the other the idealist Prahlad. On the one side there was the West and on the other the East. As at present, diabolical deeds were being perpetrated on all sides, the simple folk were being crushed in every way, the blood of the helpless was being sucked by every means. Brute force was supreme in the world and next to it was the power of capital. At such a juncture the voice of a weak lad rose against materialism. It was the voice of Prahlad. The power of Hiranyakashyapa—the power of materialism—could not silence it. The method of the struggle was the same as it is to-day. The sword of the murderer and the entire power of materialism were on one side and the sea of helplessness and the storm of *satyagraha* on the other. The sword could cut bones but not water. Materialism could break mountains but not the peaceful but firm resolve of spiritualism. In the end *satyagraha* triumphed and Hiranyakashyapa was slain. The *Holi* reminds us of the same ancient incident. It tells us that if we espouse truth, are not carried away by the glamour of materialism and do not treat brute force as power, we shall triumph even to-day. This festival conveys to us the message of the triumph of the weak over the strong. Let us therefore celebrate this festival and pray to God that what happened in the past may happen again; may the one who triumphed in the past triumph again; may the one who was destroyed in the past be destroyed again.

The Indian Budget.

The *Leader* writes :—When Sir Basil Blackett assumed charge of office he found that the financial position of the Government was very unsatisfactory. He may with justifiable pride claim that he has been able to establish a foundation of financial stability. Without firm and clear-sighted handling of the situation the conditions would not have improved so rapidly as they have done and for this he deserves congratulations. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—Sir Basil Blackett's budget statement is a tale of all-round progress, efficiency, and strength. It reveals the remarkable strength of our Indian financial system for which a very great part of credit must go to Sir Basil Blackett himself. The Government has distributed the surplus in a generous way. The reduction in the rate of interest on the postal cash certificates will meet with great and universal opposition. The reduction of provincial contributions and the abolition of cotton excise duty are achievements of which Sir Basil Blackett may legitimately feel proud. The *Aj* writes :—We do not consider it fair to augment public revenue by the income of the commercial departments like the post office, telegraph, canals and railways. They should be financed from loans and their income should be limited to cover depreciation of plant and interest on capital and to maintain a fund to meet losses and pay up the capital. If this is done, their rates can be reduced to a very large extent and they can greatly help trade and industry indirectly. The refusal of the Finance Member to reduce postal rates is very disappointing. Surely the income of the people has not increased to justify enhancement in the rates of public services. Sir Basil Blackett stands on very weak ground when he urges that the general tax-payer cannot be made to suffer for the convenience of those who advocate cheap postal rates but utilizes railway profits to increase public revenue at the expense of the third class passengers. The bureaucracy should always take into consideration the economic position of the people before thinking of increasing its revenue. The same paper in another article says that when Lord Reading

restores the grant for the Railway Board rejected by the Legislative Assembly he should explain why Indians are not appointed in that Board, why the bureaucracy repeatedly breaks its promise in this matter and whether an Indian's presence in the Railway Board will spell ruin to the Empire. The *Najat* does not regard the proposed reduction of ten per cent. in third class fares as at all generous in view of the enormous income derived from railways and asks for a further reduction. It also urges the discouragement of the practice of raising foreign loans for railway extension and says that foreign money markets should be tapped only when the Indian markets fail.

Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

The *Shankar* says that if the Muslims succeed in their efforts to get the reforms extended to the Frontier Province the Hindus of that province will have a very bad time of it. When it is possible for the Muslims there to enact a tragedy like that of Kohat without having any power who can say what atrocity they will not commit when they are invested with powers? If the Government and the Assembly flout the cry of the Frontier Hindus nobody knows what will be in store for them in future. The *Gyan Shakti* refers to the inhuman treatment to which the Hindus are subjected in the Frontier Province and urges the Hindu members of the Assembly to act with courage and to bear in mind that the protection of the weak is the paramount duty of man and the state. The *Pratap* congratulates the rulers on their success in dividing their opponents into various camps and causing them to fly at each other's throat for trifles. Even Mr. Muhammad Ali is furious over the Frontier question. In his *Hamdard* he holds out the threat of Muslim secession from the *Swaraj* party. This does not become the ex-president of the Congress. On the one hand he regards the official crumbs as trifles and on the other attaches so much importance to them. The *Medina* infers from Mr. Malaviya's speech in the Assembly that the Hindu opposition is inspired simply by a desire to be avenged for the riots at Kohat, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, etc. Whenever Mr. Malaviya talks of the Frontier Province he can recollect only the robbing and exiling of Hindus. The official members will, of course, oppose Mr. Murtaza's resolution, as they can never relish any extension of the Reforms which are depriving the white members of the bureaucracy of their cherished privileges. It is up to the swarajists now to support the resolution as otherwise if it fails, as it is bound to owing to Hindu opposition, there will be a serious defection from the Swarajist ranks and this might lead to the unfortunate formation of parties in the Assembly on communal lines. *Al Bashir* ridicules the arguments advanced by the various Hindu *Sabhas* against the extension of Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province and says that if their line of reasoning is to be accepted the Reforms will have to be withdrawn from all Indian provinces in which the Hindus are in a majority, as these people are so turbulent and fanatical that they fight over the sacrifice of cows or cutting of pipal trees. In reality it is the predominance of the Hindus which is the greatest obstacle in the path of Indian progress and freedom and so long as their numbers are not reduced by conversion India cannot hope to emerge from slavery.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Vartman* justifies the action of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in forming a new party and says :—How long could the murder of the rights of the Hindus be tolerated? How long could the policy of Mr. Jinnah, which is full of meanness, be regarded as law? In the next elections Hindu voters will have to see to it that their representatives are not a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy and are not murderers of the rights of the Hindus. In an article in the same paper Kunwar Chand Karan Sarda says that when there is an organized attack on Hindus they have no other course than to send their own representatives to the legislature. In the course of an article deploring the present condition of the Hindu community the *Bhavishya* writes :—We ought to show by our prowess that we shall destroy the house of the man who has the audacity to kidnap our women. We shall slay him and make over his head to jackals as was done in the case of Ravan. The very object of our life is to protect the honour of our community by destroying devilish, brutish men, who have been blinded by arrogance. The *Vartman* publishes a lengthy account of the Rewari disturbances by Pandit Neki Ram Sharma in which he blames the Muslims and their leaders for the "premeditated and organized" disturbance. In the course of an editorial article on this the paper says :—The readers have seen the attitude of blood-thirsty Muslims. "It is becoming difficult for Hindus to celebrate their religious festivals and to take out processions during marriages.

All this is due to the weakness of Hindus and the partiality of officials." The *Aj* says that so long as separate Muslim electorates exist the participation of the Hindu *Sabha* in elections will create only differences among the Hindus themselves and will set the Hindu *Sabha* against the Congress. Hindus being in the majority in the Congress they can serve communal as well as national interests through the Congress itself. The Hindu *Sabha* should look after the social and religious interests of the Hindus but should entrust the care of their political interests to political bodies. The *Awaz* protests against the appointment of a Muslim Home Member in such a predominantly Hindu province specially when more capable Hindu *zamindars* were available. Nawab Yusuf was also appointed simply because he is a Muslim and when Sir William Marris is not prepared to concede to Hindus the rights and privileges of citizens he should not demand of them the corresponding duties. If war breaks out only the Nawab of Chattari and Nawab Yusuf who have benefited in times of peace should be asked to provide men and money. In all departments the Hindus have their rights denied to them. There are more Muslim tahsildars and deputy collectors and still more are being recruited. The same is the case in the higher ranks of the Police department. We would not have stinted support to Government if Sir William Marris had not reserved all his favours for Muslims. The Muslims are not to be blamed for accepting cheerfully what they get but we have to look at the motive of the giver who simply wants to run the Government machinery by following the policy of divide and rule. He does not care at all for the rights of others and is unmindful of the lasting safety of the Government. In short, he is the real enemy of the public peace.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Oudh Akhbar* complains that Indians live in unsanitary conditions and are treated as political helots in British colonies and appeals to the Government of India not to accept the British Guiana colonization scheme unless Kunwar Maharaj Singh's suggestions that Indians should be provided with sanitary areas of sufficient extent for their habitations and should be assigned a definite political status and given adequate representation in both the chambers of the British Guiana legislature, are accepted. The *Medina* is gratified that the Asiatic Bill has been referred to a select committee and an opportunity has been afforded for the presentation of the Indian case which might affect the acceptance of this measure by the Government in England. For Indians, however, the only remedy, as suggested by Mahatmaji is *satyagraha*. The *Najat* is dissatisfied with the ineffectual measures of the Government of India and wonders why it maintains such an expensive army and navy when it cannot settle even such a petty matter. The *Hamdam* agrees with Mr. Gandhi's view that the South African problem can be solved only if Indians unite for the attainment of *swaraj* and give practical proof of their firm determination. The *Haqiqat* says that the correspondence with the Government of India had with the Union Government on the subject has only laid bare the former's subjection and servility. Indians in South Africa had to put up with atrocities for 15 years simply because India is not free. The Government of India contents itself simply with soothing Indian sentiments and Indians themselves must present a determined and united front if they want to achieve any success.

United Provinces budget.

In the course of a leading article the *Leader* says that the provincial finances have begun to look up and it is possible to look forward now to an era of greater activity in the beneficent departments. The paper is, however, of opinion that the share of education, agriculture, public health, industries, medical and civil works out of the total sum provided for new expenditure is inadequate. "The reserved departments have been overfed, while transferred departments have been starved. One has to look only to the totals of expenditures on the two departments to find out how disproportionately a small amount is spent on the nation-building departments. . . . We have urged the stoppage of recruitment abroad, the rapid Indianization of services, the abolition of commissionerships, the reorganization of the Public Works department, and other reforms so that there may be greater economy in administration and more funds may be available for the building up of the beneficial services.

Lord Irwin.

Discussing the cabled summary of Lord Irwin's speech at the British Indian Association dinner the *Hamdam* observes that it shows that he has very soon imbibed the bureaucratic spirit and has inherited all the traditions of Lord Reading's régime. Lord Reading came as a champion of justice and Lord Irwin is coming as a

champion of education and it may be expected that his championship will prove equally farcical. Lord Reading's call for unity and co-operation has almost smothered national life in India and it is to be seen what Lord Irwin's call for the citizen's duty to India does for the country.

Muslim affairs.

In the course of an article on the Royal Commission on Agriculture the *Muslim Herald* urges upon the Government of India the desirability of appointing at least two Muslims, one from the Punjab and one from Bengal, to represent Muslim agriculturists on the Commission, as Muslims preponderate in these provinces. Hamidullah Afsar writing in the *Medina* supports Dr. Khan's Bill for the registration of Muslim marriages as, in his opinion, it would save unnecessary litigation and waste of properties. Such a law exists in Bhopal and in Bengal also every Muslim marriage is registered under the Optional Muslim Marriage Act of 1876. The Bill will not interfere with any religious principle. It is to be hoped that the Ulema and Mujtahids will support the Bill.

Taxation Inquiry Committee Report.

The *Aj* says that the Government of India fights shy of appointing an economic inquiry committee for fear of the exposure of its administrative policy and that is why it has not allowed even the Taxation Inquiry Committee to inquire into the economic position of the country. In another article the same paper remarks that the chowkidari tax can be levied only when those who pay it are given some control over the village police. It contends that the arguments advanced by the Taxation Inquiry Committee for the maintenance of the chowkidari tax are all untenable. When the Government spends very little of the land revenue which it receives from the rural population for its good it should consider whether there is any justification for levying a separate tax on villagers in the name of the chowkidari tax.

Back Bay Reclamation Scheme.

In the course of an editorial note severely criticizing the "Back Bay Muddle" the *Leader* writes:—It is just because the people have to pay that irresponsible rulers are tempted to launch upon mad and extravagant schemes to which they may have taken a fancy . . . A system under which such huge losses can be caused and such economic injury inflicted directly on the people of a province and indirectly on the whole country, ought to be modified as early as possible in order that those wielding authority may act under a full sense of responsibility to the tax-payer.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
March 6, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 10 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 13, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Hamdam* is perturbed over the news of the arrival of the British Ambassador at Kabul in India to confer with the Viceroy on Anglo-Afghan relations and deplores that the European Powers do not save Asiatic States from Bolshevik influence by granting them a status of equality but run them down when they go over to the Bolsheviks.

The *Swaraj* Party.

Referring to the All-India Congress Committee's resolution calling upon the Swarajists to withdraw from the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils the *Pioneer* writes :—The Swarajists have decided to withdraw from the legislative bodies in order to have a good rallying cry in the next election. The whole controversy has about it an air of extreme unreality and it is not difficult to detect signs that even among the Swarajist rank and file there are serious misgivings. The *Leader* writes: The resolution is a negation of commonsense, is a mere electioneering claptrap, is illogical and self-contradictory and as usual impracticable and shortsighted . . . The truth is that the Swarajists by deciding not to take any further part in legislative business are seeking to hide the failure of their policy and their discomfiture by a gesture of non-cooperation which is nothing but another strategic retreat in good order which may develop into a stampede and a rout at the next elections. Commenting on Pandit Motilal Nehru's statement the paper concedes that the present negative policy of Government is an extremely short-sighted one and unless revised must lead to future trouble but is of opinion that dramatic walk-outs from the legislatures can lead nowhere and can at best produce a temporary and mild sensation. Indian politicians should make the best of what they have got and strive for more. The *Muslim Herald* says: The Swarajist exodus can by no manner of means be justified. It strikes us that the withdrawal made with such noise and parade, the statement full of verbosity made prior to withdrawal and the enunciation of future policy are all preparations for the next elections and manœuvres to secure return at any cost. The *Aj* approves of the action of the Swarajists and urges that they should also resign their seats in the legislatures and take peaceful and proper steps to exert direct pressure on the bureaucracy through the people. They should devote special attention to the organization of labour with a view to strike a blow at the very root of the existing system of Government. In another article the paper says that the bureaucracy will never yield so long as India does not exercise her organized soul force. The *Hamdam* is opposed to the Swarajist action and says that while the country was being rent by communal dissensions the Swarajists were practically wasting their time in the councils but now that they are helpless to stem the tide of national disruption, they should at least finish what little work they had begun in the councils.

District Boards Primary Education Bill.

Almost every Muslim paper of consequence has strongly criticized the attitude of Hindu members of the Legislative Council towards the amendment to the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill regarding the introduction of religious education. In the course of a note recounting the benefits of religious education the *Muslim Herald* says:—"A patriot cannot but condemn the vicious and disloyal attitude adopted by these United Provinces (Hindu) councillors." The *Paigham* ridicules the contention that religious education promotes inter-communal discord. Hindus do not like to see Muslims receiving religious education. Such

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obstructions cannot hamper the onward march of religion though they must hamper progress towards *Swaraj*. The *Sadaqat* says that the Hindus were inspired simply by spite. Woe betide the country. The *Medina* regrets that the infection has now spread from the local bodies and the Hindus are adopting such an unreasonable attitude that the councils also are being made an arena for fighting over communal rights. The *Aziz-i-Hind* congratulates the Muslim members on their manliness and wonders what has possessed the Hon'ble Minister of Education that he is so ruthlessly trampling on Muslim rights. When such is the state of Hindu mentality under the Reforms what would be the fate of Muslims under *Swaraj*? His Excellency the Governor should realize that Muslims can never give up *pardah* and compulsory education of girls is therefore out of question. The *Sada-i-Muslim* takes the Hindu members to task for their biassed attitude and says that they opposed the amendment simply because it would lead to the employment of more Muslim teachers. Muslims should now insist on Dr. Zia-ud-din's suggestion that proposals affecting Muslims should not be declared carried unless supported by three-fourths of the Muslim members. The *Mashriq* advises Muslims to stand by the British who alone would help them in need. The *Haqiqat* denies that the "walk-out" was a Muslim conspiracy under the leadership of the Nawab of Chattari to wreck Rai Rajeshwar Bali's ministry. Neither the Nawab nor the Muslims have any grievance against the Education Minister. The *Hamdam* also insists on the need for religious education for Muslims, specially in villages where *Shuddhi* workers are so active and Muslim teachers are so few. The imputation, however, that the Muslims wanted to wreck the ministry is untenable as it contains a Muslim also and their relations with the Hon'ble Minister of Education are very cordial. Most of the Hindi papers observed a holiday during the week and so far only the *Sainik* has commented on this subject. It deplores the action of the Muslim leaders in suddenly leaving the Council and says that the attitude of the Muslims is getting extremely reprehensible these days. They are so bent on quarrelling and are so blinded with selfishness that they kick up a row even without any justification.

The Indian Budget.

The *Surya* views with satisfaction the reduction in the provincial contributions, the abolition of the cotton excise duty and the large surplus effected and says that the members of the Assembly will be well advised not to support the Swarajists in rejecting the Budget. The *Anand* considers the new budget to be satisfactory in every respect and says that by reducing the expenditure Sir Basil Blackett has removed the bankruptcy of the Government. If affairs are managed with a similar foresight and regard for economy there can be a greater curtailment in expenditure in future. At present the country is overburdened with taxes and it is the duty of the Government to curtail expenditure and to reduce taxes. The *Sainik* does not see any satisfactory points in the budget and says that Sir Basil Blackett's jubilation is not justified. The salt tax still exists. He could not do even so much as to reduce it to eight annas. The price of post cards and envelopes is still the same. The *Aj* says: By a clever manipulation of figures and financial jugglery Sir Basil Blackett has been able to show a saving in the budget, but a real saving can be effected only when the cost of administration is reduced. The salaries of high officials continue to be increased and the "Lee loot" is still going on. All this is concealed by items of expenditure being transferred from one head to another. No financial administration can be satisfactory which does not reduce the burden of the tax-payer. The tremendous military expenditure and the top-heavy administrative expenditure are ruining the country. Taxes in other countries have been reduced after the war, but in India they have been increased. The people are groaning under the weight of taxation and the Finance Member praises himself by stating that the financial condition of India is very satisfactory. If the rulers of any independent country had shown the same cruelty as is being shown in India in the matter of taxation they would have found it impossible to govern even for two hours. In another article the same paper bitterly complains that the military expenditure is still excessive and urges the Indianization of the army. It says: If England really wants to grant *Swaraj* to India she should first of all remove British troops from the country in order to show her confidence in Indians. We would not be satisfied until the military expenditure is reduced to thirty crores of rupees only. In yet another article the paper refers to the refusal of the Commander-in-Chief to limit the military expenditure to fifty crores and says that the army may be increased to any extent, but it will not be able to combat the dissatisfaction

caused by the ever-increasing expenditure. We are not prepared to admit the necessity for such a large army for the protection of India only and even if we admit it the question of providing bread to Indians is surely more important than the defence of the country. While favourably impressed with this year's Indian budget as a whole, the *Najat* complains that little has been done for the protection and development of indigenous industries. The remission of the duty on the finer cotton cloths of India is a minor concession. If a bolder step had been taken and a tariff had been imposed on all imported cloth, some employment would have been provided for poverty-stricken Indians. It is idle, however, to expect such an action from a foreign Government which is a partizan of the Lancashire weavers. It is a fact that the cotton industry of India is in a very nascent state as compared with that of Lancashire and is thus most deserving of State aid.

United Provinces Budget.

The *Leader* pleads for a larger provision for the Allahabad Carpentry School, for the improvement of communications, for local bodies, for the district health scheme and for medical aid in rural areas. The paper also suggests the creation of an improvement trust at Benares. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The budget is satisfactory not because of the economy exercised by the Provincial Government, but because of the windfall in the shape of remission of contribution to the Central Government. We are constrained to warn the Government that they are adopting a risky policy in borrowing largely for unproductive purposes year after year. The *Muslim Herald* writes:—Some more money has, no doubt, been allowed to the Transferred departments, but the increase has been, of necessity, a niggardly one, and no amount of juggling with the statistics can hide this fact. Reserved departments still absorb over 11 crores while that step-child, the transferred side of the Government, receives only a little over Rs. 4 crores. The paper pleads for economy in the Reserved departments by means of Indianization of services and the abolition of "costly services that are more ornamental than useful." The *Aj* deplores that the expectations of the people regarding the reduction of taxation have been dashed to the ground. Economy in expenditure is much talked of, but leads to no tangible results. The increase in taxation and in expenditure during and after the great war is sucking the very lifeblood of these provinces and is the root cause of the real unrest. In another article the paper complains of the excessive cost of administration and the high salary of the Governor. It regrets that the divisional commissionerships have not yet been abolished and the judicial and executive functions have not been separated. "All this fully reveals the alien, top-heavy and irresponsible nature of the administration." In yet another article the same paper writes:—So long as half of the revenue of the province is not spent on the beneficent departments and so long as the representatives of the people are not given the right to vote on every item of expenditure the Finance Member's self-praise can only be regarded as ludicrous. The expenditure on the Police department is unduly excessive and the elected members of the council should make a firm resolve not to allow any further expenditure on this department. We welcome the increased expenditure on education but this money should not be spent on higher education to increase the number of the educated unemployed. Greater attention should be paid to the extension of useful primary education. It will be waste of the money of the tax-payers to increase the expenditure on big buildings and on the inspecting staff. Regarding the increased expenditure on the medical department we have to urge that better arrangements should be made for the treatment of tuberculosis in every district. The authorities should also treat the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of treatment more generously. If even one-half of the sum spent on the Allopathic system is allotted to these two systems they will produce better results. The *Surya* says that in spite of its various shortcomings the noteworthy feature of the provincial budget is the liberal allotment for the departments of public utility. For this everybody will thank the local Government. But this much must be said that the Government does not evince the same liberality in the actual advancement of education as it does in spending money over school buildings and that the educational and other public institutions of the sanatanists have to go without Government aid. The *Sainik* deplores that the allotments to the Transferred departments have been niggardly. The *Oudh Akhbar* complains that contrary to the desire of the United Provinces Council, the Government of India's remission in the provincial contribution was not spent mainly on the Transferred departments and they did not receive even half of it. Will the

United Provinces Government at least reserve the whole of the remission now proposed in the provincial contribution by the Government of India for the transferred subjects?

The Maharaja of Indore.

The *Surya* is deeply grieved at the abdication of the Maharaja of Indore and says that this action of his will pain every child of India inasmuch as the Maharaja was a very sympathetic ruler and a great protector of his subjects. The Maharaja's abdication at the threat of the Governor-General is also objectionable from the viewpoint of the status of ruling chiefs. The *Aj* writes:—The Maharaja undoubtedly deserves praise for abdicating rather than submit to trial by a commission which would have brought disgrace on his dynasty and throne and lowered the position of other ruling princes also. Whatever people might say about his personal character the Maharaja's views were nationalistic and he was a true and fearless servant of the country. He had become an eye-sore to the bureaucracy on account of his glorious patriotism and commendable self-respect. By compelling the Maharaja to abdicate under this pretext Lord Reading has placed a crown on the edifice of his 'just' administration. The *Garhwali* regrets the Maharaja's abdication and says that the Maharaja has acted rashly in doing so. He ought to have done his best to vindicate his innocence. If he had faced the situation bravely the officials who are not well disposed towards ruling chiefs would have been discouraged from acting against them in future. The position of ruling chiefs is becoming precarious every day. The majority of the political agents do not treat the states well. The Government ought to accord proper treatment to the ruling chiefs and have regard for their dignity and prestige. The *Rahnuma* says that the Maharaja of Indore has paid the price of his infatuation for Mumtaz and the blood of Bawla has been avenged. The Indore affair following so soon after the Nabha incident should induce the sluggards among the ruling chiefs to set their house in order as the enlightened princes have no fear from the interference of Government. A writer in the *Haqiqat* justifies Government's attitude and remarks that the Maharaja abdicated for fear of the ordeal of a commission. The Maharaja's action was wise and other ruling chiefs should also reform themselves so that British Indians may not have occasion to criticize their actions. The *Oudh Akhbar* also commends the wisdom of the Maharaja in saving himself from disgrace and worry and his subjects needless trouble by not appearing before the Commission. His abdication will have served its purpose if it acts as a deterrent for other ruling chiefs. The *Medina* characterizes the abdication as another dark chapter in the history of the deeds of Lord Reading which has opened and closed with extremely unpleasant events.

Indian States.

The *Haqiqat* criticizes the "dangerous" attitude of the Government of India towards the Nizam and says that any action taken against His Exalted Highness will be deeply resented by Muslim India. Points of difference can be easily settled by friendly negotiations but if, of course, Government wants to interfere in the internal affairs of the state it is a different matter. Such an attitude will however alienate not only the ruling chiefs but the general body of Muslims also. The *Aziz-i-Hind* is pained at the stricture of the Madras High Court on the Nizam for having decreed a suit which was time-barred. The law of limitation is inequitable and the Nizam showed the highest sense of justice in decreeing the suit. Such criticisms lead the people to suspect that the Indian states are rankling like thorns in the eyes of the British. Coming so soon after the Indore affair this incident shows that British officers are everywhere bent on finding fault with Indian states. Disaffection among Indian states is undesirable as it is they that stand in good stead in times of need.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Najat* deplores the baneful turn recently taken by the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. Their avowed object of religious and social reform has been practically abandoned and they have assumed a decidedly militant aspect. The insistence of leaders of the status of Swami Shraddhanand on physical culture shows that they want to create a fighting class among the Hindus for the communal war they want to wage to establish Hindu supremacy. Such an attitude of the Hindu majority towards the Muslim minority is contemptible. If this attitude persists among the Hindus and they continue to invite independent rulers like the Maharaja of Nepal to preside over the Hindu *Maha Sabha*, the Afghan bogey invented by official brains to scare away cowards may be replaced by the Nepal bogey and alienate Muslims from the national movement for freedom. Muslims should be wide awake and should never regard the enemy as contemptible. The *Medina*

urges the formation of a Muslim council party which should strive for Indian freedom first and Muslim protection next. It should not fall out with the Hindus to please the English and should not become a victim to official intrigues or be influenced to depart from its principles by any temptation or deceit. The Muslim council party formed in Bengal deserves support but it should be borne in mind that there should be no conflict with the *Swaraj* party so long as it does not go deliberately against Muslim interests. There should be no combination and quarrels for gaining leadership. There should be studious avoidance of flattery of Government officials and communal discord should not be encouraged. Will other provinces also follow the lead of Bengal? In another article the same paper complains of Hindu vindictiveness at Rewari in the matter of the arrest of Muslim rioters and wonders whether the fact of Justice Shadi Lal being a resident of the place and his relations being in power there will make justice dearer for Muslims. Will the Muslim vakils of Gurgaon come to the rescue of their afflicted co-religionists? The *Aiena* interprets the resolution of the Cawnpore Municipal Board against the slaughter of milch cattle as an attempt to interfere with the religious sacrifices of Muslims and to kill the important meat and hide trade which is in their hands.

Muslim affairs.

The *Muslim Herald* complains of inadequate representation of Muslims in various Government departments and as an instance gives figures showing that out of 49 posts in the Land Record department at Hardoi only four are filled by Muslims. This, the paper contends, conclusively proves that for a long time to come Indian Muslims will not find themselves safe unless their rights and privileges are guaranteed to them by an act of legislature. The paper expects that the Hon'ble Home Member will take proper steps and see that the Muslim is not treated as a step-child.

Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

The *Nizam-i-Alam* urges Muslims all over India to meet the strong Hindu opposition to the Frontier Reforms resolution by raising their voice in its favour. The Hindus want to predominate in most of the provinces on the ground of numerical superiority and in the rest on the pretext of needing protection against the Muslim majority. Such an attitude is narrow-minded and selfish and is bound to fill Muslim minds with misgivings regarding conditions under *Swaraj*. Muslims should, therefore, ask for separate representation in the elective bodies and services in accordance with their numerical proportion. It is ridiculous on the part of the Hindus to argue that the Reforms would enable the frontiermen to league themselves with invaders and thus imperil India. Are not the reformed councils merely debating societies and do not the local bodies eschew politics? The Reforms will also mean economy and the fact of Hindus paying 86 per cent. of the income-tax strengthens the case for the introduction of Reforms as this shows that the Hindus monopolize all avenues of income and the Reforms are badly needed for the uplift of the submerged Muslims.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an editorial note deploring communal tension and pleading for real harmony the *Muslim Herald* writes:—"India shall be free the day she is united. To a Muslim freedom should be dearer than to another. The Quran does not even contemplate a life of subjection for the Musalmans. A Muslim is not born to be a slave. No provision is made for him for that life. All the more reason then for him to strive for freedom."

The Andamans policy.

The *Hamdam* characterizes the Government of India's scheme for the colonization of the Andamans as a huge piece of camouflage which has probably been devised to drive the Moplahs away from their homes. Methods familiar during recruiting days are being employed to induce people to go to the Andamans and it is now not even necessary to convict a man to send him to the Andamans. No mention has been made in the official *communiqué* about the rights of the colonists and it is therefore feared that Indians will be there as coolies and will be worse off there than in India. This new device of slavery is being contrived only with a view to make the Andamans a calling station for the Singapore naval base. This is highly reprehensible from the point of view of Asiatic morality and it is to be seen how far a policy based on such unethical principles succeeds.

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ALLAHABAD:
March 13, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

I.O. REGISTRY
14 APR 1926
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 11 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 20, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Muslim Herald* bitterly complains of "the mischievous and unholy plans" of European powers against Turkish rights and independence and says: "Turkey shall fight till its last man drops down in defence of its honour and self-respect and Europe knows it. No single power can oppose the might of Turkey; hence this unholy combination against it, hence this devilish scheme of fabricated constitutionality known by the name of the League of Nations. Open, daylight robbery was not possible and therefore this machine was devised for political theft." The *Hamdam* says that British solicitude for negotiations with the Turks on the Mosul question even after the decision of the League of Nations, exposes the weakness of the English case. The Angora politicians may, however, be trusted to withstand the onslaughts of British diplomacy and the various missions sent by the English to Angora are bound to end in failure. The *Sarfuraz* publishes a letter addressed by some prominent Indian Shia *alims* to the Shah of Persia appealing to him to oust Ibn Saud from the Hedjaz, to hand over the holy land to the Hedjazis and to arrange for the unrestricted performance of their religious rites by Muslims in general and Shias in particular. It is complained that Ibn Saud forces his beliefs on others, interferes with the religious freedom of other Muslim sects, and demolishes domes. His declaration of sovereignty over the Hedjaz has alienated even his khilafatist and Wahabi partisans in India. As the *Haj* season is approaching and the British Government has refused to interfere, the help of His Majesty Reza Khan is urgently needed. The editor supports this letter and asks for the help of the Persian press in the matter. The *Medina* is perturbed at the news of tension between Afghanistan and Russia over the disputed frontier island. The Amir has been most zealously working for the welfare of his people and it is to be hoped that he will be spared the trial of a war. The *Najat* holds that the completion of the proposed Russian railway to Quetta *via* Herat and Kandahar will constitute a serious menace to British imperialism, as the intercourse of the Bolsheviks with the frontier tribes will spread in their country the poison which Britain is so valiantly trying to combat in various parts of the Empire. All the advantages sought for British imperialism and prestige in the Khyber railway will then be lost and the comfort and prosperity of the Central Asian people will be greatly advanced. In another article the same paper interprets the recent Afghan-Bolshevik alliance as a sign of impending trouble between Afghanistan and Britain. This sudden solicitude of Russia for the arming and financing of Afghanistan sounds more like a challenge to Britain for a trial of strength in Central Asia. The return of the British ambassador at Kabul to India to discuss Anglo-Afghan relations shows that they are becoming involved.

The *Swaraj* party.

In the course of two leading articles headed "Avoid the Coming Storm" the *Muslim Herald* says: The *Herald* does not support the policy of the Swarajists, but it wants to show that it is the Government that is primarily responsible for the general Swarajist walk-out. If the Government continues to persist in its heedless policy, there will happen events in comparison to which the non-cooperation movement will shrink into mere insignificance. The *Pratap* expresses satisfaction at the Swarajist walk-out which it regards as an indication of the inability of Indians to endure any longer the present intolerable situation which has shut all the doors of advancement to them and says: If we ignore the Councils and the Assembly and exert all our power in mobilizing and strengthening our men,

those who do not listen to us at present will be compelled to allow us passage for advancement. The *Abhyudaya* condemns the Swarajist walk-out as an electioneering move and says the party is resorting to a double-dealing policy of uttering co-operation and non-cooperation in the same breath. The paper is of opinion that the talk of non-cooperation in the existing circumstances of the country is suicidal. The *Aj* justifies the action of the Swarajists and says: Government is getting unjust day by day; it is trampling on public opinion and exulting over the weakness of Indians. This evil cannot be remedied through the councils. Its antidote is to be found only in the soul-force of the people. The paper is deeply grieved over Mr. Patel's statement modifying his previous remarks in connexion with the Swarajist walk-out from the Legislative Assembly and says: In view of the abuse of their special powers by the bureaucracy the President of the Assembly would have been justified in exercising his powers in case Government introduced controversial measures in the Assembly. The Congress should now endeavour to secure the return of nationalists in such strength that they may either be able to compel the bureaucracy during the three years' session of the next legislatures to come to terms with them regarding the future administration of the country or bring the work of the legislatures to a standstill. In another article the paper remarks that by the withdrawal of the Swarajists from the councils the bureaucracy has been exposed in its true colours. They have shown to the world that the British statesmen only make excuses and do not want to grant *Swaraj* to India. The world should know that Indians do not like the existing system of Government, that the administration is not carried on according to their wishes, that the reforms are a mere sham, and that a handful of British rulers govern the country autocratically and imprison patriots without trial. The *Sada-i-Muslim* asserts that the *Swaraj* Party had succeeded to a certain extent in its destructive programme and regrets that when it embarked on its constructive course and formulated the national demands it was met with blank refusal by Government. The *Swaraj* Party, however, made the mistake of its life in losing touch with the country and allowing self-seeking persons to mislead the people and promote communal strife and thus encourage Government to reject the national demands. The Government has not adopted a sensible attitude. In spite of the iron grip of the bureaucracy the revolutionary movement has not declined in Bengal and has even spread to other provinces. Government should therefore ponder again that the yearning for freedom that has sprung in the country cannot now be repressed by force. If Government does not take heed even now it will soon have to regret its actions. The *Hamdam* also approves of the action of the Swarajists and says that they are needed more by the country than by the councils. The occasion demands that those who have made concrete sacrifices in the national cause and denying themselves comforts, luxuries and avenues of income and donning coarse *khaddar* have cheerfully borne all the rigours of jail life should once more convey the message of unity to the nation and should strive to bring to the straight road of freedom and fraternity those who have been led astray by the heat of communal passion. The *Medina* extols the patriotism and regard for national prestige shown by the Swarajists. They repeatedly offered trust and co-operation to the Government of India but from Lord Birkenhead's utterance down to the inaugural address of the Viceroy they were met only with threats. Justice, concessions, peace, friendship, kindness, removal of racial inequality and avoid ance of abuse of the law were all refused and Indians were only told to bend in submission and to ascend the scaffold like captive criminals. The legislative bodies have now lost their representative character and the reforms have now no legs to stand upon. Still more important and welcome, however, is the determination of these fearless national soldiers to take up the work of national education, popularization of *khaddar*, Hindu-Muslim fraternization, village organization and electioneering. The final weapon of the Congress is civil disobedience and if instead of entering the councils it had during the last three years sincerely striven for the aforesaid objects the goal would have surely been nearer. The secession has been a most important, sensible and far-sighted act on the part of the Swarajists. The *Najat* commends the walk-out after every avenue of honourable co-operation had been explored without success. This action will considerably improve the chances of the Swarajists winning the ensuing elections and then bending Government to their will. The election campaign will rouse the slumbering forces of non-cooperation which will be revived in their full youth and vigour and will humble the pride of their opponents and the Government. The *Oudh Akhbar* deplores

the Swarajist secession in the United Provinces, as it believes that the presence of the Swarajists in the council exercised a salutary check on the activities of Government officials, ministers, nominated members and their fearless criticisms kept them on the right path.

The Indian Budget.

The *Shakti* says that it is a downright injustice to spend 41 per cent. of the total income over the army even in times of peace. In other countries the taxes which were imposed during the war have been abolished but the despotic bureaucracy of India neither reduces taxes nor curtails its extravagant expenditure under the weight of which the indigent and dumb people are being crushed. Another specimen of its solicitude for the well-being of the people is its refusal to stop the opium trade for the sake of an income of two crores of rupees despite the opposition of the whole country. A comparison between the parsimony with which beneficent departments are treated and the extravagance shown in connexion with the military and administrative departments clearly reveals the mentality of the bureaucracy. The *Pratap* remarks that despite Sir Basil Blackett's exultation over the Budget the people cannot now be caught in the magic snare of figures. The paper complains that the salt-tax has not been reduced and the poor country has not been relieved of the burden of any of the taxes.

United Provinces Budget.

The *Leader* is dissatisfied with the Hon'ble the Finance Member's reply to the demand of several "prominent" members of the local Legislative Council for financial assistance to the Benares and Aligarh universities and says: Although the universities are all-India institutions they are rendering an important service to the province and a great moral responsibility rests on the local Government of helping these remarkable monuments of non-official efforts. It would cause universal satisfaction if it accedes to the clearly and forcibly expressed views of the non-official members. Commenting on the provincial budget for 1926-27 the *Shakti* compares the expenditure incurred over education in Japan. which is equal to an Indian province in size, with that in the United Provinces and says that while the object of education in Japan is to turn out patriotic and self-respecting citizens, in India it is to render Indians infirm, spiritless and full of vices and thus to keep them fettered in the chains of subjection. In Japan a sum of four crores has been added simply for the enhancement of the salaries of teachers but in the United Provinces the sum of four crores, seven lakhs and a half has been allotted for all the transferred subjects. It was necessary to reduce taxes and pay greater attention to education, public health and good administration, but why should the Government care to do all this? The *Mumtaz* regrets that there were no grants for Muslim institutions and libraries in the provincial budget and hopes that Muslim M. L. Cs. will safeguard Muslim rights.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* publishes an article in the course of which the writer, a Punjabi youth, sympathizes with the six "brave" Babbar Akalis who were hanged in the Lahore Central Jail on the morning of the *Holi* and deploring the indifference with which the people of Lahore treated this incident says: Though they were misguided or fanatical they were after all fearless patriots. All that they did was for the sake of this unfortunate country. They could not put up with injustice. They could not see the fallen condition of the country. They could not bear to see the atrocities committed on the weak. They had spirit and a feeling heart and even if they happened to commit any reprehensible deed they are worthy of being worshipped for the courage and eagerness they displayed in sacrificing their lives for the sake of the country. The *Aj* writes: The Criminal Investigation department officials are responsible for a number of crimes in the country. Their prospects and promotion depend on the spread of anarchy and revolution in the country and they are always on the look-out for these. They treat everybody as a revolutionary and for this reason they try to know the names and addresses of all those whom they come across. They have ample time at their disposal and if during this time they do not harass the public they have nothing else to do. The Criminal Investigation department officials cannot commit such reprehensible acts in any other civilized country in the world. They have sufficiently damaged the reputation of the Government whose welfare, therefore, lies only in keeping a strict watch over them. The *Bharat Dharma* compares the administration of justice during the time of the Peshwas with that under the "British Bureaucracy" and says: During the time of the Peshwas decisions

were not based on the concocted reports of the police or on the arguments of the vakils as is the case now. The courts of these days are a farce. Proceeding, the paper refers to the complaints of ill-treatment of political prisoners made in Colonel Mulvany's letter to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal, and says: This is a specimen of justice of the British Government which boasts of being progressive. We are experiencing the British ex-Chief Justice Lord Reading's devotion to justice. Far from administering justice can this even protect humanity? What a difference between the liberal justice of Ram Shastri (the chief judge of the Peshwas) and the disgusting cruelty of the present bureaucracy! The *Vartman* is glad to note that having found the councils to be useless, the workers are devoting attention to village organization. If the scheme prepared by the secretary of the Deshbandhu village organization fund is adopted there will be no difficulty in achieving the object in view. The *Aj* writes: Taking into consideration all the facts we certainly support the entry of Congress candidates into the councils but at the same time it is our definite conviction that our chief work lies outside the councils. We should work among the people, awaken them and prepare them for civil disobedience. When we know that the greatest sacrifices will have to be made for *swaraj* and that the foreign domination cannot be got rid of without special sacrifices we must make civil disobedience possible. Civil disobedience will have to be practised, otherwise it is vain to talk of *swaraj*. In another article the paper counsels Hindus to deal considerately with the demand of Buddhists regarding the Buddha Gaya temple and to make concessions to them, as such a friendly attitude on their part will greatly help in the establishment of an Asiatic Federation. Referring to the remark of an official member in the Legislative Assembly in answer to Pandit Moti Lal's query that Colonel Mulvany was a liar, the *Aj* remarks that rulers can do anything to maintain their hold on the country. They have no principles. They have no regard for justice or injustice, truth or untruth. Their only principle is to maintain their hold on the country. They, therefore, make out even their countrymen to be liars and suppressing facts and giving currency to falsehoods pose to be truthful. It is indeed a sin to support a government run in this manner on injustice and falsehood.

The Hindu *Maha Sabha*.

The *Pioneer* writes: It were difficult to deny to the President of this year's conference the possession of a breadth of vision and a progressive realism, which if followed up in the manner indicated in certain passages of his address, should eventually have the effect of strengthening the position of Hinduism as a vital force in the development of a national spirit in India. Yet that address also bore unmistakably the mark of a communal partisanship robust to the point of aggressiveness. The *Leader* writes: The address of Raja Narendra Nath as president of the Delhi session of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* offers a strong contrast to that delivered by Sir Abdur Rahim at the Aligarh session of the All-India Muslim League. It was characterized by a commendable breadth of outlook and spirit of nationalism. The *Muslim Herald* writes: The speech delivered by the chairman of the Hindu *Sabha* at Delhi is illuminating. It reveals the mentality of that tribe that is organizing itself under the banner of the *Sabha*. The paper bitterly criticizes the views and activities of Messrs. Malaviya and Lajpat Rai and Swami Sraddhanand and regrets that the Afghan bogey has affected Raja Narendra Nath also. In the opinion of the paper the Raja has played the role of an Imperialist to perfection. The *Aj* says that though the decision of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* regarding its participation in the next elections is in the nature of a compromise, yet it will go a great deal towards preventing confusion in the next elections. We, however, are opposed on principle to the participation of the Hindu *Sabha* in the elections. It has no political creed of its own and cannot therefore consistently take part in politics.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Leader* writes: The draft notification issued specifying the terms and conditions on which emigration to British Guiana for the purpose of unskilled work shall be lawful does not mention what civic rights the emigrants after they are settled there will enjoy. Have the Government secured any guarantees regarding their political rights, or will they be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water with no voice in the administration of the country? The *Aj* says that the object of the Colour Bar Bill is to prevent the non-whites of South Africa from making progress in arts and industry so that they may only serve as labourers and the whites may rule over them. Such a mean, reprehensible and diabolical attempt to prevent self-improvement will not be found in the history of mankind. This

means that the Boers have made up their mind to keep the natives of Africa as helots or if possible to exterminate their race. Despite such devilish acts they maintain that their object is to "civilize" the natives. There is a limit to shamelessness but these colonial whites have transgressed even that limit. Races are being exterminated and yet the League of Nations and the civilized world look on passively. The rulers of the Empire who profess to be the guardians of humanity witness such hellish deeds in their own empire but do not make the least protest against them. If this state of things persists the extirpation of the natives of Africa will be inevitable. *Al Adl* points out that the South African anti-Asiatic Bill has roused resentment even in Afghanistan as is evidenced by an article in the *Aman-i-Afghan* (Kabul) and urges the whole of Asia to voice its protest against the Bill.

United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill.

The Muslim press continues to criticize the attitude of Hindu members of the Legislative Council towards the amendment regarding the introduction of religious education. *Al Bashir* says that it was a shame for the United Provinces Council to have passed the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill in the absence of the Muslim members. They should resign if His Excellency the Governor does not refuse his assent to the Bill and should again seek election from their constituencies and move an amendment to the Bill in the council and if it is again rejected they should go back to their constituents and the result will be that the Reforms Act will be amended. Further, they should oppose all proposals emanating from Hindus, whether Liberals or Swarajists, and then force them to seek a compromise. Muslim lawyers should also consider whether this law passed in the absence of the Muslim representatives and in spite of their protests is binding on Muslims and whether compulsory education in religious institutions would not constitute an interference with religious freedom. Anyway, neither the Hindu M. L. Cs. nor the Minister of Education can be congratulated on the extraordinary haste with which this Bill was passed. If the Muslim members pursue the matter to its constitutional limits both of these will have to regret their attitude. *Al Adl* appeals to Hindus to give proof of their generosity and toleration by allowing religious education for Muslims.

Muslim affairs.

In the course of an article entitled "Muslim Soldiers and Statesmen" the *Muslim Herald* writes: In spite of its fertility in resourceful men and wily, unscrupulous politicians Europe does not possess one so gifted as a Mustafa Kamal, a Gazi Abdul Karim, an Amir Amanullah or an Ibn-i-Saud . . . Against them was an unholy combination of intriguing and unscrupulous politicians, hired and dishonourable soldiers, scheming, wily statesmen, crafty and godless capitalists and an unholy obdurate oligarchy that prided itself on its unholier designs against the rising Islamic countries of all the five continents. Amir Amanullah dreams of a pan-Islamic revival. Who knows he might succeed in combining Turkey, Egypt, Arabia and Morocco and then where is the force that can resist this combination? Europe trembles at the thought of such an alliance. In an article headed "Life of Bondage and Slavery" the paper deplores the disorganization in the Muslim world and urges Muslims to devise some effective means of maintaining their individuality. It says in conclusion:—"There are occasions in the lives of nations and people when, to put a stop to an unchecked process of dissolution and decay, courting death is considered better and more honourable than clinging to a shameful life—life of unsanctioned and unholy bondage and slavery." The *Ittihad* is of opinion that the Waqfs Act of 1923 will prevent the abuse of waqf properties by *mutavallis* and urges that the accounts of the waqfs relating to any sect or community should be published in the papers so that people may be able to judge of their correctness.

Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

Al Bashir points out that the Hindu members of the Assembly were simply giving away the case for *swaraj* when they urged that the Reforms should not be extended because of the illiteracy and communal strife prevailing there. If the logic of the Hindu leaders is to be accepted then why not that of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians also? After all why should the Reforms be now continued in provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority? While Mr. Malaviya talked so glibly of Kohat and Peshawar why did he forget Arrah, Shahabad, Ajodhya and Katarpur where barbarous atrocities were practised on Muslims? Why were the Reforms introduced in Bihar and the United Provinces? Is it not a shame that Muslim lives and property are endangered for the cutting of some branches of *pipal* and for the sacrifice of cows and the Reforms still continue in these

provinces? The debate has at least exposed the mentality of the Hindu leaders and Mr. Malaviya has been laid bare in his true colours by his advocacy of the new-fangled nationalist party. This will at least afford young Muslims an opportunity to press their communal claims boldly.

The question of capital of United Provinces.

The *Leader* writes: The citizens of Allahabad in general and the municipal board in particular will be interested to know that section 133 of the South Africa Act constituting the Union provided statutory compensation to the abandoned colonial capital. . . . Is not the municipal board of Allahabad entitled to compensation for similar losses due to the removal to Lucknow of the Public Works department (Buildings and Roads and Irrigation), Public Health department and Police department Secretariats, the office of the Legal Remembrancer and sundry offices which constitute the incidents of a capital, the residing of the Governor, members of the Executive Council, Ministers, Secretaries to Government and Heads of departments away from here for the major part of the year, and the holding of council sittings entirely in another city?

The Reforms.

Referring to the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the constitutional issue the *Leader* writes: The speeches of Liberal and Independent leaders in the Assembly showed that the progressive constitutionalists in the house who represent the sober and thoughtful elements in the country are not less dissatisfied with the Government policy than are the Swarajists. And is any evidence needed for conceding to an awakened people their just right of administering their own affairs and for putting an end to a system which owing to its irresponsible character, is a growing source of irritation and unrest?

The Allahabad High Court.

The *Leader* criticizes the speeches of those members of the council who urged an enlargement of the jurisdiction of the Oudh Chief Court and says: The argument urged by Maulvi Fasih-ud-din for increasing the jurisdiction of the Chief Court at the expense of the Allahabad High Court was on the face of it absurd and we hope that if any proposal is again put forward for reducing the jurisdiction of the Allahabad High Court it will meet with strenuous opposition.

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ALLAHABAD:
March 20, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

DELHI BRANCH
21 APR 1926
AGRA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 12 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 27, 1926.

Foreign Affairs.

In the course of a series of articles headed "Indians in Iraq: Discarded Tools of British Imperialism," published in the *Muslim Herald*, the writer complains that the plight of Indians who were sent for service under the Iraq Government is growing from bad to worse and that many of them are now absolutely stranded. Commenting on the Geneva "fiasco" the *Aj* says:—The Locarno good-will is artificial. The European powers indulge in intrigue even now as they used to do before the war. Intrigue has now entered even the portals of the League of Nations. The League is unanimous on the destruction of non-white nations, but when it comes to a European question it becomes a storm centre of intrigue. The very word "peace" has a bad odour in the mouth of imperialists like Britain, France and Italy. Without a universal revolution there can be no peace in the world in the existing situation. The *Oudh Akhbar* sees no prospect of a compromise between Turkey and Britain on the Mosul question and thinks that Turkey will refuse to bow to the decision of the League of Nations which she knows is being controlled by Britain. The *Medina* charges Britain with unjustly occupying Turkish territory in Mosul and says that the decision of the shroud-stealers (League of Nations) giving Mosul to Iraq and the mandate over Iraq to Britain has made matters worse. The Turks are bound to draw the sword in defence of Mosul. The *Mashriq* advises Britain not to take part in any war between the Balkan States and Turkey, but to try to solve the Mosul question amicably as Turkey can depend on Russian aid in the event of hostilities.

The Hindu *Maha Sabha*.

The proceedings of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* have received prominent attention in the Press and have evoked a good deal of criticism even from the Hindu papers. The *Signal* writes:—The great political propaganda known as the All-India Hindu *Maha Sabha* held at Delhi on March 15 has proved almost a fiasco. Great hopes ended in the bursting of the bubble. Representatives of almost all Hindu newspapers who were present at the Delhi *Maha Sabha* testified almost unanimously to the fact that the proceedings ended without bringing satisfaction to either the advanced Hindus or the orthodox section. The language of the resolution on Council election proves without doubt that Pandit Malaviya's attempt to please all parties has pleased none, as the resolution itself is a mixture of contradictions and inconsistencies. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* has nothing to say against the attitude of the *Maha Sabha* regarding social questions, but it does not approve of its decision regarding participation in elections. "The compromise resolution is not straightforward. It is forked and we are afraid that it will be a ready instrument in the hands of designing persons for exploiting an illiterate and gullible rank and file. The *Maha Sabha* has no business to enter the election campaign when there are separate electorates for Hindus and Musalmans." The *Sainik* says that the proceedings of the *Maha Sabha* bore the impress of the narrow self-interest which centuries of slavery have produced among the Hindus. Every item in the programme revealed personal and communal self-interest, envy and bigotry. *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* are the quintessence of Hindu religion, but the proceedings behind the scenes were not calculated to accomplish these aims. We are, however, still confident that some day the Hindu community will yet rise and rouse the whole world from slumber. The *Abhyudaya* commends Raja Narendra Nath's presidential address as containing a proper exposition of the Hindu problems and says that despite unfavourable signs and bickerings between Sanatanists and Arya Samajists the *Sabha* did not break up and has

to-day grown more vigorous than ever before. The paper supports the compromise on the question of the participation of the *Sabha* in the next elections and says that the Hindus will be losers if they, too, will not be ready like the Muslims to protect their interests. The country can derive no benefit from the election of persons who are not moved by Hindu ideals and sentiments and do not raise their voice for the protection of Hindu interests for fear of offending Muslims. The *Najat* deplores the decision of the Hindu *Sabha* regarding the next Council elections as this will encourage the discord-breeding *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. This exposes Hindu solicitude for unity. In the course of an article headed "The terrible spectacle of Hindu mentality: The poisonous outpourings of Hindu leaders: A determined effort to insult and disgrace Muslims" the *Medina* strongly criticizes the speeches of Raja Narendra Nath and Swamis Shraddhanand and Satyadeva and says:—The Pandit of Allahabad (Mr. Malaviya) was the most blood-thirsty individual in this Hindu gathering. He not only fell foul of the Muslims, but also prejudiced the cause of Hindu freedom. The question arises whether the fire-spittings of Swami Satyadeva, Permanand, Moonje, Malaviya and Shraddhanand; these poisonous utterances, these anti-Muslim activities and the flames of fire of the bigotry of Malaviya, which flare up in the shape of the remarks that he regards *chamars* as better than Muslims and Englishmen, will not open the eyes of Muslims. Has the religious sentiment of Muslims become extinguished? Will the nation and community which came to create unity in this world remain so bound to-day in the chains of discord and sectarianism that it will so dumbly listen to abuses when opposed to these *dhoti prasads* (a contemptuous term for Hindus—implying physical inferiority owing to their wearing loose loin cloths)? Will the nation which taught the lesson of morality and humanity to the world take no lesson from the verbal oppressions and disgraceful acts of these brutes? Oh slaves of the Prophet, if you value honour, if you want to live with self-respect, then do reply to these prattlings. Decide on Islamic unity. Learn to cultivate sympathy towards one another. Sacrifice yourselves for God and His Prophet. Leap into the arena of action for the sake of Islam, risking your necks. God will help us.

The *Swaraj* party.

The *Leader* criticizes at length Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's presidential address at the Benares District Conference and refutes the arguments he adduced in support of the Swarajist withdrawal from the legislatures. It says:—If the withdrawal conveys any message to the people, it is that they should not trust the Swarajists for protecting and promoting their interests and that they cannot commit a greater mistake than in relying on those who have followed an exceedingly elusive policy and who have come to believe that the country exists for the party and not *vice versâ*. The *Hindi Kesari* says that the Councils can do no good unless public opinion is sufficiently awakened to support the representatives of the people. The *Swaraj* party should no longer think of entering the Councils again, but should betake itself to villages for organization and spread of education. The *Shakti* publishes an article by Durga Dutt Pande who welcomes the Swarajists back among the people and says that their withdrawal shows that they have discovered the delusive nature of the legislatures. If they want to make India free they should devote themselves whole-heartedly to the propagation of *khaddar* and *charkha*. The *Bharat Dharma* wonders what effect the "show" of Swarajist withdrawal from the legislatures will produce on the bureaucracy. Responsive cooperation is the only easy way to prepare the people for civil disobedience by making the best use of the Councils. The *Aj* urges that if the voters think that the bureaucracy will not grant *swaraj* without being compelled to do so, they should return the Swarajists to the Councils in overwhelming majority this time. To-day Lord Reading having trampled upon India is returning to England triumphantly and Lord Irwin is coming here to follow up his policy. The voters should bear this in mind at the time of election, for it is they who will after all have to reply to this. They will, therefore, do well not to give votes to the advocates of mendicancy so that begging at least may be stopped in the Councils. The *Medina* approves of the Swarajist exodus and urges that the constructive programme should now be vigorously worked so that the country may develop sufficient internal strength and the Government may be forced to concede its demands. The *Oudh Punch* has a cartoon caricaturing Lord Reading's efforts to force cooperation down the unwilling throat of the *Swaraj* party. The Government of India is advised to try some new potion as the country is sick of this panacea of cooperation.

Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

Commenting on the debate in the Legislative Assembly on Syed Murtaza Husain's resolution the *Leader* strongly supports Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's views and says :—The impression left on our mind by the speeches of official spokesmen is that while they were anxious to please the Muslims and made light of the objections of the Hindus based on the merits of the question, they shared their apprehensions. We need hardly say that we are not opposed to the introduction of such measures of constitutional reform in the Frontier Province as may be found suitable having regard to the peculiar conditions prevailing there and to the bearing of its problems on the rest of India. The *Muslim Herald* congratulates the supporters of Mr. Murtaza's resolution and says that the arguments of the opponents were preposterous. The Pathan can be trusted in private as well as public life. If we can once convince him of our honesty of purpose, he will continue to be our fast friend through thick and thin. He will prove our best friend and ally in our domestic quarrels and in the event of foreign aggressions. Let us win his friendship by advocating what is just—the extension of the Reforms to his province. Any other policy will be fatal. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—Now that the resolution has been passed it behoves the people of the province to work the reforms in perfect harmony and evoke applause from friends and foes alike. Let the Hindus and Muslims equally avail themselves of this opportunity and usher in the piping days of peace in the province. The *Vartman* strongly criticizes the arguments of those who supported Syed Murtaza Husain's resolution and says that the extension of Reforms to the Frontier will increase the helplessness and misfortunes of the Hindus and events like those which occurred at Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan will become more frequent for the fomenters of strife will be backed in the Council. The Frontier Province will thus become a fresh arena of strife. The *Anand* remarks that if the Government evinces zeal in its policy of pleasing the Muslims, it will not delay in giving effect to the resolution. The *Hamdam* in welcoming the passing of the resolution appeals to both Hindus and Muslims to forget certain unpleasant features of the debate and press Government to enforce it early and thus right a grievous wrong to the Frontier people.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article under the heading "Forgotten Holi" the *Lokmat* writes :—If those who shed tears on remembering the cruel treatment accorded to Prahlad compare the government of Hiranyakashyapa with that of the present bureaucracy they will find very little difference between the two. But they are silent because they do not possess any trace of bravery. In the days of non-cooperation hundreds of Prahlads went to jail smilingly, thousands received bullets in the Jallianwala-bagh by baring their breasts, thousands of mothers lost their sons and hundreds became widows, but we do not feel the least shame because we are cowards. Does it become us to dance and make merry while the black paint of subjection is painted on our faces? The sacred commemoration is in fact the commemoration of a political revolution. . . Let us try to celebrate the true commemoration of Holi and thus make our lives useful. In the course of an article under the heading "War between gods and demons" the *Shakti* writes :—A war between gods and demons is going on in India to-day. On the one side there is the cry for justice and on the other the bludgeon of injustice. On the one side the Indian nation wants to practise *Satyagraha* for achieving its national rights, and on the other the alien bureaucracy is standing with the sword of repression. We want to maintain our human existence in our country, and they are anxious to maintain their diabolical authority over us. Entreaties and supplications have had no effect on the heart of the bureaucracy The Mahatma's weapon of non-cooperation and Swarajists' irrefutable arguments, threats and efforts for reconciliation have in a way failed to produce any effect. The bureaucracy does not want to budge even an inch. What is to be done now? That which has always been done. With the help of your penance awaken the slumbering Indian nation which is like the mighty form of God and worship *Chandi* (the goddess of war) in the shape of the popular power. You can win this war only with their help. The *Aj* writes :—So far Lord Irwin has given no inkling of his policy except that he will follow the footsteps of Lord Reading. If this is so, we, the patriots, too should be on our guard. There has not been a Viceroy during the last sixty years who has so injured India as Lord Reading. Lord Irwin too is coming to keep up this state of things. Shall we not even now give up the hope of obtaining *swaraj* by mendicancy as an idle dream? There is no doubt that Lord Reading humiliated India, trampled upon her holy aspirations and made her

future still more gloomy. It is for this reason that his countrymen are lavishly praising him and his motherland is eagerly looking forward to welcome him. But, alas, will not even Indians shed tears once on the condition of their unfortunate country; will they not unite for once to strive to break her chains? The same paper refers to the hope expressed by Sir L. W. Ivans in Parliament that British troops in India would not be reduced any further and says that in reality there is no need for the presence of these troops in this country which only proclaims the existence of mutual distrust between India and Britain. When there is already a plethora of British officers in the Indian army, why are we saddled with the burden of expenditure by sending for further troops from Britain?

The United Provinces budget.

The *Hindi Kesari* holds that the budget cannot be said to be satisfactory as the allotment for the transferred subjects is very small and nothing has been done for villages and industrial education and for the removal of unemployment among the educated. The condition of education in the province is very deplorable yet no step has been taken to improve it. The *Shankar* remarks:—Many items of expenditure are simply forced upon the province. The salary of the Governor is even higher than that of the Secretary of State for India and the province has uselessly to bear the burden of Commissioners. The money can be properly utilized only when the Government is indigenous. The *Hamdam* joins issue with the Local Government on its contention that the two communal universities of these provinces should look for funds to the Imperial exchequer, and points out that if they have to close their doors for lack of funds the burden of the education of the ousted students will fall on the other semi-official universities of the province. The Finance Member should therefore provide adequate grants-in-aid in the supplementary estimates out of the remissions recently made in the provincial contributions.

Indian States.

One Nand Kunwar Sharma writing in the *Aj* says:—Although Indian States are said to be allies of British Government and claim equality of status, yet their position is no better than that of the "king in the chess board." The Indian chiefs who are the real friends of the British Government always remain friends, but those who rule according to their own will have either to be crushed in the mill-stone of maladministration or conceive an aversion to the burden of rule. This and nothing else is the policy of the British Government towards these so-called independent Indian States. The decision about the Bhopal succession has been greeted with a chorus of approval by the Urdu press. The *Dilchasp* regrets that the Government of India had so far been opposed to the heirship of an educated and enlightened prince like Hamidullah and is glad to find that he has after all been approved as the successor to the *gaddi* of Bhopal. His ability eminently fits him for this high trust. The *Zulqarnain* congratulates Lord Reading on the far-sightedness and wisdom shown by him in ultimately accepting Prince Hamidullah as the heir-apparent of Bhopal. This was what Islamic law, the customs of the State and the wishes of the Begum and the people of Bhopal and British India demanded. The *Mashriq* also commends the Viceroy's action and observes that it would have been outrageous if in spite of the loyal services of the Bhopal State Prince Hamidullah had not been designated as heir-apparent. A number of other papers also write to the same effect. Reports about strained relations between the Nizam and the Government of India are causing considerable disquietude in the Muslim Press. The *Zulqarnain* says that if the report in the *Riasat* about the Nizam having been summoned to Delhi to settle disputes about the smaller States under his control is true, it shows that the propaganda pursued against him by his ill-wishers is bearing fruit. It is, however, to be hoped that Lord Reading will take no step on the eve of his departure which might create misunderstanding. The *Haqiqat* complains that a vigorous semi-official propaganda is being carried on against the Nizam with a view to discredit him owing to his strained relations with the Resident. The unbecoming strictures passed on him in the Madras High Court judgement were widely circulated in India through the Associated Press and probably the judge's remarks that he regarded himself as very fortunate that he was not living in Hyderabad must have been given wide publicity in the press in England. The object is to afford Government a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of Hyderabad. The present attitude of the Government of India towards the Nizam is causing anxious concern to Muslims and recent advices from Delhi lay bare the motives of Government. The *Najat* deplores the attacks of the Punjab Hindu papers on the Nizam and asserts that the

Hyderabad State follows a policy of strict religious neutrality and appoints foreigners as educated natives are not available. It is vindictive on the part of sangathanist journals to hurl baseless accusations over the devoted head of His Exalted Highness. The *Medina* complains of the sorry plight of Muslims in Travancore where they enjoy few educational facilities. It resents the reply of the Diwan to a Muslim deputation that the Muslims should migrate to British India if they could enjoy greater rights there. What would the blind Hindu journals who are so mercilessly attacking Nizam say if Muslim States also were to give similar replies to their Hindu subjects?

Indians in the Colonies.

Benarsi Das Chaturvedi writing in the *Aj* says that the decision of the Government to bring the question of sending five hundred Indian coolies to British Guiana before the Legislative Assembly at an early date is highly improper. Kunwar Maharaj Singh's report has not been before the public even for a month and Indians have not yet considered it from every standpoint. The Government wants to take advantage of the Swarajist withdrawal and is repeating the mistake it committed in sending coolies to Mauritius in a hurry. The *Hamdam* is diffident of the results of the official Indian deputation to South Africa and says that it is bound to imitate the lukewarm policy of the Government of India. The whites of South Africa are bent on keeping Indians as bondsmen and slaves and the Union Government has hit upon the device of discriminating between South Africa born and India born Indians to set them by the ears.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the views recently expressed by Sir Abdur Rahim on various matters relating to Muslims the *Vartman* writes:—Through fanaticism and selfishness Sir Abdur Rahim has lost his past reputation and has become a bigoted *mulla*. His followers and those of Hasan Nizami and Dr. Kitchlew have converted even peaceful places into battle-fields. They now consider kidnapping of Hindu women and boys, fighting over the question of music before mosques and breaking of idols to be the greatest service to Islam. Qazi Maqbul Husain writing in the *Naiyar-i-Azam* urges that in view of the persistently intolerant attitude of Hindu councillors culminating in the recent Muslim walk-out in these provinces Muslims should insist on equal rights in all departments.

The Taxation Enquiry Committee.

A writer in the *Mukhbir-i-Alam* congratulates the committee on the efficient manner in which it has done its work and says that its proposals equalize the incidence of taxation on various sections of the community. It has furnished no support for the uncharitable suspicion that it had been appointed by Government with a view to increase taxation. Its proposals are based on sound economic principles and it is to be hoped that a broader view will be taken of its findings and they will receive the appreciation that they deserve.

Postage Rates.

The *Pioneer* writes:—The re-introduction of the quarter-anna card would surely lead to a great increase in the number of new customers of the postal department and at the same time many who have become used to the anna letter rate might be loth to revert to the less private form of communication. Sometimes the operations of the Posts and Telegraphs department suggest that not enough distinction is drawn between true economy and parsimony calculated to restrict development.

United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill.

The *Zul-Qarnain* agrees with *Al Bashir* that the Muslim members of United Provinces Council should resign if the Governor gives his assent to the United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill, and says that if they fail to do so Muslim interests will be always overlooked.

Political prisoners of Bengal.

The *Muslim Herald* strongly condemns the treatment accorded to the political prisoners of Bengal and writes:—Judging from the vague, evasive and untrue replies that questions on prison amenities have elicited from the Honourable the Home Member of the Bengal Government one would think that he bore a personal grudge to the unfortunate political prisoners of Bengal.

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ALLAHABAD:
March 27, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 13 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 3, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Aj* says that the Geneva fiasco has confirmed the suspicion that the League of Nations is a mere clique of major European Powers to further their own selfish ends and that its professions of establishing peace in the world are a mere camouflage. Possibly separate leagues of nations may now be formed in America and Asia. If this happens, the Geneva fiasco will be said to have done much good to the world by exposing the hollowness of the League of Nations and opening the eyes of non-European States. The *Zul Qarnain* is not inclined to believe that Turkey will be intimidated either by Britain or the League of Nations to yield up Mosul. It has now to be seen how British diplomats handle the situation. The *Medina* regrets that no settlement has so far been reached between the Imam of Yemen and Ibn Saud and the tension has now assumed such proportions that even the Hedjazis are perturbed. It is said that the Imam of Yemen has collected a huge army and will invade the Hedjaz during the *Haj* season with the co-operation of Asir. Sir Gilbert perhaps wants another treaty, as the question of Akabah and Ma'an is still in abeyance and the Foreign Office might have hit upon the device of inciting the Edrissi Imam and thus forcing Ibn Saud to sell these two places, as Britain stands to gain by a conflict between Yemen and Nejd. May God dispel all internal dissensions between the Arab States and realize our dreams of a united Arabia.

Lord Reading.

The Press has widely commented on Lord Reading's *régime*. Under the heading "A great Viceroyalty ends" the *Pioneer* writes:—His Excellency's family motto is "Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice." To the best of his great ability he has written it large over his actions and labours on behalf of India. He has not only established the first principles of parliamentary Government but he has been a great friend and sponsor of the best form of Indian Nationalism. The *Leader* writes:—In bidding farewell to the Indian Legislature His Excellency Lord Reading said nothing which was new and striking. His speech was characterized by the usual dignity and restraint of language and sweet reasonableness, but it gave no indication of an early departure from the policy of inaction in the matter of constitutional advance. Indian publicists may hold the view that his lordship's record in the political sphere was a barren one, but Lord Reading thinks that a positive achievement of great value stands to the credit of his administration. Referring to His Excellency's view that the foundation of responsible government in India was well and truly laid during his viceroyalty, the *Muslim Herald* writes:—Only a lawyer of the pliable conscience of Lord Reading could have given expression to these and similar sentiments after his sanction of regulation III in Bengal and of many other barbaric sections of the various lawless laws that adorn the statutory columns of the red book. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We are rather chary in our denunciation of Lord Reading because we recognize the impossible nature of the task of an Indian Viceroy. If his *régime* has dashed to the ground the expectations of Moderates and Extremists alike, it is not the Viceroy and the Governor-General who is to blame, not even his executive council, but the system which Sir William Marris has justly described as "cumbrous, complex, and confused." The *Surya* says that during Lord Reading's tenure of office many obstacles were placed in the way of Reforms. The sum and substance of his administration was aversion to co-operation and reaction against the Reforms. The *Abhyudaya* holds that from the British standpoint no Viceroy has been so successful as Lord Reading. His Excellency did not allow India to gain the least advantage. His

mission was to repress the country and he was successful in it. The *Aj* writes:—The reduction of judicial inequalities between whites and non-whites, the hanging of a European for the murder of an Indian and the abolition of the cotton excise duty are the only three praiseworthy acts of His Excellency's *régime*. All his other acts were harmful and insulting to the country. Denial of justice to the Jallianwala bagh sufferers, the Black Act of Bengal, and the ill-treatment of political prisoners will always stand to his discredit. In his *régime* several lawless laws were passed and illegal use was made of the existing laws. A multitude of illegalities were perpetrated to suppress the non-co-operation movement. A saint like Mahatma Gandhi was thrust into jail and brutal treatment was meted out to Akalis in their religious struggle. The deposition of the Maharajas of Nabha and Indore was also a characteristic feature of Lord Reading's administration. Now there is little hope of Indians getting *swaraj* with the willing consent of the bureaucracy. His Excellency's acts have increased the distrust of Indians in the word of the British authorities. In short, of all the Viceroys of India Lord Reading has done the greatest injury to India. Commenting on Lord Reading's farewell speech before the joint session of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, the same paper remarks that His Excellency indulged in much unjustifiable self-praise and spoke of the good intentions of the British Parliament. There is no doubt that peace has been established on the Frontier but for this Indians have had to spend crores of rupees every year and a defenceless population was subjected to aerial bombing. Law and order were murdered to maintain their dignity and the bureaucracy forfeited the little confidence it still enjoyed among the people. The "Lee Loot" is the most glaring proof of His Excellency's professed aim to fit Indians for colonial self-government. The truth is that he left nothing undone to strengthen the "steel frame." He gave such pledges to alien officials as make it impossible for Indians to get *swaraj* quietly for another hundred years. He has surely given proof of his good intentions by destroying the few facilities provided by the Reforms. The *Shankar* says that Lord Reading's *régime* does not deserve to be remembered well by the people. He came here beating the drum of justice but everybody is aware of the policy he subsequently followed. In view of the deplorable condition of the country during his tenure of office we gladly bid him farewell. The *Haqiqat* says that His Excellency's tenure was most unexpectedly unfortunate for India, though it might have cemented the foundations of British imperialism. No doubt there was no Jallianwala bagh or Moplah train tragedy during his *régime* but in spite of his much-advertised mission of justice there was not a single just act to his credit during five years. He rather tried to stifle public opinion and in his efforts to deny the just demands of Indians forgot even the principles of the party of which he was a distinguished member. There are, therefore, few in India to-day to mourn his departure, and however highly British statesmen might prize his services and whatever encomiums the British press may bestow on him, to Indians the five years' administration of the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England was singularly a sad one. The day he reached Delhi he was swallowed by the bureaucracy and instead of winning the hearts of the people became the chief idol of the temple of bureaucratic prestige. His address to the joint session of the two chambers unfolded nothing new and nowhere proceeded beyond alluring promises and soothing explanations. Indians now know His Excellency too well and are fully aware of the hollowness of his words. He has admitted the flaws in the reforms, but he never essayed to remedy them. The country cannot at all be taken in by his utterances.

The Election Campaign.

The *Leader* is extremely gratified to note that the efforts which are being made to form the Indian Nationalist Party have met with a splendid response. The move for the formation of this party is the result of a long-felt want, of a clearer and more widespread realization that the "policy" of orthodox Swarajists has been disastrous to the interests of the country and that a strong, united and determined effort on the part of all constitutionalists is necessary to counter the menace of the Swarajist policy as laid down by the Cawnpore Congress. The success of the Swarajists will be not the victory of the popular cause, but of the bureaucracy. Referring to the opinions and activities of the various party leaders, the *Muslim Herald* writes:—The object of the great battle of Mahabharat that would be presently fought is clear—to come out successful during the coming elections, at any cost, by means fair or foul. This at least is the aim of most of the leaders. So, electors, beware. The *Sainik* exhorts

the people to beware of the Indian Nationalist Party which Mr. Chintamani is trying to form and says:—Except for a certain period of the Home Rule agitation Mr. Chintamani has always opposed the Nationalists and sided with the Government. At present his only occupation is to try to weaken the *swaraj* party and strengthen the Government. Referring to Mr. Chintamani's remarks that every vote given to the Swarajists is a vote in favour of the bureaucracy, the *Vartman* writes:—The record of the Liberals is so black that the people have no longer any regard for them. Mr. Chintamani and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru are to a certain extent responsible for the promulgation of black laws and the imprisonment of thousands of workers including Mahatma Gandhi. If the policy of obstruction has failed anywhere the responsibility lies on the shoulders of Moderates. To vote for Swarajists is to lead the country towards *swaraj*, whereas to vote for Moderates is to prolong the slavery of India and to help the bureaucracy. The *Aj* ridicules Mr. Chintamani for remarking that to vote for Swarajists was to vote for the Government and contends that, on the contrary, to vote for Swarajists is to reduce the life of the bureaucracy. Proceeding, the paper says:—The snare of delusion spread by the bureaucracy should be broken by sending the Swarajists to the legislatures and at the same time preparing the country for civil disobedience. The Swarajists trust the Indian public, while the non-Swarajists trust the bureaucracy. With the help of the soul force of the people of India, we should compel the bureaucracy to grant *swaraj*. The *Abhyudaya* condemns the mutual wrangling among the various parties and pleads for united action. The *Aj* says that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's speech on the formation of a new Nationalist Party at a Delhi meeting neither establishes the necessity for such a party nor throws light on its policy. Pandit Malaviya's policy does not go beyond accepting ministerships and we fail to understand how this policy can bring about any substantial results. So long as Indians do not get control of all the departments they cannot accept responsibility for administration. Their present duty lies in rejecting the Finance Bill year by year and thereby compelling the bureaucracy to accept the whole responsibility, and in preparing the people for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Pratap* deplores that after having been defeated in the Congress Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is now busy in forming a new party and says that this action of his in connexion with elections will cause a further split in the already divided Congress camp and spread discord and ill-will in the country. The adoption of a policy of responsible co-operation at the present juncture would only mean a betrayal of weakness. The *Medina* refers to the impotence to which the Independents have been reduced owing to the Swarajist withdrawal from the legislatures and says that incensed at this discomfiture and apprehensive of total effacement at the next elections Mr. Malaviya is planning with Mr. Chintamani to form a Nationalist Party. The moving spirits of the party are however Messrs. Kelkar and Moonje and it is strange how a party guided by such spirits can be called Nationalist. *Al Bashir* opines that the absence of the Swarajists will only help Government to do what it chooses. The Swarajists might have planned this dramatic walk-out to improve their prospects at the next elections but they are sadly mistaken if they believe that Congress has still any influence left in the country. The Hindu *Sabha* and Liberal candidates will have much better chances of winning at the polls. We wonder whether the Muslim Swarajists have also joined in this exodus. If so, they have been guilty of serious treachery to their community which never sent them to the Councils to sell their souls to any party. The *Najat* observes that Mr. Malaviya's efforts to run the elections on communal lines will prejudice the cause of India's freedom and strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy and warns patriotic Indians against joining his party. The result of Mr. Malaviya's activities will prove nothing short of treason to the country. Communal movements will spring up throughout the land and will lead to disturbances. Experience shows that the Malaviyan creed with its blood-thirsty followers is the enemy of Indian independence and is tightening the chains of our slavery. Referring to the decision of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* at Delhi to support only such candidates at the next elections as would keep Hindu interests in view, *Al Bashir* urges Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians to demand separate representation as their interests would now no longer be safe in the hands of the Hindu representatives. We hope that this revelation will lead to the formation of a Muslim Party and dispel all false notions about the nationalism and patriotism of the Hindus. Anyway Britain should be congratulated that, thanks to Mr. Malaviya, Indians will remain subject to her for another century at least. Muslims should now oppose every Hindu proposal and show the Hindus that

they can promote neither their own interests nor those of the nation by going against the Muslims. Young Muslims have seen after joining the Congress and making sacrifices for non-co-operation what sort of mentality the Hindus possess and they should profit from their experience.

The Hindu *Maha Sabha*.

Referring to the proceedings of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* the *Medina* says :—The fanatical devotees of *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* are under the blood-dripping standard of Pandit Malaviya scheming for another war of Mahabharat simply to avenge themselves for the subjection of ten centuries and to find a vent for the fire of bigotry that is consuming mean hearts and to assuage the gnawing at hearts and burning in brains caused by one's own failings and weaknesses. We will only give excerpts to-day from the speeches of Dr. Moonje and Swami Shraddhanand. The common trend of all speeches at the Hindu *Maha Sabha* was that as the Muslims had ruined the Hindus, all Hindu castes should gather under Mr. Malaviya's banner and with the help of *Shuddhi*, *Sangathan*, unity and uplift of the depressed classes should combat the Muslims who were styled as worse than *chamars* by the self-same Pandit. Dr. Moonje's presidential address was one long diatribe against Muslims. They have been called tyrants, oppressors, executioners, rogues and beggars. What an exhibition of Hindu manners! There is no useful thing in the address which is from the beginning to the end an exhortation to quarrel with Muslims. Dr. Moonje, Muslims would have gladly accepted this challenge if it had been issued by Hindus as a whole. The two communities are not going to fly at each other's throats simply on account of the babbling and prattling of a single individual. O unfortunate *sangathanists*, if you lay claim to bravery, courage, civilization and progress, then beard Britain and free the motherland. It constitutes neither wisdom nor valour to confabulate in *pandals* of rags and pour vials of wrath on the devoted heads of Muslims. The *Sada-i-Muslim* wonders why that seat of Islamic culture, Delhi, was selected for this orgy of revilement of Muslims. Matters would not have been so serious if this venom-spitting had been confined to a few Aryas alone but when the venerated sanatanist leader Mr. Malaviya stigmatizes the Muslims as oppressors and robbers and advises even women to wear daggers to combat them, when Swami Satya Deva regards the Muslims as too depraved to be fit for association with Hindus and Swami Shraddhanand accuses them of abducting Hindu women, the situation becomes serious enough in all conscience. Dewan Narendra Nath characterized the Frontier Muslims as blood-thirsty fanatics and the resolutions passed were mainly designed to deprive Muslims of their rights and to injure them. Dr. Moonje falsely accused the Muslims of spreading their religion by the sword. The sole object of these poisonous resolutions and speeches was to incite the Hindus against the Muslims and to harass the latter so that they might either acquiesce in a life of abject subjection or leave the country. This is the only feeling which is now inspiring the Hindu leaders, and Muslims also should devise means to counter these criminal conspiracies.

Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

The *Abhyudaya* says that the passing of the resolution regarding the extension of Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province is a striking example of the communal zeal of Muslims and shows to what extent they can go under its influence. This proposal has furnished a good handle to the Government for accentuating Hindu-Muslim disunion and hence it did not oppose it. The *Sainik* writes :—We have as much regard for Hindu interests as any other Hindu but we are convinced that the opposition to the introduction of Reforms in the Frontier province far from promoting Hindu interests is most likely to injure them. If Hindus oppose the grant of reforms to the Frontier province Muslims will adopt a similar attitude with regard to other provinces where they are in a minority. There is certainly a great danger in granting *swaraj* to the Frontier province, but it is not wise to hamper progress towards independence. But even bearing all these points in mind we do not like the resolution that has been passed, for what is the use of introducing those very Reforms which owing to their hollowness we wish to destroy. This resolution has benefited the Government only, as it is rejoicing over the fresh Hindu-Muslim tension which it has created. The *Rahnuma* eulogises the generosity and breadth of vision displayed by Pandit Motilal Nehru in regard to the question of the extension of Reforms to the Frontier Province and is glad that the opposition of the Maha Sabhites proved futile and Syed Murtaza's resolution was passed. This is not the time to revive the unpleasant memories of the long

drawn-out debate and all should just now combine to press Government to enforce the resolution.

The Agra Tenancy Bill.

Commenting on the debate on the Agra Tenancy Bill in the Council the *Leader* writes:—The sacrifices which the zamindars are called upon to make are much less than those which the Oudh zamindars and taluqdars agreed to make. The objection of Rai Saheb Lala Jagdish Prasad that life tenures would practically shut the doors against those zamindars who might hereafter like to take to agriculture, has no legs to stand upon. There is in the Bill provision for the accrual of new *sir* rights; besides the zamindar can acquire land for carrying on farming on modern lines. We are also of opinion that the Bill contains many provisions which are distinctly beneficial to zamindars and that its general effect will be to improve their position. The right attitude to adopt towards it, both on the part of the representatives of the zamindars and those who might espouse the cause of tenants should be one of making improvements in it and not of wrecking it. In another article the paper writes: The practically unrestricted power of acquisition of holdings for certain purposes given to the landlords is likely to be exercised to the detriment of the occupancy tenant. Then there is no provision for fresh accrual of occupancy right except with the consent of the zamindar and the effect of it will be a progressive decrease in the occupancy area. We think it essential that the rights of the existing occupancy tenants should be safeguarded. The *Muslim Herald* writes:—The House, as at present constituted, contains the best of men among landlords, so their interests are safe. We expect from them a more sympathetic view of the position of peasants. And then the situation in the province of Agra differs materially from that in Oudh. The measures that have been found advantageous in Oudh may not necessarily be so in this province.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Vartman* writes:—It is true that the communal tension is due to the foolishness of Hindus and Muslims, but the bureaucracy too cannot be absolved from blame in this connexion, as disturbances are due to administrative defects. Then, again, Muslim leaders instead of censuring the *goondas* back them in some form or another and thus encourage them to indulge in hooliganism. It is the duty of Hindus to organize themselves and give effect to the resolutions passed by the Hindu *Maha Sabha*. The *Sangathan* contends that Hindu organization is the *sine qua non* for India's progress and says that this organization can be brought about only if Hindus of all shades of opinion espouse the common cause of cow-protection. The *Hindu* condemns the proselytising activities of Muslim States, specially of Bhopal and Hyderabad, and ridiculing the perfunctory attitude of the Hindu Sabha towards this it deplores that various Hindu Rajas assist in the propagation of Muslim religion by giving huge donations to the Muslim University and refusing even a small sum to their own religious schools.

Political Propaganda.

In the course of an article on the Cawnpore Congress the *Satyagraha* writes:—The real work for the country is rousing the masses. Organization in any branch is bound to be fruitful and, if necessary, it should be fortified by civil disobedience and *satyagraha*. All the force should be directed against the injustice of the foreign Government. Let the volunteers be enrolled for military training on the condition that if the Government disallows free licence of arms for the volunteers they will have to carry on a programme of civil disobedience against the Arms Act.

United Provinces District Boards Primary Education Bill.

Al Bashir contends that a common religious curriculum can be found for even Hindus and says that anyway the materialistic leanings of the Hindu members of the provincial council should not have been allowed to deprive Muslims of the much-desired privilege of religious education, especially when they were prepared to pay for it. The only reason for the Hindu opposition must therefore have been the apprehension that the introduction of religious education for Muslim children would lead to the appointment of more Muslim teachers and would end the cultural domination of the Hindus. We wonder whether the Muslim M.L.Cs. have represented matters to the Governor. If they fail to do so, they would be only betraying their pusillanimity and selfishness and if they were not possessed of more moral courage and self-sacrifice they should not have made a sorry exhibition of themselves by leaving the Chamber like women in a temper. The *Rahnuma* has every confidence in the justice and foresight of Sir William Marris and hopes that by refusing his assent to the Bill he will not give the Muslim members an opportunity to create a situation by resigning their seats.

Alleged corruption in Government service.

Referring to Rai Bahadur Thakur Hanuman Singh's reference during the discussion of the Police Budget to the increasing volume of bribery and corruption among the various subordinate services the *Muslim Herald* writes:—We hear of an increasing volume of corruption among the members of the Government Text-Book Committee, the Intermediate Board of Education, and other bodies that prescribe books for use in our schools and colleges. The C. I. D. would certainly do well to occasionally bestow its attention on these bodies.

Indian States.

The *Haqiqat* warns the Government of India that it would be playing with fire if it rouses the ire of the Indian Muslim public by adopting a severe attitude towards the Nizam. All this trouble is probably due to the fact that the Nizam is unwilling to withdraw his demand for the restoration of Berar. No doubt the Hindu press of South India is opposed to the Nizam but Muslims all over the country will support him to a man if there is any interference with the internal administration of Hyderabad.

The United Provinces Council.

The *Zul Qarnain* complains that evasive answers are often given to Council questions as is shown by the contradictions into which the official members are led when replying to the supplementary questions but hopes that with the growth of political capacity in the popular representatives the answers will attain a higher level and will become sober and dignified instead of evasive.

The Taxation Inquiry Committee.

The *Naiyar-i-Azam* congratulates the members of the Committee on the efficient manner in which they have discharged their duties in spite of the obstacles in their path. Its recommendations in regard to various taxes are both feasible and reasonable and deserve acceptance both by Government and the public.

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ALLAHABAD:
April 3, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
4 MAY 1926
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 14 of 1926.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 10, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Medina* ridicules the perturbation of the *Daily News* at the prospect of the formation of a Muslim League of Nations. Such a League ought in fact to rise on the ashes of the *Khilafat*. It will, however, only strive for the organization of Muslim states for protection against the inroads of European Powers whose kindness alone can be responsible for the idea. Unlike its European sister the object of this body will not be to make it easier for the larger fishes to swallow the smaller fry. The Islamic conference at Cairo may pave the way for the establishment of such a League. The *Mashriq* dwells on the dependence of the safety of India on the good-will of the neighbouring Muslim states and urges Britain to improve her relations with them as she cannot depend on many of the European Powers which are intriguing against her with Turkey on the question of Mosul. The *Najat* warns Britain that her policy of procrastination in regard to Mosul with a view to damp Turkish enthusiasm by lapse of time will not pay as the Turks are wide awake and the Eastern Powers are busy devising means to free themselves from the domination of the West. A war over Mosul is inevitable. In another article the same paper refers to a report in the *Westminster Gazette* about a Greeco-Italian understanding under British aegis against Turkey and says that as this synchronises with the final instructions of the British Foreign Office about Mosul to their representative in Turkey, it may prove the harbinger of some drastic action. The Greek military power is at present being controlled by Britain and we may soon hear of a stir in the Balkans where Greece is not without enemies. The *Medina* urges India's participation in the Hedjaz Islamic Conference, but asks the *Khilafat* Committee to get more definite particulars from Ibn Saud about the representation of various countries and freedom of discussion.

Lord Irwin.

The *Leader* writes:—While we do not want to prejudge Lord Irwin's Viceroyalty and while we wish him every success, we must confess that we do not entertain any sanguine hopes of great things from him. And after all the future of the country largely rests in our own hands. If Lord Irwin desires to convince the people that he is a sincere and earnest well-wisher of the country, he must courageously tackle in a liberal spirit economic as well as political problems. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The speeches of the new Viceroy are pleasant reading because they are so simple and straight. The agriculturists are India's backbone and a Viceroy who has made a special study of the subject may be expected to do something real and tangible for them. If Lord Irwin could devise ways and means to revive the cottage industries he would have made a substantial contribution to the amelioration of the condition of the people. Indeed we hope that Lord Irwin's *régime* will be fruitful of deeds which will make the dry bones in the open valley instinct with life. The *Aj* writes:—Lord Reading had come flying the banner of justice; Lord Irwin is coming flying the flag of agriculture and promising to follow in the footsteps of his great predecessor. We welcome the new comer, but it is with a despairing heart. We have ceased to expect anything at his hands. The *Abhyudaya* says:—We can say nothing more than offer welcome to Lord Irwin on his arrival. If he succeeds in improving the condition of Indian cultivators he will have accomplished a great task. But so long as we are slaves all progress will prove to be illusive. For the improvement of the lot of the cultivators too the chains of slavery need to be relaxed. The *Hamdam* reminds the new Viceroy of his promises in England

of levelling differences between the East and the West by an intensive campaign of educational development and hopes that His Excellency will not forget his promises like Lord Reading. It is to be seen whether Lord Irwin shows more strength of character and refuses to be swallowed by the bureaucracy. In another article the paper says that Indians are now less inclined towards co-operation with Government than they were when Lord Reading landed on Indian soil, and the only legacy left by him is that of bitter communal and political discord. This would go to show that a greater diplomat than even Lord Reading was needed here and Lord Irwin has come with little prospects of success. But in reality it is sympathy and not diplomacy which solves eastern problems and our new Viceroy seems sufficiently supplied with the former as is shown by his interest in agriculture which provides occupation for three-fourths of the Indian population. We fondly trust that Lord Irwin's sympathy will heal where Lord Reading's diplomacy has wounded, and in spite of the disturbing factors of communal and political strife left behind by the departing Viceroy the new Governor-General would be able to do some good to India.

Lord Reading.

The vernacular press continues to indulge in strong and bitter language in reviewing Lord Reading's *régime*. The *Leader* writes:—Taking every aspect of his administration into consideration Lord Reading's Viceroyalty has been a personal triumph for him. He has been a success judged from the narrow imperialist point of view and from that of maintenance of law and order. But he has left the main problem which affects the relationship of India with Britain unsolved. With all his great qualities he has been lacking in the quality of statesmanship. The *Anand* remarks that nobody in India is sorry at Lord Reading's departure for he tried to whittle down reforms and increase the autocracy of the bureaucrats and in his time Hindu-Muslim tension was accentuated. The *Sainik* writes:—Lord Reading was such a consummate diplomat that by mere artfulness and diplomacy he has succeeded in doing what the sword of Nadir Shah had failed to accomplish; by sheer diplomacy he has lulled India to sleep. The ultimate result of his policy, however, will be that the relations of India and England will be embittered and the interests of humanity will receive a great shock. It will always be said of him that he did grave injustice to India. The *Hindi Kesari* says that during Lord Reading's administration Indian aspirations were trampled upon at every step. He not only became a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy, but constituted himself as its special patron. The injustice which has been done to India during his *régime* cannot allow the British Government to hold its head high. The only two good acts of his administration were the abolition of the cotton excise duty and the improvement of the financial condition of the country. The *Aj* says:—At the departure of Lord Reading not a single Indian heart will feel afflicted. He has burdened India with fresh taxation and increased the salary of highly paid foreign officials. As if to revive the memory of the Jallianwala Bagh he has made the gift of the Black Act to Bengal. The enforcement of lawless laws throughout the country was the characteristic feature of the administration of this personification of "Justice." It was he only who after trampling upon the holy aspirations of India could summon courage to call upon her sons to co-operate. His name will top the list of those who have embittered relations between India and Britain. The *Pratap* remarks:—Lord Reading's talk has been like a shower of flowers, but his acts were tyrannous. He has been, as it were, a gentle lancet. He has more of cleverness than goodness in him. The *Shakti* has a contributed article in which the writer depicts Lord Reading as an autocrat and says that his *régime* has in no way been less despotic than that of Clive or Warren Hastings, Changez Khan, Taimur or Aurangzeb; it can only be compared with the rule of Ravana or Kans or the Tzar of Russia, the only difference being that these rulers did not make loud professions of justice. The *Oudh Punch* has a cartoon depicting Lord Reading as departing only with a load of sins. The *Desh Bhagat* accuses Lord Reading of murdering justice to crush non-cooperation. The calm produced by Lord Reading's ruthless repression is like the lull before the storm, and as soon as the masses recuperate a tornado will sweep the land. Discussing His Excellency's address before the joint session of the two Chambers the *Hamdam* says that the administration aims at developing the resources of the country only in so far as such development is to the advantage of British capitalists. Peace on the frontier has been ensured by throwing all constitutional scruples to the winds and enslaving the tribes by sheer military force and strategic railways. Internal peace has been secured by breeding communal discord and killing all national life. Financial stability

also has been attained by adding to the burden of the groaning poor. The *Najat* sees neither truth nor sincerity in Lord Reading's address to the two Chambers and regards it as a final blow on Indian nationalism. Peace has been maintained on the frontier either through naked brute force or tortuous diplomacy. Justice has been murdered by thrusting respectable and educated citizens into jail without trial or proof of guilt and communal movements have thriven with rank exuberance. His financial proposals have always gone to make the yoke of the groaning poor still heavier. Whatever he has done has been for the benefit of the Government and of officers of its race. His attitude towards the dumb and poor Indians should provoke thought among us and goad us to action. The *Haqiqat* remarks that Lord Reading's administration proved unfortunate for all classes of Indians, and while trade depression remains unremedied, the feelings of the ruling chiefs can be best learnt from the erstwhile rulers of Nabha and Indore. The *Aziz-i-Hind* pays a tribute to the tact and wisdom shown by Lord Reading in administering British India, but regrets that he has left behind deep-seated dissatisfaction in the Indian states by his cruel attitude regarding the Nabha and Indore affairs under mistaken notions of justice. *Al Bashir* holds Lord Reading to be the most successful Viceroy from the British standpoint as with his diplomacy he killed both non-cooperation and Hindu-Muslim unity which were damaging British prestige and shaking the administration to its very foundations. British rule is now more secure than ever at least for fifty years to come. But Englishmen would be most ungrateful if they overlooked the important contribution of Mr. Malaviya, Swami Shraddhanand, Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Moonje to the success of Lord Reading's game. His Lordship deserves praise only for his insight in selecting and skilfully handling the tools best suited for his purpose.

The Election Campaign.

The *Leader* regards the formation of the United Nationalist Party as an indication of a new chapter in the history of the national effort to achieve constitutional freedom, and says:—The happy compromise which was arrived at ought to inspire the sceptics with new faith and will have a disconcerting effect on the Swarajists. The Swarajist ship is sinking. Under the heading "The Triumph of Liberal Diplomacy" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Friend and opponent of the Liberal League must admit that the Bombay Conference was a great Liberal victory. We welcome in all sincerity and satisfaction the expansion of the League. This is, perhaps, the first time in the history of the reforms, when elections are going to be fought on a vast and organized scale on lines followed in free and democratic countries. The *Aj* deplores the formation of the new party in the name of unity by various leaders, as it would strengthen the bureaucracy and weaken the power of the people. In the existing circumstances there can be only two parties in the country, namely, the bureaucratic party and the popular party. Co-operation between these two is impossible for the present. The only way to attain *swaraj* is to organize the masses and make preparations for civil disobedience. The *Vartman* deplores that party leaders are quarrelling among themselves to serve their selfish ends and exhorts young men to crush individual leadership, dictatorship and party spirit. When leaders fall it is the duty of young men to assert themselves to organize the country. Lenin and Trotsky took advantage of a similar situation during the Russian revolution and the world knows what great work they accomplished. The time for the internal revolution of young men has come and we offer them our full sympathy and co-operation. *Al Adl* forecasts failure for Mr. Malaviya's new party which it ridicules as a hopeless medley and hotch-potch of conflicting political creeds and religious beliefs. The *Hamdam* thinks that the only object of the new party is to oppose the Swarajists. The fusion of all anti-Swarajist elements is, however, to be welcomed as a single trial of strength will give the quietus to the entire motley group. It is difficult for the party to last till the actual polling takes place as its secretary, Mr. Chintamani, is accused of helping Government in sending thousands of Indian patriots to jail and its president, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has himself confessed in England that he had full share of the responsibility for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

The Calcutta riots.

Referring to the Calcutta riots the *Leader* writes:—The tragic occurrences have once more afforded to our mentors the opportunity of reading a homily to Indian politicians and of pointing out the indispensability of the British official. But these never ask as to what precautionary steps the local British official had taken to prevent a breach of the peace. They must be assumed to have done their duty. But

can those responsible for the maintenance of law and order in Calcutta be exonerated from all blame for the happenings? In another article the paper writes:—The accounts published in Calcutta papers read more like an outbreak of a spirit of anarchism, of indiscriminate destruction of life and property, than of communalism. The spirit of communalism if it goes on developing may one day break out into general anarchism aimed at the very destruction of authority which stands in its way. It is bound to be exploited by revolutionary elements in the country for furthering their own purposes. No one can be sure that these were not active in Calcutta. The *Aj* says that although the Government has the police and the army at its disposal, it is unable to maintain law and order and protect life and property in Calcutta. Does this state of things justify the boast of foreign rulers of the country that they have the capacity to govern? The inability of the police to check the riot at its very outbreak is one more example of their administrative inefficiency. It is the "much maligned leaders" who have done much to improve the situation. The *Vartman* remarks that Hindus are determined to enforce their customary right of playing music before mosques. In future Hindu *Sabhas* should try to secure the participation of Hindus of all sects in such processions. The frequent riots also point to the need of a drastic change in the present system of government for it is so defective that poverty, famines, pestilences and riots instead of decreasing are on the increase. The demand of Indians for *swaraj* is, therefore, quite justifiable. The *Hindi Kesari* writes:—The Calcutta riot shows that the tendency of Muslims to indulge in violence over the question of music before mosques is growing stronger day by day. Both the communities should learn to respect the true religious sentiments of each other and to cultivate the spirit of tolerance. We have to hang our heads when we see that it is the Hindus who are beaten in larger numbers during such disturbances. The *Hamdam* says that Hindus have always started trouble in Calcutta and wants a check on the aggressive spirit of the *Aryas* if peace is to be maintained. *Aryas* reply to polite remonstrances against music before mosques with physical violence. No community can submit to deliberate insult and interference in prayers.—No other Muslim paper has so far commented on this subject.

Indian States.

Referring to the Government's decision regarding the Nizam's request for the restoration of Berar, the *Leader* concedes that the Nizam had a strong case, but writes:—The rejection of the Nizam's claim will cause general satisfaction among the Beraris, for it is an undeniable fact that, notwithstanding its imperfections, British administration is more acceptable to Indians than the system of government which prevails in Indian States. Commenting on the Viceroy's observation that no ruler of an Indian State could justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing, the paper writes:—This clear and emphatic assertion of the rights of suzerainty should show to the rulers of Indian States that whatever powers they enjoy are by sufferance and open their eyes to their real position which is one of subordination. Constitutional lawyers may say what they like, but the right of supremacy can only be challenged by force. The *Pioneer* writes:—Over a month ago the Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, himself a judicial officer of great reputation, expressed very decided views on certain aspects of the administration of the Hyderabad State. Remembrance of that *obiter dictum* must make the people of Berar all the more grateful to Lord Reading for couching his decision in so final and definite a form. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—This last act of Lord Reading interpreting the relations of British India and the Indian States has given much food for constitutionalists and newspaper editors and let us hope also the Maharajas. The *Vartman* says:—We ourselves are not in favour of the restoration of Berar to the Nizam for such autocracy as is found in his state is not to be seen even in Afghanistan. As far as Hindus are concerned they would prefer the Andamans to Hyderabad. What we take exception to is the bitter tone of the Viceroy's reply. It amounts to a threat to the whole body of ruling chiefs. They should take a lesson from it. So long as they remain disorganized, oppress their subjects, indulge in sensuality and do not cultivate self-respect they cannot possibly command respect from others and should not expect their demands to be conceded. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the Viceroy has added insult to injustice by asserting that the Government of India is the paramount power with which no Indian prince can claim equality of status. This is the Viceroy's parting gift to the Indian princes. Those who kept quiet at the Nabha and Indore affairs could expect nothing better than this. The *Aj* says that Lord

Reading's letter to the Nizam shows that the treaties and agreements made by the Government with the Indian States have no value in such matters. The Muslim press has supported the Nizam with one voice in the Berar controversy. The *Haqiqat* commends the Nizam's proposal for a commission of inquiry to decide the Berar controversy and says that it would have won the support of the Beraris themselves. From the very outset the motives of the Government of India were tainted and Lord Reading's reply has fully proved this. The *Hamdam* is pained at Government's failure to do justice even though the Nizam exhausted every resource of entreaty and argument. The grant of a permanent lease to the British cannot do away with the Nizam's proprietary right in Berar and the hauteur with which Lord Reading has rejected the Nizam's prayer can commend itself to nobody. Still more serious, however, is Lord Reading's enunciation of the principle that the ruling chiefs possess no status higher than that of ordinary citizens or zemindars and taluqdars. It is up to all ruling chiefs and the Chamber of Princes to see how their treaties are being treated now that there is no war and their services are not needed. A century and half of British diplomacy has so weakened Indian States that they do not possess the strength to enforce their rights, otherwise Lord Reading would never have dared to come out with such a proud answer. *Al Adl* deplores the Government of India's decision and says that it shows that old treaties are interpreted merely in the light of political expediency and are liable to emendations with changing circumstances.

Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province.

The *Hindi Kesari* says that if the resolution passed in the Legislative Assembly regarding the extension of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province is given effect to it will seriously interfere with the social, economic and political advancement of the Hindus and that they should therefore organize themselves into a compact body for the protection of their interests. The *Aj* writes:—The question of the introduction of reforms in North-West Frontier Province was moved by consistent supporters of Government. This shows that it was a serious move of the Government to accentuate Hindu-Muslim tension and thereby establish its own importance. It was a good plan to give a crushing reply to the decision of the Cawnpore Congress, and Government actually achieved partial success. But the credit of restricting the evil must go to Pandit Motilal Nehru who saw through the official move and prevented a split in the ranks of the Swaraj Party by making it adopt a neutral attitude over the question. The *Medina* is suspicious of the intentions of the Government about the introduction of the reforms in the Frontier Province and wonders whether there is any other constitutionally governed country in the world besides India where the decisions of the Legislatures are treated with such scant courtesy. After all what is the good of an Assembly whose decrees are not binding on the executive. What a sham these reforms are? Will not Government hang down its head in shame after this? Is it on the strength of such deeds that cooperation is demanded? Fie!

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article referring to the public demonstration at the imprisonment of twelve communists and the Ammanford miners at Albert Hall, London, on March 7, the *Muslim Herald* writes:—England is heading towards a disaster—a revolution, a revolution more hideous than the one enacted on the French soil. The sailors, airmen and soldiers are all persuaded to declare their revolt against the Government of England..... The capitalists of England should be shot. Their long collared necks deserve the guillotine. The capitalists have to be extirpated at all costs and they shall be extirpated. There are signs of distemper visible in the English race. The *Aj* refers in strong terms to the Jallianwala Bagh "atrocities" and exhorts the people to keep alive the sacred memory of this event in every Indian home by observing the national week and by setting about to work out the programme adopted by the Congress. Exhorting the people to observe the national week the *Hindi Kesari* says:—The national week serves to keep alive the fire of patriotism in our hearts. If we are to attain freedom we should awaken the spirit of the nation. A number of other papers also publish impassioned appeals for the observance of the "national week" by promoting the Congress programme.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the Hindu-Muslim question the *Bharat Jiwan* says:—If the Muslims are bent on opposing the Hindus we shall have to reply by brute force. On the one hand we shall have to open wrestling arenas and acquaint Hindu youths with the use of

lathi, sword and spear, and on the other to develop unity and mutual love and communal self-respect. We shall have to learn to die for Hindus and Hinduism. In reply to the Muslim threat regarding their connexion with independent Muslim states we shall have to establish our connexion with China and Japan on the ground of religious brotherhood, and if we succeed in this the Muslims will find the desert of Sahara cooler than India to live in. To bring about religious unity with the Buddhists the Hindu *Maha Sabha* should make over at least partial control of the Buddha Gaya temple to them, specially when such an action on their part is likely to secure them political advantages also.

The Agricultural Commission.

Referring to the announcement of the personnel of the Agricultural Commission the *Aj* says:—There is not a single Indian on the commission who commands public confidence. These commissions only waste the money of the poor tax-payers, but yield no satisfactory results and are convenient instruments for purposes of evasion. The bureaucracy will be seriously mistaken if it thinks that such commissions will satisfy the public. The *Hamdam* complains that there are very few agricultural experts in the commission and hopes that amends will at least be made for the manner in which the rights of the inhabitants of the United Provinces and the taluqdars of Oudh have been ignored. It is also a pity that there is only one Muslim member, and he too is possessed of such a mentality that he may be counted as a member of the English rather than the Indian group.

Unemployment.

The *Sainik* writes:—In season and out of season the Government proclaims its solicitude for the welfare of its subjects. Even if it shoots us it says that it is for our own good. In such cases even a blind man can see the Government in all its nakedness. The bureaucracy is to a large extent responsible for the plague of unemployment. It should give up the habit of making excuses, but should formulate and enforce a sound scheme for solving the problem of unemployment.

The Agra Tenancy Bill.

The *Pratap* assures the zamindars that the Bill will not be allowed to affect their interests as a handful of foreigners can never rule over such a vast country without their cooperation, but urges the Government to reduce land revenue to a minimum if its sympathies with the tenants are real and not hypocritical. The zamindars also will do well to change their angle of vision and cease to take advantage of the ignorance and disorganized condition of tenants.

The hides and skin trade.

The *Hamdam* views with concern the ousting of Indian hides and skins from the German market through foreign competition and asks for the introduction of improved methods of tanning and the reduction of the export duty.

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ALLAHABAD:
April 10, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 15 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 17, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Medina* remarks that France is now usurping the place of Britain as the despoiler of Muslim territories and is giving the world a taste of the unholy mentality of western imperialists by the barbarities she is practising to establish her domination in Syria. France is however faced with defeat in every quarter, and it is a fact that whosoever has pitted himself against Islam has only come to grief. To-day Muslims are negligent, indifferent and enslaved, but once the spirit of Islam is roused among them they will again teach the world the lesson of freedom and liberty. In another article the paper warns Britain that with the removal of Zinovieff India has become one of the main objectives of Bolshevik propaganda and she can secure immunity only by earning the good-will of Indians. The capitalistic intrigues of British statesmen have convinced the Russians that the success of socialism is not compatible with the existence of Britain, and so long as the citadel of capitalism is not invaded, it is futile to attack the outlying posts.

Calcutta riots.

The Calcutta riots continue to absorb the attention of the Press. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—It is so cheap and easy to lay the blame for the communal riots at the door of the Government, but why should an alien Government be anxious to help those who cannot help themselves? The attitude of the much maligned district officers has not been so very enthusiastic after the advent of the Reforms and the reckless criticisms to which they are exposed in the Legislatures. The police cuts in the budget and curses in the speeches have not provided encouragement to the police officers either. It is a cry of the weak and the desperate to lay the blame at the door of the Government. The blame must rest at the door of the people themselves whose insufferable rodomontade in the name of *sangathan* and *tanzim* has been undermining the respect in which one community held the other. The *Pratap* writes:—The Calcutta riot was a bloody welcome to Lord Irwin. Our mentors say that if they leave India Hindus and Muslims will fly at each other's throats. God only knows what will happen after the departure of the British, but we too know what is happening already in spite of their presence. During the Calcutta riot the *goondas* were masters of the whole city and it appeared as if *Nadirshahi* was rampant everywhere. What a good specimen of British administration? The peace which prevails during normal times is not the result of good administration. The people are quiet because they are dead. The people had so long been hypnotized into the belief that it was British rulers who were maintaining peace and protecting life and property, but events like those which have occurred in Calcutta will break this spell. This is the only silver lining in this dark cloud. The people should now give up all hopes of help from the authorities and should organize themselves for self-defence. At the bottom of these communal troubles is the system of communal representation which the bureaucracy has considered it necessary to introduce in every nook and corner of the country in order to keep its power intact. The *Gramvasi* holds that the existing system of government is chiefly responsible for the ever-growing Hindu-Muslim disturbances. The policy of "divide and rule" cannot but lead to this result. The interests of the foreign Government cannot be served by the adoption of a policy making for peace and contentment. The Calcutta riot is a specimen of the maintenance of peace by Government. Can any official now claim to be the protector of the life and property of Indians? Will the Hindus and Muslims not realize that their mutual dissensions can do them no good and only benefit a third party? The

Abhyudaya remarks :—It seems to us that such riots cannot possibly be stopped so long as there is a third party which stands to profit by them. We hold the authorities responsible for all such quarrels. Muslims are only taking advantage of bad administration. At present it may be pleasing to the authorities to yield to unreasonable demands or to allow fanaticism to grow, but if this malady continues to develop it will some day become uncontrollable and the police and the army will find themselves helpless. The *Surya* says :—The British and the Anglo-Indian press contend that the Calcutta riots show that India still stands in need of the British bureaucracy. The mere fact that the British bureaucrats and their good government failed to stop this destruction of life and property which continued unhampered in the biggest town of the country for seven days is a sufficient proof of their incompetency, inaction and irresponsibility. If Indians cannot maintain peace and order, why do such riots not occur in Indian States? The *Vartman* writes :—Accounts of the brutality and barbarism displayed by Muslims make one's hair stand on end. The police did nothing to show that the British administration is really the guardian of the lives and property of the people and that during critical times it performs the functions of a true government. Are Hindu-Muslim riots really like sports for the underlings of the bureaucracy? The *Aj* observes :—It is very difficult to understand the working of the mind of European journalists. They say that the Calcutta riots establish the necessity of the British Government for India. So far they were proud of peace ; now they are proud of breach of peace. In our opinion such incidents show that our rulers cannot maintain peace in the country. We, therefore, cannot but conclude that we have no need for the existing Government which either does not know its duty or is indifferent to it. It is so busy in hunting patriots that it has neither time nor energy to deal with hooligans. No country can feel the necessity for such a Government. The *Bharat Jiwan* writes :—The Calcutta riot makes it quite plain how the police, which smells anarchy in the hearts of educated people even from hundreds of miles, makes itself scarce when the time for real "policing" arrives. The public only knows too well how the police discharged its duties on this occasion. Such is the police on which crores of rupees are spent and to which is entrusted the duty of protecting the life and property of the people. In another article the paper writes :—If Muslims want to obtain their right by force, Hindus too are fully justified in securing their right by force. Necessity now dictates that Muslim violence must be met by violence. This time not only temples but mosques have also been demolished. We hold mutual wrangling to be highly reprehensible, but when it has come to fighting we maintain that it is still more reprehensible to leave the battlefield. Even the greatest advocate of non-violence will admit the need for violence in self-defence. It is on this principle that we say that if the mosques were destroyed as a result of the destruction of the Hindu temples, this was not bad but good enough. Ultimately this will do good to the Muslims themselves for they will realize that those who live in glass houses must not throw stones at others. The *Gyan Shakti* remarks that if the Hindus do not organize themselves and take proper steps to check Muslim aggressiveness, to say nothing of playing music, they will not be allowed even to speak and laugh. It appears that Muslims go to mosques not to say prayers but only to pick up quarrel with Hindus under this pretext. It is not wise to molest Hindus as they too are capable of showing fight under extreme provocation despite their proverbial mildness. Are the Hindus not human beings? Have they no rights in the world? They will certainly play music and play it to their heart's content and Muslims will have to bear it. When even Aurangzeb could not stop music, it is impossible for Muslims to do so now. The *Mashriq* regrets that processions are taken out simply to harass the Muslims. Muslims also should realize that it is no affront to their religion if music is played before their mosques in a non-Muslim country. The Hindus have as much right to play music before mosques as the Muslims have to sacrifice cows on public roads, but the latter are not allowed to exercise this right. *Al Barid* regards the riot as the outcome of an organized conspiracy and regrets that the Aryas are adding to the misfortunes of their country by insisting on their novel right of playing music before mosques. The *Sada-i-Muslim* takes the Hindu press to task for publishing garbled versions and throwing the entire blame on the Muslims. A perusal of the Anglo-Indian and Muslim journals of Calcutta will show the seriousness of the Muslim losses and Government should refuse to be influenced by the false Hindu propaganda and should not fail to punish the guilty. The *Medina* says that the preaching of violence to Hindu youths by the *Maha Sabha* leaders at Delhi has had its effect and the trouble started at Fatehpur has been re-enacted at Calcutta, and it is now

patent that the Arya Samajists are making an organized attempt to make it impossible for Muslims to live in India. The Arya Samajists take processions with music before mosques just at prayer time and once trouble is started they themselves slip away leaving Hindus and Muslims to break each other's heads. In the end it is the Muslims who are arrested and sent to jail and have to suffer destitution. In an article in a subsequent issue the same paper refers to the glee of the Arya papers on the completion of the mission of *sangathan* by Hindus by demolishing mosques and warns Muslims that the conspiracies to annihilate them have now matured and the magic of blood-thirsty pandits and barbarous Swamis has proved effective. Muslims should now be prepared for the terrible day when the Hindus will prepare a hundred battlefields for them with the help of the present Government and should learn to become true believers as thus alone can they save themselves from annihilation. The *Hamdam* complains that the Aryas are accusing the Muslims of being solely responsible for the Calcutta riots, though the former themselves set the ball rolling. The Aryas have been trying to create trouble throughout the country by insisting on music before mosques and trying to overawe Muslims with the numerical superiority of the Hindus. Surely the police failed to make adequate arrangements for protection of life and property, but their greatest blunder lay in allowing music before mosques. No doubt there is greater religious fervour among Muslims which sometimes manifests itself in most reckless ways, but the responsibility for trouble lies on those who start it and thus inflame the Muslims. In a subsequent issue the paper says that the way in which the riff-raff of Calcutta were allowed to hold sway for a number of days reflects little credit on the guardians of law and order. They repeatedly urge the maintenance of law and order as a justification for their repressive acts, but in spite of their police and military they failed to ensure safety of life and property in Calcutta and in broad daylight, in the markets and streets, arson, murders and rapine were committed as if there was no Government established by law left in the city. The *Sadaqat* inquires where that much advertised Pax Britannica was during the hooligan rule in Calcutta. It advises Hindus and Muslims to fight with clean and not dirty weapons, in the open and not in the dark, so that there may be a clearing of hearts, the clash of nobler souls may lead to a better mutual appreciation, the ruffianly element may go down and antagonists may eventually become comrades in the higher fight for the common cause of the country. The people should depend less on Government and more on the aid of sober and thoughtful Hindus and Muslims. It is a pity that our Arya friends are creating a new source of friction by taking out processions. No doubt the Muslim case about music before mosques is weak and they can insist on its stoppage only in cases where it has been customary to stop it, but what does it avail the Hindus to insist on a display of music before mosques?

The election campaign.

The *Sainik* deplores the divisions in the ranks of political workers and urges the promoters of the Indian Nationalist party to display their valour against the enemies of the country—the Government—and not against the Congress. The paper bitterly attacks Mr. Chintamani for having been a party to the "repression" during the non-cooperation movement and says:—Mr. Chintamani should not labour under the delusion that Pandit Motilal Nehru is alone. Mr. Nehru has on his side that national power which on being roused can shake the whole universe. The *Pratap* charges the promoters of the Indian Nationalist party with having supported the Government in sending thousands of patriots to jail and says that the party has been brought into being solely for electioneering purposes. It will not further the interests of the country. Its policy and the policy of the Congress are poles apart. The *Surya* observes that the formation of the Indian Nationalist party opens a new chapter in the history of constitutional agitation for the attainment of *swaraj*. There is no doubt that this party has come into existence to combat the harmful, inconsistent and disruptive policy of the *Swaraj* party which is now reaping the harvest of its misdeeds. The boat of the *Swaraj* party is now sinking and those who do not like to go down with it must dissociate themselves from it and join the new party. The *Hamdam* says that the very first public meeting of the new Nationalist party which was held at Bombay exposes the looseness of the bonds which hold it. Mr. Jinnah was not at all successful in deluding the audience into the belief that the party was not opposed to the Congress. Still more remarkable was the absence of Mr. Chintamani and Dr. Sapru who were responsible for sending Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Gandhi to jail. It seems that they are ashamed to appear in public, but

they surely cannot expect to lead their election campaign to a successful issue from behind the purdah.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* prints a series of articles by "A Student of International Politics" in the course of which the writer says that for the past twenty-four years Tibet has been the victim of the crooked and venomous policy of British Government. The very Tibet which formerly regarded the coming of any white man as the sting of a scorpion has now become the playground of the British. It is now in a way in the whirlpool of British imperialism. Its passing into the grip of the British is harmful not only for India but also for China, Japan, Nepal and other Asiatic countries. In the course of an article on the national week the *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that it is a matter for grave suspicion that whenever there is any occasion for awakening the nationalistic spirit of the people some serious trouble takes place in one or other part of country and insinuates that this is due to skilful wire-pulling. While the national week is just now being observed and appeals are being made for unity, the attention of the people is distracted by fearful happenings in Calcutta. Is it only a divine dispensation? The *Aj* writes:—April 13 reminds us of the awful Jallianwala Bagh incident and of the fact that modern India has been born of the immolation of its innocent victims which made us determined to establish *swaraj* in the country. While on the one hand this day tells us that we are slaves, on the other it stimulates us to strive to get out of bondage. Our rulers ask us to forget this tragic day, but this does not sound well in their mouth, when they maintain the Cawnpore memorial well and have only recently erected a memorial at Chauri Chaura. We do not hate Englishmen, but we are surely opposed to the irresponsible bureaucratic system of government. *Swaraj* is the only remedy for it and we should strive to the utmost to attain it.

The Agricultural Commission.

Raja Syed Ahmad Ali Khan Alawee, M.L.C., of Salempur, writing to the *Pioneer*, says that the announcement of the personnel of the Royal Commission has caused some surprise and disappointment in the United Provinces, and especially in Oudh, "in that it does not include a single representative of the landed interests of these provinces, or an expert having first-hand knowledge of agricultural conditions and rural economy in the United Provinces". The paper calls upon the British Zamindars' Association of Oudh and the Zamindars' Association of the province of Agra to make a representation to the Government on the subject of nominating an able and representative member of their order to the Commission. The *Bharat Varsha* notes with dissatisfaction that the terms of reference of the Agricultural Commission do not include inquiry into rent and revenue and similar questions. This shows that the Commission will confine itself only to superficial matters. The tax-payers should not have been saddled with the heavy burden of this Commission for such a purpose. The most serious objection against the Commission lies in the fact that persons well qualified to support the cause of cultivators have not been sufficiently represented upon it. The *Desh Bhagat* says that the terms of reference and personnel of the Commission show that the cry of agricultural advancement is only a camouflage and the real object is to provide salaries for a few individuals. The European members have generally no knowledge of Indian agricultural conditions and the knowledge of most of the Indian members is also very superficial. It is now clear that India cannot progress under the British Government and that *swaraj* is essential and Indians of all classes should muster strong under the banner of the Congress.

Indian States.

The *Surya* declares that although the decision of the Government regarding the Berar question is in a way improper, yet the Hindus will feel gratified at it for there is no justice for them in the Nizam's dominions and they are always oppressed there. The *Haqiqat* regards Lord Reading's regimé as the worst for Indian Chiefs since Lord Dalhousie's time. Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation cannot be re-adopted at present, but the Government of India possess even now the widest powers to harass Indian Chiefs. The Government of India have shown their attitude clearly in the letter relating to Berar which has followed so closely on the heels of the "voluntary abdication" of the Chiefs of Nabha, Suket and Indore. The British Government is now declared to be the paramount power and can interfere in the internal affairs of its erstwhile allies and friends, the Indian States. Thus is the Nizam rewarded for the steadfast loyalty of his house for one hundred and fifty years. Lord Dalhousie's greed contributed to the mutiny of 1857, but Lord Reading has ignored the pledges of non-interference

which were repeatedly given after that event. Lord Irwin should consider how far the Berar decision will add to the popularity of the British Government. The *Medina* remarks that the Nizam cannot claim equal status now that there is no Haider Ali to combat. Is this the way, it exclaims, in which the British reward steadfast loyalty? It is downright folly to expect justice from the British in the matter of territories and Muslims who have every sympathy with the aggrieved Nizam should set about organizing and uplifting their community. May God inspire our ruling chiefs with a sincere passion for public service and may He also so alter Hindu mentality that the Hindus may not protest against the rendition of Berar and thus aid the British.

Oudh Hindu Conference.

Referring to the "split" in the Oudh Hindu Conference the *Indian Daily Telegraph* criticizes the attitude of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and says that if his views and ways are endorsed the great *Hindu Sabha* will be converted into a small caucus of loyalists and place-hunters, and if, acting on his advice, it declares war on the Congress, which is mainly Hindu, it will only be repeating the old story of Jaichand and Prithviraj in a new form.

Organization of Hindus.

The *Vartman* exhorts the *Hindu Sabha* to direct their efforts towards the achievement of perfect unity among the various castes and sub-castes of Hindus, the enlisting of the sympathy of depressed classes, the inculcation of a fighting spirit among Hindu boys and the removal of fear and false modesty from the minds of Hindu women.

Indians in the Colonies.

Referring to reports published in South African papers the *Leader* writes:—There is gratifying indication that the better minds among the white settlers in Natal and the Cape Province are asserting themselves over the forces of blind and unreasoning racial intolerance. The Indian deputation has, it appears, also done useful work in clarifying the issues and we hope that it has not conceded any vital points. We must state clearly that Indian opinion will not easily approve of any compromise the basis of which is the co-operation of the Union Government and the Indian Government for accelerating the process of repatriation. The South Africa born Indian has as much right to stay there and to enjoy the status of a free citizen as the white settler and no compromise which involves his repatriation can be accepted as just and equitable.

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ALLAHABAD:
April 17, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL.

19 MAY 19

No. 16 of 1926.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 24, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the defeat of Abdel Krim by the joint efforts of Spain and France the *Aj* remarks:—Once more justice has had to bow down to military powers. For the satisfaction of the demoniacal imperialistic greed which has come into being in Europe after the great war the brave Riffs have had to give their life-blood. Despite this the eyes of Indian Muslims are not opened and they continue to put obstacles in the way of the attainment of *swaraj* by insisting on separate communal rights. Muslims are being crushed today throughout the world and yet Indian Muslims are dreaming of establishing Muslim supremacy in India. If there be unity in India and Hindus and Muslims be inspired with one national feeling, not only will India get freedom, but the existence of all the independent Muslim states of the world will also be safeguarded. The *Vartman* says that in order to promote their selfish ends European nations have not desisted from any sin. Schemes are being hatched in secret in order to seize Asiatic countries. The selfish nations of Europe are thus preparing for a terrible war which may break out within two years.

Calcutta riots.

Communal recriminations and attacks on the police in connexion with the Calcutta riots continue to be an absorbing occupation for the vernacular press. Referring to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's view that the Reforms have bred political unrest, anarchism and communal riots the *Leader* writes:—The Reforms have not been introduced in the North-West Frontier Province nor has the British element been weakened there. And yet Kobat witnessed one of the most terrible communal riots which have occurred in this country. If these riots prove anything it is that the department of law and order should be transferred to popular control. The *Shankar* says that the Calcutta riots which synchronized with the arrival of Lord Irwin are ominous and are due to the inflammatory speeches of Muslim leaders and the inaction of the police. Proceeding it writes:—Do the Muslims want that Arya Samajists should not live in this world? Muslims are foolishly creating an atmosphere which will prove harmful to themselves. They should take note that a storm is brewing in the Hindu society which will make it difficult for the Muslim community to live in safety. Once the spirit of retaliation is roused among Hindus, Muslims will have to be prepared for the day of reckoning when every wrong will be so avenged that no song of Arabia will avail. Owing to the foolishness of Muslims the bureaucracy is beating the drum with heavy clubs and all political agitation is being reduced to dust. The *Garhwali* writes:—If Lord Irwin really means to make India happy and contented he should first of all investigate the causes of the present Hindu-Muslim tension and take steps to remove them. The root cause of this tension is that Hindus and Muslims are regarded as separate communities from the political standpoint and have accordingly been granted separate representation. Some Government officials also accentuate this tension in order to achieve their object and it is strange that the Government have never tried to put a stop to such practices. The *Hridaya* writes:—When the British troops in Calcutta failed to suppress the riot which took place under their very nose the *Englishman* need not have been perturbed over the probable consequences of British troops ever leaving the country. If they had left, Indians would have been relieved of a great burden and the waste of crores of rupees would have been saved. Indians would have had to pay less taxes, lakhs of cows would have been saved from being sacrificed and there would have been plenty of milk and *ghee* in the country. India is in fact looking forward to such a day. The *Hindi Kesari* blames the police for the Calcutta riot

and its consequences and notes with satisfaction that the local Hindus organized themselves in self-defence. The Muslims have themselves to blame if this time their mosques were attacked as the spirit of reprisals has been induced among the Hindus by the attacks on temples. The *Abhyudaya* writes:—It seems to us, although it is not so easy to prove it, that the question of music before mosques is being made an all-India question by a band of persons working in secret to serve political interests and to secure some rights at the expense of Hindus. Were there no mosques in India before and did Muslims not say prayers in them? Processions were taken out and music was also played all along. These are facts which cannot be denied by any honest man. The *Aj* writes:—Sir Edward Baker, the Governor of Bengal, had to resign because of his failure to put down a serious disturbance in Calcutta in the time of Lord Hardinge. This time, too, the disturbance continued unchecked for several days. This should be a matter for shame to the authorities. If they had been impartial in this matter none would have ventured to cause the disturbance. But the "justice" of Lord Reading has encouraged the hooligans with the result that they have not the least hesitation in committing breach of public peace. Lord Irwin will have to remedy this malady. In another issue the paper says:—Communal and religious riots have now assumed such serious proportions that it is impossible to stop them without inflicting the severest punishment. Firing should at once be resorted to on such occasions, but before such a practice is adopted the department of law and order should be placed in the hands of ministers who may thus be made responsible to the legislative councils for all the acts of police. This will not render the task of the police difficult but easy owing to the support given by public opinion. Special joint boards of officials and non-officials should be established which should inquire into the causes of riots and inflict the severest punishment upon those who foment the disturbances and those who are the first to commit breach of peace. All others should be released. In a subsequent issue the paper suggests that immediate firing should be restricted to communal and religious riots. The *Surya* criticizes the suggestions of the *Aj* and says:—In view of the irresponsibility and excesses of the police to vest it with the power of firing would be like giving a sword to a mad man. The *Gyan Shakti* refutes the allegation that the Government is responsible for Hindu-Muslim quarrels and extols the action of the Hindus who protected Muslims and mosques during the recent riot in Calcutta. If the Hindus succeed in suppressing hooliganism both the communities will gain. The Hindus of every district should, therefore, organize themselves for protection against hooliganism. The *Haqiqat* vehemently accuses Arya Samajists and Sangathanists of deliberately provoking riots by loudly beating drums and making noise before mosques just at prayer time and inquires what action the police has taken against those Aryas who set the whole of Calcutta ablaze by their mischievous action. In a subsequent issue the same paper says that the Calcutta police betrayed lamentable inefficiency in permitting the riots to continue for three days and remaining helpless against the law-breakers throughout that period. The Muslims complain that the alacrity of the Bengali Hindu police officers in arresting Muslims was on a par with their indifference in saving Muslim passers—by. The Bengal Government should inquire into these allegations and should severely punish those policemen, if any, who were guilty of siding with the Hindu rioters, Muslims should also receive adequate representation in the police service. It is a pity that *sangathan* is working such havoc and ruin in the country. The *Hamdam* regrets that even though Muslims have suffered greater loss in the Calcutta riots Mr. Malaviya has established a Hindu Citizens' Association there for defence and the Marwaris have simultaneously begun to dismiss their Muslim employees. Mr. Malaviya also appealed to Muslims to regard India as their motherland and to strive for her freedom but he seems to forget that the Muslims had already established a national Government in India and it was the treachery of the Hindus that brought in power a third race which is foreign. Mr. Malaviya's colleague Swami Sraddhanand is jubilant that the Hindus have shown a splendid spirit of self-defence and has even thought fit to warn Muslims with regard to the protection of the honour of their women. It is to be hoped that the Muslims will take warning from the utterances of Mr. Malaviya and Swami Sraddhanand and complete their organization at least to save the honour of their women. The *Medina* says that howsoever terrible and disheartening the immediate results of the communal riots may be they are pregnant with possibilities for ultimate good. They have removed the inertia which was so

fatal to national growth. A long list of mutual rights and duties is being automatically prepared which will help inter-religious legislation for the country. These riots will one day prove that it is impossible for any one community to exercise political domination over another. Religious superstitions which are excrescences in the religious code are being discredited and a sincere desire to ascertain the true principles of religion is being developed so that true brotherhood and love may prevail in India. The helplessness, selfishness and ridiculous religious neutrality of the foreign administration and the high-handedness of the law of the land are being exposed. These very disturbances will in the end clearly show that the administration and its laws were not meant for public welfare and peace but to serve the selfish ends of foreigners. The unjust and improper practices of various bodies are being exposed in all their worst aspects and in spite of the lying propaganda of such selfish bodies their mischievous objects are being laid bare and the time will come when the mass of the Indian people will condemn and annihilate them. These riots will not cease but will continue their task of purification and create a pure atmosphere for Indian nationalism. Our Hindu friends are glad that Hindus have adopted the offensive and have shown their vindictive spirit by desecrating mosques. But Muslims also should be glad that they have realized that however brave and reckless a race may be it becomes helpless under subjection and slavery. Instances have been very rare in India where mosques could be attacked in the presence of Muslims unless they were totally helpless. Aye, Muslims should be glad that the law and might of the foreign administration have failed to protect their places of worship and their duty has now become all the greater to protect their places of worship themselves and to show the races of India that they have fully realized their helplessness and are prepared for the final effort. We would ask our elders also not to lose heart. They should continue their efforts. God willing, these very riots will one day become the harbingers of peace and prosperity for India. The *Oudh Akhbar* agrees with the views expressed regarding the Calcutta riots by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Lahore and says that the policy of divide and rule is mainly responsible for the recent trouble in Calcutta. If both the communities were to turn their attention towards combating a stronger third party not only would their mutual quarrels cease but much good would result to the nation as a whole. Referring to the article in the *London Times* by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in which he has urged a reversion to autocratic rule owing to the Calcutta riots, the *Hamdam* says that Indian leaders should hang their heads in shame. But Sir Michael also should remember that such communal riots are the inevitable adjuncts of national awakening. When the masses regain their mental equilibrium, as they are bound to do very soon, the English element in India will have to go and Indians will have to be left alone to decide their fate. Communal tension will then disappear as there will be no third party left which would be interested in setting Hindus and Muslims by the ears.

Oudh Hindu Conference.

The *Leader* writes:—The Oudh Hindu Conference is reported to have been a great success. The Conference reiterated its protest against separate communal representation in the legislatures and local bodies and "preference accorded to certain communities in public services at the sacrifice of efficiency and involving injustice to the legitimate rights of Hindus." We recently cited figures which showed the extent to which in certain important branches of the public service the Hindus are grossly under-represented. We do not know how the Government, which claims to hold the balance even, can justify this preferential treatment of one community at the expense of another. The disparity of representation ought to be rectified if the Government cares for the confidence of the Hindus in its policy. However one may dislike the growth of communalism in the country, especially among the Hindus, it has to be admitted that the majority community suffered long on account of its disunity and disorganization before it realized that its preservation lay only in *sangathan*. It had ceased to be respected either by the Muslims or the Government. Even now on crucial occasions it is treated with scant courtesy by the local authorities. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was unconsciously dealing a severe blow to the Hindu *Sabha* when he made out in his Lucknow speech that it should oppose the Swarajists because he meant the unionists were better from the communal point of view. The conversion of the Hindu *Sabha* into a virulent political organization as the extreme communalists want it to be, will drive out of it the numerous Government servants, social reformers, non-political workers and also congressmen all of whom for their own

respective reasons will not agree to worship in the new political temple of Pandit Madan Mohan. The *Pratap* deplores the anti-Congress activities of Bhai Parmanand and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and says that by dealing a blow at the Congress they are applying the axe to the very roots of the country and are doing great disservice to the Hindus by getting them caught in the mire of the legislatures. The *Anand* supports the view of Bhai Parmanand, the President of the conference, that by following the policy of securing rights for other communities at the expense of the Hindus the Congress is weakening the Hindu community and urges the Hindus to vote only for the candidates of the united nationalist party during the next elections. The *Hamdam* deplores the mistake made in electing as president of the Oudh Hindu *Sabha*, Bhai Parmanand, the Punjabi firebrand, specially at a time when the country has not been able even to recover from the shock of the Calcutta riots. Bhai Parmanand wrongly fell foul of the Congress and separate representation as *shuddhi* and *sangathan* were in reality responsible for the present communal tension. The *Medina* says that from the very brief reports of the Oudh Hindu *Sabha* that have appeared in the press so far, it is clear that a section has sprung up among the Hindus which now plainly desires to set up a strong opposition to the Muslims and to establish a purely Hindu *raj* in India. Mr. Malaviya and Bhai Parmanand are the standard-bearers of this movement and in spite of the efforts of a few nationalist Hindus this sentiment is constantly growing. The speeches of these two gentlemen repeated the old lies that Muslims were responsible for riots. As a matter of fact it is these Hindu *Sabha* speeches and the articles of Hindu papers that engender trouble. The *Sada-i-Muslim* condemns the classification by Swami Sraddhanand of Indians into cow-protectors and cow-eaters and says that this method of promoting internal unity among Hindus will make them hate Muslims and Christians and thus injure the cause of Indian nationalism.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the formation of the Bengal Muslim party by Sir Abdur Rahim the *Leader* writes:—The manifesto of the party is so worded as to deceive the unwary and to disguise its real object which is not national but communal. The formation of the party is a distinctly reactionary move which will not help but retard the political progress of Bengal and deserves to be opposed by the better minds among the Muslims of the province. Mr. Sita Ram, M.L.C., writing to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that those who are acquainted with the history of India even of the recent times, cannot accept the proposition that the Government is absolutely unconnected with the tension that is prevailing between the Hindus and Muslims. "I am not a believer in the doctrine that the Government cannot remove the tension if it means to stop it. The favoured wife treatment of Fuller and the assurance of Lord Minto which have worked so much mischief in India should be regarded as things of the past and the Government of Lord Irwin should start with the clear determination to eschew religion from politics and to bestow appointments on the score of merit and merit only." In the course of an article discussing the means of winning *swaraj* the *Vartman* says:—The main obstacles in the way of attaining *swaraj* are the disorganized condition of the Hindus, their sense of weakness and the fear of death in their minds. If they remove all these there will be no difficulty in establishing *swaraj* and securing their rightful place among the great nations of the world. It is true that the bureaucratic policy is serving to separate the Hindus and Muslims, but if the former organize and strengthen themselves the latter will be the first to seek unity. Moreover, one crore of Muslims and 34 crores (*sic*) of Christians can be converted to Hinduism. This is a task to which all the religious societies of Hindus should address themselves. The *Aiena* dwells on the ties between Muslims and Englishmen and says that they need each other's support and urges Lord Irwin to concede equal rights to Indian Muslims to counteract the efforts of the Hindus to establish their own rule.

The Election Campaign.

The *Sainik* strongly criticizes the promoters of the Indian Nationalist party and says that they profess to keep away from the Congress in the name of conscience and independence of judgement, but the real fact is that their attitude is an indication of their slave mentality. Their conscience had forsaken them when they co-operated with the bureaucracy stained with the general massacre of Jallianwala Bagh, but it assumes formidable proportions when the question of co-operation with the Congress arises. Is freedom's battle won by such methods? In the battle of life victory is won by those alone who possess military discipline. In another note the paper compares the liberals with Jaichand and the Swarajists with

Prithviraj and says that the promoters of the Indian Nationalist party are out merely for personal gain. The paper also violently attacks Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and says:—It seems that the road to India's ruin will be paved with the good intentions of Pandit Malaviya. The *Pratap* takes Bhai Permanand and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya severely to task for their efforts to set up Hindu *Sabha* candidates during the next elections in contravention of the resolution of the Delhi *Mahasabha* and says that if the Hindu *Sabha* meddles in this affair there is sure to be a serious split in its camp which consists of men ranging from official toadies to anarchists. Even if the *sabha* triumphs in the next elections the only thing it would gain would be a few high offices for the Hindus. It is vain for it to expect that it would be able to get all that it wants through the majority of votes in the legislatures because the steel claw of the Government will never allow it to do so. The *Aj* opposes the active participation of the Congress in the forthcoming elections on the ground that it would be derogatory to its position as the national Parliament of India and would imply a tacit recognition of the Legislative bodies as the sole means of attaining *swaraj*. We think that to take part in elections is to acknowledge the need for constitutional agitation and we still prefer the winning of *swaraj* through proper and peaceful efforts of the people themselves. The *Shakti* regards the formation of the Indian nationalist party as a revolt against the Congress and says that this "unity" has been brought about by the liberals only with the object of opposing the Swarajists and as such cannot last beyond the next elections. Mr. Chintamani says that to vote for the Swarajists is to vote for the bureaucracy but our view is that to vote for the liberals is to vote for Czardom. If these apostles of unity are really striving for *swaraj* they should take a step forward and flock under the banner of the Congress.

Political propaganda.

Under the heading "Preparations to swallow Tibet" the *Pratap* publishes an article in which the writer dealing with the efforts of the British Government "to annex Tibet" refers to the recent growth of anti-British feeling in that country and says that the British Government is sure to devise some means to meddle with the affairs of Tibet. It may do so by setting it against Nepal but it would be a great misfortune for us if the Indian armies or the Gurkha bayonets and rifles roast the hearts of Tibetans. It is, therefore, necessary to carry on propaganda to save Tibet whose annexation will not only affect India but will prove to be a new nail in the coffins of other Asiatic countries. Commenting on the above the paper remarks that the Tibetan policy of the British Government is a part of its policy of dominating Asia. A wall of subjection is being built round India and we the Hindus and Muslims are ruining ourselves by mutual quarrels. Writing on the "National Week" the *Prem* deplores the activities of those who, forgetting the Jallianwala Bagh incident, are seeking election to the Councils and thus to make themselves parts of the same machinery which reduced their honour to dust. This national week tells us that in order to maintain its prestige the conquering nation treats with the greatest contempt the self-sacrifice of the slaves and does not hesitate in the least in crushing them in the mill of repression whenever such an occasion arises. Har Dayal Nag writing in the *Hridaya* holds the foreign Government responsible for the present miseries of the villagers and says that village organization is the only means of attaining *swaraj* and of removing the sufferings of the people.

Indian states.

Discussing the position of Indian states in connexion with the *swaraj* movement the *Aj* writes:—The recent proceedings of the Government have made it plain that it cares little for Indian chiefs. The time has come when they should espouse the cause of *swaraj*. They should grant *swaraj* to their own states, which is nothing more than the establishment of representative government on democratic principles. They should make themselves the presidents of such democratic administration and thereby preserve themselves and their dynasties and become leaders in the emancipation of India. The *Vartman* bitterly complains that Hindus are being oppressed in Hyderabad and says:—Perhaps no other state has so many diabolical laws as are in force in Hyderabad and Bhopal. For Hindus these states are worse than hell. The Nizam has even overdone Aurangzeb and has made it impossible for Hindus to live there. Can the law of the British Government strike at the rulers of Nabha and Indore only? The *Aziz-i-Hind* takes strong exception to the tone of Lord Reading's reply to the Nizam and says:—Lord Reading has thrown all caution and wisdom to the winds in his reply and has severely strained the loyalty of the Indian princes. The

Swarajists will now have every opportunity for propaganda among the chiefs and will be able to establish the truth of their warning that the British Government would forget its well-wishers as soon as the war was over. This sad travesty of the title of "Faithful Ally" bestowed on the Nizam will disgrace His Majesty the King-Emperor himself and will spread the impression throughout India that British policy changes with every new Viceroy. There was a time when the Nizam not only helped with men and money but used his influence as a Muslim leader to promote loyalty to Government and all Englishmen used to praise him. But today a departing Viceroy not only thinks fit to scold him severely but declares for the benefit of the other chiefs also that they cannot count before the British Government. His Excellency has given the enemies of the British Government an excellent handle to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian chiefs and if, God forbid, bad times again befall the British Empire, these ill-treatments accorded by British officials will serve it very badly indeed. We would advise the Nizam to abandon his dream of the restoration of Berar and to take warning from the fate of the Sultan of Turkey, the Czar of Russia and the Holkar of Indore. He should now cultivate good relations with the British Government and its officials as an antagonist like Lord Reading is now no longer in power and has been replaced by a nobleman of noble family like Lord Irwin. We also appeal to Lord Irwin to heal the wounds made by Lord Reading in the hearts of the chiefs than whom there is no more loyal class of Indians. The *Najat* says that Lord Reading's decision denying the Nizam's right over Berar is in direct contravention of treaties and British principles of administration and the Queen's Proclamation of 1857. Lord Reading's contention that as Britain is the paramount power in India she has the right to give final decision is not justified as possession of power does not place any person above justice. If Britain wants to do what she chooses in her pride of power she should never try to justify her actions. When Britain has not dealt fairly with a potentate who gave such aid in the critical times of the war how can we poor Indians put any faith in her promises?

The Agricultural Commission.

The *Haqiqat* acknowledges the ability and experience of the members of the Agricultural Commission and hopes for great good to the country if there is adequate public co-operation with that body. In a subsequent issue the same paper supports the Raja of Salempur in his protests against the non-representation of the landlords of Agra and Oudh on the commission.

The United Provinces Co-operative Conference.

The *Oudh Akhbar* welcomes the holding of the United Provinces Co-operative Conference at Fyzabad under non-official aegis, but fears that this new move will not help to make the co-operative movement more popular in these provinces as the peasants have not sufficient faith in the liberal leaders who alone seem to hold the stage in that body. Little good can result from the accompanying agricultural and industrial exhibitions as the general run of peasants and artisans can hardly be expected to take to the complicated English machinery which would be exhibited in it. Time and effort would be better employed in exhibiting Indian implements and in trying to improve on them in the Indian way.

Release of political prisoners.

Referring to Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion made in the *People* regarding the release of political and Akali prisoners the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—A man of tranquillity with no higher ambition than to serve India, as His Excellency has impressively told us in his first utterance, we would seriously suggest to the Viceroy to leave no stone unturned to earn India's good-will by adopting the suggestion of Lala Lajpat Rai.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
April 24, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 17 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 1, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Medina* insinuates that the present estrangement between Italy and Turkey is due to mischievous activities of the British behind the scenes who want to set these two countries by the ears in order to render the Turks too weak to prevent British exploitation of Mosul and Iraq. The expulsion of the British from these regions will mean the extinction of European domination over the East. Whatever may happen in future, it is certain that Mussolini will in the end befool these British statesmen and land them in inextricable difficulties. As for Turkey, her life and honour depend upon her own strength of arms and the establishment of a league of eastern nations. The *Hamdam* vehemently denounces French action in Damascus and writes:—We wish the admirers of Western civilization could take notice of these atrocities and the League of Nations, if it really desires to establish peace in the world, should call France to account for them.

Calcutta riots.

The riots continue to absorb the attention of the Press. The *Leader* writes:—The sickening details of cowardly and brutal assaults in Calcutta show the utter incapacity of the Calcutta police to control the situation. Can the administration pride itself on this state of anarchy? Is this the sample of bureaucratic efficiency? The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The only cure for the present communal outbreaks is either to scrap the Reforms and restore the old autocracy of the Civil Service, because then alone can it recognize its sense of duty and responsibility which can admit of no dyarchy—or to give power to the people when they will do exactly what Akbar or Asoka would have done or what the Maharaja of Kashmir or the Nawab of Rampur will do today. Proceeding, the paper says that Government would have adopted martial law had a tenth part of the riotous demonstration borne a political hue. "But when (communal) lawlessness reigns supreme, the Government of Bengal sits comfortably in the cool heights of Darjeeling leaving the 'niggers' to have it out among themselves in the heated plains below. The Calcutta riots are the best indictment of the British administration in Bengal and India." The *Aj* writes:—The recrudescence of riots in Calcutta is a proof of the impotence of the administration. If rulers exhibit such weakness on such occasions, not only will riots increase in number, but the prestige of the Government will also suffer. Will not their eyes open even after so much bloodshed and loss to trade? If bands of educated and zealous youths are organized in every ward such riots will never occur, but it is to be regretted that rulers put obstacles in the way. The *Shakti* writes:—The "steel frame" which from time to time seizes innocent and unarmed patriots with its bloody claws could not do anything when the hooligans were indulging in plunder, massacre and bloodshed in Calcutta. It appeared as if for one week the "steel frame" did not exist in the city. Order could not be restored without the intervention of those very leaders whom the Government calls rebels and who have at one time or another been charged with causing breach of the peace. The *Anand* remarks:—If even the Calcutta riots in which the Hindus have been the sufferers do not open their eyes and they do not strengthen their organization, then their annihilation is inevitable. The *Vartman* notes with gratification, that the Hindus were able to defend themselves and says:—Hindu *Sangathan* has caught on and we warn the Mulims that they will now have to bow everywhere before it. They should, therefore, abandon all hopes of injuring the Hindus by creating disturbances and should come to the right path. Otherwise they will begin to be consumed by the fire of their own

making. The *Gyan Shakti* writes:—It is altogether false that Englishmen instigate riots for their own good, but certainly there can be some truth in the statement that the British Government does not try to suppress them or that it takes inadequate steps to prevent them. These riots, however, are capable of doing the greatest injury to the Government. The hooligans who commit these riots are getting emboldened, and if the Government does not take steps to suppress them, it will sooner or later have to repent of its indifference. The *Arya Mitra* writes:—It appears that Muslims want to extirpate Arya Samajists so that they may have a free hand in dealing with the Hindus. It is for this reason that Muslims are ready to pick up quarrels with Arya Samajists. Government should protect peaceful people from the attacks of miscreants, but it is to be regretted that in several places instead of bringing the aggressors to their senses Government has exerted pressure on the aggrieved party. Instead of stopping lawful processions of Arya Samajists and of Hindus the Government should arrange for their safe conduct. If it cannot do so owing to the threats of Muslims, it will show that the British Government is defective. In the course of an article discussing the causes of the riots that have taken place during the last few years the *Medina* says:—The power which is at the bottom of these riots and is working as an agent is selfishness and is such that in the near future it will prove to be the messenger of death for those very self-seekers. When we deeply look into these riots we find that they began with the establishment of British rule and have become part and parcel of those blessings which have come to India along with Western domination. The Western rulers had taken India from Muslims. So in order to weaken the rightful heirs such laws and regulations were made as were sufficient to annihilate the Muslims. And then by various legal and political means the Muslims were thoroughly robbed. The ungrateful Hindus, too, who owed their civilization and prosperity to Muslim rule, were actuated by hatred and enmity and they decided that either the Muslims should be turned out of India or should be converted to Hinduism. The Hindus carried a persistent campaign against Muslims. Malaviya went to the Punjab and handed over the sword of *Sangathan* to Multanis. Calumnies were spread and simple Muslims were provoked so that they might commit riots. The other selfish group is the Civil Service of the Government whose existence and the heavenly luxuries which it enjoys depend upon Hindu-Muslim tension. During 150 years of administration there could be only one way of maintaining the rule, that is to keep the two great communities perpetually at strife with each other and then to bestow favours, now on one community and then on another, so that in the hope of securing favours the helpless slaves may continue to fly at each other's throats. A clear proof of the selfishness of Government is furnished by the fact that the machinery of "law and order" becomes paralyzed and proves helpless in preventing the riots and in their initial stages. It is only when a long list of loss of life and property is ready that the machinery begins to move and then it sprinkles salt over wounds. The only remedy is an inter-communal pact. The Government cannot stand on the foundation of these riots. These disturbances will one day entirely dispel the illusion and will bring into being a united front against the Government. Your administration cannot possibly continue for ever. A change is inevitable and where will the Government then be? In the abyss of ignominy. The *Haqiqat* says that the injured Hindus and Muslims of Calcutta should thank Malaviyaji, Swami Sraddhanand and their Sangathanist followers whose dissension-breeding speeches have involved them in such troubles. The local police was unable to suppress the riots because the number of Muslims in it is only 20 per cent. and it is a general complaint of the Muslims of the place that the police is in sympathy with the Hindus. (This complaint is voiced by some other Muslim papers also.) In these circumstances Sir Abdur Rahim was right in feeling the necessity for establishing a separate Muslim party in Bengal. The position of the Calcutta Muslims is very delicate, as they have got neither their press, nor *tanzim*, nor a leader to organize them. The Sangathanist Hindu leaders are wholly responsible for the riots in Calcutta. Referring to the remarks of Anglo-Indian papers that the Calcutta riots have established the indispensability of the British Government the *Nejat* writes:—In spite of a powerful administration with its army and the police, laws and regulations the temples and mosques of Calcutta were destroyed, murder and rapine in broad day-light were rampant for seven days and disturbances have broken out all through the length and breadth of the country during the past three years, but the Government could not stop them. In these circumstances the existence of such a Government cannot be said to be indispensable.

Armed recruits of Government were unsuccessful in establishing peace and it was the Hindu-Muslim volunteers of the Congress who saved places of worship. This demonstrates nothing but the bankruptcy, incapacity and failure of Government.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to executive orders stopping music before mosques at Allahabad, Lucknow, Mussoorie and other cities the *Signal* writes:—The Government in India appears to be presenting a new theory of law and order. Here law-abidingness does not mean respecting the rights of others. To penalise the Hindus for their weakness or peacefulness is to place a premium on turbulence. "Then what does the Government expect? Conciliating the Musalmans? The Government may set the two communities against each other, but does it know that by this policy it is also making its own fate certain? It is alienating the sympathy of even the moderate Hindus? This interference in their religious things is sure to incense even the Hindu villagers both against the Musalmans and also the Government for its siding with the Muslim case. On the other hand, this encouragement to the Muslims to appeal to force off and on will surely make them bold and assertive and, if not for India at least for Muslims abroad, the Musalmans of India may come into a serious conflict with the Government and then it may realize its mistake. Or if the foreign Muslim politics prove barren, the Musalmans may some day again combine with the discontented Hindus and then? Thus it will be seen that this unscientific and inequitable policy of the Government is not going to benefit even the Government in the end." The *Leader* writes:—The dispute about music before mosques is of very recent development. The Muslims have not become more prayerful than before and yet formerly they did not object to it as interfering with the discharge of their religious duties. Their mosques in large towns are often situated on crowded thoroughfares where the din of modern traffic is generally at its height at the time of their evening prayers. But this evidently does not interfere with their prayers. It is the Hindu music alone which is objected to . . . . Reasonable Muslims must themselves admit that their co-religionists who have begun to object to music before mosques are gratuitously thrusting a quarrel on the Hindus. The latter are not prepared to yield on a point on which they feel convinced that they are in the right. The Calcutta tragedy should be a warning to all, and it is high time that the question is settled in a reasonable and friendly spirit. A correspondent writing in the *Arya Mitra* strongly protests against the stoppage of the Aryasamaj nagarkirtan procession at Mussoorie by the Superintendent of Police, Dehra Dun, and says:—It is neither fair nor proper that the activities of the Arya Samaj should be interfered with on account of the threats of hooligans. Is the Superintendent prepared to stop Muslim processions also in this manner? If not, why is such injustice perpetrated on Arya Samajists? Does not the provincial Government recognize the religious rights of Arya Samajists? The *Sainik* opines that nothing has contributed so much towards promoting friction between Hindus and Muslims as the system of communal representation. The *Pratap* remarks that the formation of the "Bengal Muslim Party" by Sir Abdur Rahim, synchronising as it does with the recent Calcutta riots, is calculated to aggravate the prevailing tension between the two communities. It is the duty of all the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal and of the entire press to stop the progress of Sir Abdur Rahim's new party and preach unity and mutual tolerance. Referring to the report that at Jubbulpore the Arya Samajists preferred cow-sacrifice to abstention from music before mosques the *Hamdam* writes:—We wish to warn the Sanatan Dharmists how the Arya Samajists are creating new troubles which lead to cow-sacrifice. The Arya Samajists have shown that they have not the same reverence for the cow which the Sanatanists have and that they do not mind sacrifice. Mahatma Gandhi who is the greatest advocate of cow-protection should now come out of his retreat and rouse public opinion against these Arya Samajists. He should try to remove these mischievous elements and to restore such cordial relations between the Hindus of ancient faith and Muslims as existed between them during and long after Muslim rule and without which no movement for Indian liberty can succeed. Referring to a demonstration of the Banda Muslims under the presidentship of Mr. Masud-uz-Zaman, the local M.L.C., the *Haqiqat* regrets to see that the ill-treatment of some Muslim employees in the local boards by Hindus has compelled Banda Muslims to go to the length of passing a resolution requesting Government not to grant any further instalment of the Reforms. The paper asks Indian leaders to inquire into the matter and find out why Banda Muslims have adopted such a harsh attitude.

The Sabarmati agreement.

The *Leader* writes:—The agreement reached at the Sabarmati conference under the shadow—we do not know if with the blessing—of the Mahatma has given away the vital principle of non-acceptance of office and thus marks one more and a very important climb-down on the part of the orthodox Swarajists . . . Now the greatest of all the Swarajist somersaults has come. Commenting on these remarks the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—If Panditji has really "climbed down" there is no reason why there should be a liberal party hereafter in the country, or for that matter a unionist party, or any other party? If there is any honesty in their professions, the liberals must now return to the Congress and Pandit Malaviya should relinquish his latter day hostility to the same. "Never was liberal confusion more confounded." The *Aj* does not approve of the compromise as in its opinion it involves the sacrifice of principles and means a complete surrender to the responsive cooperationists. It is most surprising that ministerships are sought to be accepted in the name of the Congress. The *Anand* regards the agreement as a triumph of liberal principles. The *Surya* writes:—The agreement is a victory of responsive cooperationists and of those who stand for constitutional methods. We are satisfied with the compromise, but doubt very much whether the Swarajists will stick to it after securing victory in the elections. The *Oudh Akhbar* hopes that the Swarajists and responsivists will patch up their differences to make a united stand against the nationalist party.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Leader* hopes that the acceptance by the Union Government of the Government of India's proposal for the holding of a round table conference and its decision to postpone consideration of the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration Bill mark the beginning of the adoption by the Government of South Africa of a considerate and broad-minded policy which cannot fail to create a favourable atmosphere in both countries. Its attitude places an obligation on the people of this country who feel strongly on the subject to exercise wise self-restraint and to say and do nothing calculated to disturb the friendly atmosphere that has been created. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* hopes that the announcement will satisfy all classes of Indians. While expressing satisfaction at the Union Government's decision the *Haqiqat* remarks:—From the wording of the announcement it appears that all the anti-Indian activities of the Union Government are actuated by the spirit of racial distinction against Asiatics, which has spread almost all over Europe. No such spirit should be allowed to prevail in the conference. The *Hamdam* entertains no hope of any real good coming out of the proposed round table conference in South Africa and says:—The gist of the correspondence on the subject shows that the present state is more disquieting than before and we are afraid that Mr. Andrews has been entirely deceived in the matter. The efforts made by the Indian Government in this connexion indicate no way of solving the problem satisfactorily, nor does the correspondence show that the Indian Government has truly represented the feelings of Indians. South African or other national or international questions cannot be solved in accordance with the wishes of Indians until Indian national representatives are given an opportunity of dealing effectively with these matters, and this cannot be without a national Government. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that Indians will not tolerate any agreement involving the repatriation of South African Indians because they did not send out their people to distant countries to be eventually returned disappointed, leaving the fruits of their labours to be enjoyed by others.

The Agricultural Commission.

In the course of a letter to the *Pioneer*, the Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Singh, Honorary Secretary, United Provinces Zamindars' Association, writes:—In the present circumstances neither the Government, nor the proprietors, nor the cultivators have any inducement to invest money in the improvement of land which is due chiefly to the defects of the Tenancy laws and land revenue assessment. It is, therefore, most regrettable that these matters have been excluded from the terms of reference of the Commission. As the Commission is not properly representative and every province has its own aspect of agricultural development, it will be, I think, most appropriate if at least two co-opted members from each province having practical knowledge and experience of agricultural problems are added to the Commission. The *Oudh Akhbar* also pleads for the co-optation of men having a thorough knowledge of the agricultural conditions of their respective provinces. Commenting on the invitation of the Governor of Bombay to Mr. Gandhi in connexion with the Agricultural Commission the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—If this invitation is an indication of any change of heart on the part of the Government,

then surely it will do good both to the Government and the people. There will hardly be any room for complaint if the authorities consult the leaders in this manner and try to solve the problems of the country in the light of their suggestions.

Muslim affairs.

Under the heading "The Muslim Mentality" the *Leader* opposes the proposals of a communal nature made by Mr. Mohammed Yaqub in his presidential address to the United Provinces Muslim League and says that his suggestion regarding the election plank for the Muslims is one which zealous supporters of *Sangathan* will very likely not be slow to avail themselves of. In another note the paper writes:—The resolutions of the Provincial Muslim Educational Conference show almost without exception a narrow communal outlook and a rooted distrust of Hindus which we deplore. We have no hesitation in saying that we know of no justification for such attitude on the part of the leaders of the Muslim education movement in these provinces. In yet another note the paper writes:—"It seems that there is but one policy understanded of a section of Muslim public men: 'All for Muslims'. It need not be said that no Hindu publicist, be he a nationalist the most fervent, can or will swallow this."

Military training for Indians.

Referring to the report that the Prince of Wales College, Dehra Dun, was able to send only five candidates for the Simla Sandhurst examination in 1925, the *Leader* writes:—The inadequate provision of facilities for military training and the selection of cadets chiefly from a particular class of people are all parts of a higher and highly unsatisfactory military policy against which public opinion has been and is protesting. That in a country of more than 300 millions only six persons should be found fit in a year to be given the King's Commission if a fair selection were made nobody outside bureaucratic circles would believe and that the State should be able to provide facilities for military training for 70 cadets only does not show that the Government have been pursuing a generous military policy and that they are keen on providing facilities for military training for Indian boys.

The Viceroy.

Referring to the report that the Viceroy made expeditions *incognito* at Dehra Dun and visited several outlying villages the *Leader* writes:—This is a promising start. Lord Irwin when he descends to the plains should find time to acquire first-hand knowledge of rural life, the economic condition of the agricultural classes who are the real people of India and of the provisions that exist for their education, medical relief and sanitation. Knowledge will breed sympathy and insight and will enable him to understand why there is so much discontent in the land and to make him realize more keenly the urgent need of rural reconstruction. The *Oudh Akhbar* regards the visit as a practical proof of His Excellency's interest in agriculture, and suggests that in the beginning of the winter season he should make an extensive tour and should inspect not only the agricultural conditions but also sanitary and educational conditions as well of poor cultivators. If like other preceding Viceroys he too depends on the reports of departments no useful agricultural improvement will be possible.

Indian States.

Referring to the report that the Nizam has made it a criminal offence for any person to keep pictures of cows the *Leader* says:—The Nizam has been doing things which do not fit in with his designation 'exalted'. The *Sada-i-Muslim* complains that certain Hindu journals led by the *Vartman* have started a campaign of calumny against the rulers of Hyderabad and Bhopal simply in order that certain Muslim chiefs also may be dethroned like the chiefs of Nabha and Indore. It is to be hoped that the Government will not be influenced by such malicious propaganda and will not take any action against the popular states of Hyderabad and Bhopal as this will cause serious resentment among Muslims.

Bolshevism.

Referring to the report of the existence of a secret society of Bolsheviks in Paris called the "Indian People" the object of which is to teach Indian, Persian, Afghan and Chinese students the doctrines of Bolshevism and bring about simultaneous revolutions in several Asiatic countries with a view to remove British supremacy from Asia, the *Vartman* remarks:—It undoubtedly involves a great menace to India especially at a time when it is full of dissensions and conflicts. If the British Government does not stop its repressive policy and does not endeavour to

improve the existing situation in the country these conspirators will gain ground in India. Although the Indian political situation is not favourable to Bolshevism, yet it cannot be said that India is altogether unaffected by socialism. Besides the propagation of socialism is easier than other movements.

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ALLAHABAD:
May 1, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 18 of 1926.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 8, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Commenting on the installation of Reza Khan the *Pratap* remarks :—The people of Persia have acted unwisely in founding the dynasty of Reza Khan and in accepting this Reza Khan has gone against the spirit of the times and the interests of his country. How good would it have been if instead of accepting the crown he had established a Republic? The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the British Government is using all its power to usurp the oil-springs in Mosul and in intrigues against Turkey. The only conclusion which can be drawn from the news regarding the agreements between Italy and Greece and the former's intention to invade Turkey is that all these agreements and intentions against Turkey are due to Britain's intrigues and that after the remission of a considerable portion of Italy's debts it was secretly agreed between Britain and Italy that the latter should enter into an agreement with Greece and should itself make preparations for invading Asiatic Turkey. The news received from Turkey shows that the Turks are also aware of Britain's intrigues and Italy's intentions and have begun to make necessary military preparations to defend their national rights. We think Britain has made the state of affairs sufficiently critical. It should now act wisely and should not long trifle with the sense of honour and self-respect of a noble and brave nation, and should not goad the afflicted world to another dangerous and world-wide war. Turkey's condition is quite different from that of the Riffs. Turkey is not only powerful but it is on friendly terms with its neighbouring nation with whose powerful aid it can carry on war against any power for a long time. Britain should have some regard for its subject nations whose aspirations for liberty it is wantonly crushing. They will not again commit the mistake which they made during the late war.

Calcutta riots.

The riots continue to be the main theme of press comments. The *Leader* strongly supports the demand of Calcutta papers for an inquiry to find out the "clever brains working behind the disturbances" and says:—The Government of Bengal cannot shirk the inquiry without arousing profound misgivings. The *Abhyudaya* says that the continuance of arson and bloodshed in Calcutta for more than three weeks shows that not only the Bengal Government but the Government of India also is totally unfit to rule. Not only Indians but the people of the whole world can to-day ask the Government of India whether the scene at Calcutta is a specimen of its much vaunted "law and order." Does "law and order" mean that the Governor of Bengal should enjoy himself at Darjeeling when Calcutta is in the throes of bloodshed? The *Surya* suggests the organization of civic guards and says:—The continuance of hooliganism for so many days in a premier city like Calcutta is an indelible blot on the Bengal Government. In another article the paper points out that the lesson which the Calcutta riots convey is that Hindus should lose no time in strengthening their organization and making themselves strong. Hindu organization is indispensable for Hindu-Muslim unity. Referring to the questions asked in Parliament about the Calcutta riots the *Vartman* says:—If those who asked the questions had been an eye-witness they would have seen how negligent the bureaucracy of Bengal has been in allowing this riot to spread and what a terrible conspiracy of imperialism lies hidden in this negligence. This policy which is casting a blot on the administration is being enforced through those very persons who during the past years enacted a strange drama in the name of the maintenance of public peace and the protection of the lives of the people and showered bullets on unarmed and

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peaceful *Satyagrahis*. But there is a vast difference between the disturbances of those days and the present riot. The peaceful agitation of those days was fatal to imperialism whereas the terrible and brutal bloodshed of to-day is being considered as desirable for strengthening the foundations of the Empire. The paper publishes a letter from Debi Datt Dwivedi (temperance preacher of United Provinces, now in Calcutta) under the heading "Prostitutes, pimps, tailors, vegetable-sellers, doctors, etc., poison the Hindus and stab them: Englishmen and Christians should also be on their guard: Invasion of *mullahs* in villages: Efforts to annihilate Hindus in every way." The writer gives instances of the allegations contained in the head-lines and exhorts both Hindus and Christians to be very cautious in appointing Muslims in any capacity whatever. It is reported, says the writer, that a band of Maulvis is going round in every village and town of the country to incite Muslims with a view to the ultimate establishment of Muslim *raj*. The *Aj* strongly criticizes the authorities for the delay in the suppression of the riot and says:—They wanted that the Hindus and Muslims might get bewildered over their mutual fighting, appeal to the Government for intervention and be convinced that they could not do without the bureaucracy. This suspicion is confirmed by the efforts of Sir Abdur Rahim to form a separate Muslim party in the Council to oppose Swarajists and by the Governor not coming down from the hills till the riots were over. It is a point worth consideration whether the responsibility for the riots cannot be laid at the door of those who stand to gain by the diversion of the attention of the people from politics to communal or religious disputes. It will be desirable to demand an explanation from Lord Lytton for the prolongation of the riots. The *Anand* says that the weakness displayed by the authorities on the occasion of the two riots in Calcutta casts a slur on the prestige of the British Government, with the result that people have begun to doubt its capacity to maintain peace and order. It is also said that the Government itself wants to set the two communities by the ears and that is why it does not stop disturbances. The *Shankar* points out that while Swami Shraddhanand condemned the desecration of mosques by Hindus at Calcutta, Maulana Shaukat Ali gave vent to venomous sentiments against them and gave a certificate of good conduct to Muslims despite their atrocities on Hindus. This has exposed the blackness of the heart of Maulana Shaukat Ali and Hindus will no longer trust him. The *Medina* says that Hindus in their passion for revenge and bigotry have taken leave of their senses. They are wantonly making an exhibition of their innate wickedness. Reports of arson, murder and rapine are received every day. It seems that there is an organized and persistent conspiracy against the Muslims. The police is in sympathy with the Hindus and whenever it resorts to firing it is the Muslims who are the victims. If the helplessness of the Muslims and the high-handedness of the Government and the Hindus demand that the Muslims of Calcutta should be ruined, then it is all very good for a Muslim does not become a true believer unless he is utterly ruined. These troubles of the Muslims of Calcutta are bound to evoke the protection of God and the sympathy of the Prophet. Then the Muslims will realize that they have no protector or helper in India except the Almighty. At that time, the negligent and selfish Government and the mischievous and villainous Hindus will realize with what calamitous and fatal consequences this high-handedness was fraught. Meanwhile we request the Muslims of Calcutta to keep quiet and organize themselves in religious brotherhood. The *Hamdam* thinks that special preparations had been made to molest the Muslims and that the use of firearms and bombs clearly reveals the hands of high class people. The *Haqiqat* says:—Although the Muslims have suffered heavy casualties they have been charged in large numbers with murder, etc. Why did the police not arrest Hindu murderers? It is the duty of His Excellency Lord Lytton and his Executive councillors to inquire into the matter. The *Arya Patra* remarks that communal representation in local bodies and Government service is the main cause of communal tension. The *Hindustani* accuses the Government of Bengal and the Government of India of callousness to the sufferings of the people and says:—His Excellency Lord Lytton came down to Calcutta only on Thursday last and that too not with any other object but to see off his wife. How can, then, Indians remain satisfied with rulers who remain indifferent to the loss of life and property of the people? We have repeatedly said that such Hindu-Muslim riots which are now taking the form of a regular warfare and are spreading from one province to another, will prove very dangerous to the Government itself because they will make those very people arrogant, bloody and tyrannical

who have so far been thoroughly loyal and faithful to the British Government. The *Rahnuma* says that Muslims were not only fired at from house-tops but at one place a bomb was also dropped on them. Such incidents show that high class and educated persons also participated in the riots. We can only regard this state of things as the blessings of Pandit Malaviya's visit to Calcutta.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The Calcutta riots have greatly accentuated the communal tension. Commenting on the report of Mr. Muhammad Ali's interview to the Associated Press the *Leader* writes:—His interview is an intimation to the public that he is going to make another bid for the active leadership of his community. Mr. Muhammad Ali by the sort of views he has expressed at a psychological moment has rendered a disservice to the cause of a better understanding between the two communities. The *Aj* writes:—We do not know where the Muslim demand for special privileges and facilities will lead to. It is because their unjust demands are conceded that they are increasing day by day. Muslim leaders have now begun to urge reservation of separate educational grants and of seats in educational institutions. Such unfair demands have poisoned national life. They want to get more advantage out of the taxes paid by non-Muslims and yet they demand separate representation also for themselves. We cannot but strongly oppose such an attitude. The *Vartman* exhorts Hindus to organize their own bands, to boycott Muslim bandsmen and to give up the worship of Muslim saints and tombs. This, says the paper, has become necessary for self-defence as Muslims are bent on creating disturbances. If Muslim bandsmen are engaged there will be occasions when Hindu marriage processions will be attacked and robbed and the well-dressed processionists will be beaten and all their pomp and show will vanish. And then neither the police nor any one else will come to the rescue. The *Anand* writes:—Hindus have always had the freedom to play music before mosques and until two or three years back no Muslim took any objection to it. It is inexplicable why they have adopted a different attitude now. The Hindus too are not prepared to yield in this matter. The *Aj* is surprised to find Maulana Muhammad Ali blaming the majority of Hindu leaders for not opposing the Hindu *Sangathan* and says:—An unbiassed mind can easily find out who the aggressors in these disturbances are and what the cause of the Hindu *Sangathan* is. The Hindus cannot be blamed for they were in need of it. The blame lies on the shoulders of those who at the instigation of the foreigners established the Muslim League in opposition to nationalism and are laying great stress on the separation of Muslims from non-Muslims. We dare say that no nationalist would support the unfair demands of Muslims. We are ourselves no advocates of the Hindu *Sabha* but in truth and justice it must be said that it was the unfair demands of the Muslims that compelled the Hindus to form a separate organization for self-defence. Reverting to the subject in two further articles the paper writes:—If Muslims do not want to become nationalists without special privileges and separate representation, the rest of the country will have to unite to oppose their demands. This will be a most unpleasant task but it will become inevitable. The *Bharat Dharma* says that Muslims do not act upon the precept "Live and let live." They still dream of a Muslim *raj* in India little knowing that like the sword of Democles the bureaucratic sword hangs alike over the Hindus and the Muslims. They have no idea of the miserable condition of their holy places and of the Muslim states outside India but are only determined to break the heads of their Hindu brethren. The brutal atrocities perpetrated by them almost convince us of the trite saying that "no one is meaner than a Muslim." The *Prabhat* strongly protests against the stoppage of *nagarkirtan* procession of the Arya Samajists at Mussoorie and Hapur and says that the Government not only interferes in the religious duties of the Hindus but also deprives them of their civic rights. The *Medina* complains that following in the footsteps of Christian missionaries and *padris*, the Hindus have also commenced to paint the character of the Prophet of Islam in the blackest colours. The Secretary, *Tabligh-ul-Islam* Association, Nigram, has brought to notice a book named "Vichitra Jiwan" published by the editor of the *Arya Musafir*, Agra, in which unholy and the meanest possible attacks have been made on the sacred personality of the great Prophet. It seems as if such non-sense and barbarities are the sole instruments of propaganda in the hands of the Samajist missionaries. By these unholy doings they are revealing their own meanness. We appeal to Muslims to invoke legal aid for the punishment of these slanderers and to convince officials that the Arya Samajist *goondas* and mischief-makers are fanning the flames of riots and disturbances in India. If proper measures are not adopted

to crush this movement the bureaucracy itself will be held responsible for any future bloodshed. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* also urges the forfeiture of this book. The *Mashriq* draws the attention of the Government to the need of appointing Christians and Anglo-Indians as head assistants or head clerks in the various offices of the Government as the Hindus when appointed to these posts do all in their power to keep out Muslims. Referring to the editorial article of the *Vartman* of April 30, advocating the boycott of Muslim bandsmen, the *Sada-i-Muslim* writes:—It is well known that idolators have always been striving to injure Muslims. The attitude which a large body of our compatriots has adopted at present is extremely hostile and for months the Hindus of Cawnpore have been trying their best to injure Muslims by boycotting them. The views expressed in the *Vartman* are extremely provocating. It is the duty of Cawnpore Muslims to find work for such of their co-religionists as are out of employment, or have been or are proposed to be boycotted. Even if now Muslims prefer selfish and individual existence to corporate life then all the designs of the enemies of Islam will be fulfilled and our negligence will spell our ruin.

Muslim affairs.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deplores the emphasis laid by the President of the Provincial Muslim League on the protection of Muslim interests and says:—Supposing we grant the extraordinary protection that Mr. Yaqub wants in matters legislative, then farewell to the dream of responsible government through Parliamentary institutions. The paper holds the system of communal representation to be responsible for the present communal tension and riots. The *Sainik* holds a similar view. Approving the general tone of the presidential address of Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub the *Hamdam* says that the first and foremost thing on which he has rightly laid stress is the need of a strict adherence to the safeguards provided in the Lucknow pact according to which no legislative proposal affecting the religious or national rights of any community can be proceeded with when it is opposed by at least three-fourths of the members of the community. During the last two years the pact has, to the detriment of the Muslims at large, been disregarded by Hindu members. His remarks for the separate representation of Muslims are useful. The statistics of the posts held by Muslims and Hindus under the provincial Government may well be considered by the Hindu members of the Council to whom a little increase in the number of Muslims in the police department is not pleasing. His proposals regarding the Hindu-Muslim unity are especially worthy of the consideration of influential men of both the communities. In another article the paper remarks that more than half of the resolutions passed by the Provincial Muslim Educational Conference point out the difficulties which the Muslims have to face in the establishment and the maintenance of primary schools and *maktabs* in accordance with their needs. These difficulties are due to the indifference and the opposition of the Hindu members of the local bodies who acting upon their Sangathanist principles, like to spend more on Hindu education and the minimum on Muslim education and are not prepared to give grants to Muslim schools from the general educational fund on the plea that the rules do not allow them to do so. In fact the Meston scheme is for affording additional aids to Muslims and in no way prevents the local bodies from giving grants from the general fund. There is already a demand from the Hindus for the abolition of the Meston scheme and hence the conference has passed a resolution against the said demand. The paper strongly supports the resolutions passed by the conference. The *Haqiqat* remarks that Mr. Yaqub's address has fulfilled all expectations. In supporting Muslim claims he has shown that the Muslims are helpless in the face of the Hindu majority not only in the reformed councils but in the matter of employment also they get much less than what they are entitled to. Some Hindu correspondents wrote to the *Leader* complaining of excessive representation of Muslims in the Police and Tahsildarships. They should look at the figures cited by Mr. Yaqub. Referring to the answers given in the local council to Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain's questions regarding the nomination and education of the depressed classes, *Al Bashir* accuses the Government of partiality towards the Hindus with a view to increasing their power and prosperity. It says that the inauguration of the reforms in these provinces has led to the establishment of Hindu *raj* and asks:—Can there be any intelligent and honest Muslim who, after these events, can honestly entertain loyal feelings towards the Government and support the reforms scheme? Can Government be congratulated on having reduced the Muslims, who have themselves been rulers in this country, to such a state and left

them to the mercy of the Hindus? In another editorial note the paper charges the Government of Sir William Marris with weakness and remarks that the hopes entertained of his Government with regard to Muslim education have been turned into disappointment. During the time of a friend of the Muslims like Sir William Marris the claims of Muslims in the matter of their educational advancement are overlooked. All this leads us to the view that it is the duty of every patriotic Muslim to try to make the reforms scheme a failure by all possible means and it is necessary for them to follow the *Swaraj* party in this matter. Referring to the contribution of a lakh of rupees to the Franc fund by the Gaekwar of Baroda, the *Jadu* says that such help to other European powers by Hindu States amounts to a manifest opposition to the Muslims. One might well think that while there exists a Hindu *Sangathan* in this country to oppose Indian Muslims, another similar organization is contemplated to destroy non-Indian Muslims. The Indian Muslims look upon Great Britain with suspicion in that it is difficult to imagine an Indian State venturing to accord such help to other nations without her permission. It is to be hoped that the British Government would clear its position and would allow Muslim States the freedom of helping non-Indian Muslims who are fighting France.

The Sabarmati agreement.

Referring to the failure of the Sabarmati pact the *Leader* writes:—The truth appears to be that in Mr. Nehru's anxiety "to dish" the new National Party a truce had been patched up between men who did not mean the same thing and at the first breath of adverse criticism it was torn into shreds. So the meeting which was expected to bring about a greater unity and to which non-Congressmen had been invited to explore the avenues to it, has resulted in the destruction of the very pact which was said to have opened the door of the Congress to all parties outside it. If the proceedings of May 4 and 5 will lead at least some distinguished persons to think calmly and without prejudice and to base their future policy upon thought much more than upon feeling, these proceedings will have abundantly justified themselves. The *Bharat Varsha* welcomes the pact and hopes that it will remove the main cause of friction between the two wings of the *Swaraj* party. The *Aj* deplores the agreement as in its opinion it leads the Congress back to the path of mendicancy for which the liberals were so much abused. The paper urges adherence to the Nagpur resolutions. The *Abhyudaya* congratulates the Swarajists on the wisdom displayed by them in composing their differences with the Responsivists and the Responsivists on the victory of their principles. The *Pratap* writes:—The pact is improper and impracticable, improper because it wholly changes the decision of the Cawnpore Congress regarding acceptance of office and impracticable because such tactics delude the public. It is insulting and futile to beg the autocratic provincial Governor to allow the Ministers to work without interference. The *Bharat Dharma* thinks that the pact has strengthened the Congress. The *Hridaya* welcomes the agreement as it opens the door of the Congress to all the parties. The *Hind-i-Jadid* hopes that the pact will end the disorganization and disunity in the country.

Political propaganda.

Hardayal Nag writing to the *Hridaya* says:—Those who are happy at the retirement of the Mahatma from the political field should bear in mind that just as the last days of Ramchandra and Yudhishthir, the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and the flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina are associated with important events, in the same manner Mahatma Gandhi's downfall will result in the establishment of a social republic at least in India if not in the whole world. The interests of humanity demand that Mahatma Gandhi should re-enter the political arena for if *Satyagraha* is started the Council-entry nuisance will disappear. The *Swadhin* writes:—The storm of non-co-operation has so clouded the vision of the masses that the British Empire, which keeping this country in the dark sucks its juice, is having a happy time of it, for while formerly it tried to satisfy Indians by gradually granting them rights of self-government, it is finding them slumbering at present and is therefore adopting measures to strengthen its foundations and perpetuate its rule here. Now instead of Indianizing the services Englishmen are being indented in larger numbers and that on higher salaries. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks:—The bureaucracy describes its Government as "established by law" but it does not follow that it is a righteous Government. The real nature of the existing laws was exhibited by General Dyer at Amritsar. If inhuman laws framed by one particular nation in its own interests are forced upon Indians they will obey them only so long as they have not acquired the strength to defy them. There is no lack of strength in India, only it is scattered

and efforts are being made to concentrate it. The burden of these lawless laws has become unbearable to non-co-operators, responsivists, nationalists, swarajists and co-operators alike and the cry of civil disobedience has begun to emanate from every quarter. It is, therefore, high time that the authorities should repeal all the obnoxious laws and try to establish a righteous rule so that it may have permanent existence.

Indian States.

Referring to the Nizam's orders regarding Hindu schools and pictures of cows the *Anand* says:—Was it on the basis of such acts that the Nizam wanted to ensnare the Beraris with the bait of autonomy? If the Nizam persists in such an unjust policy his subjects should seek redress at the hands of the British Government and should endeavour to get such a ruler dethroned. Some other Hindu papers also strongly protest against these orders. Muslim papers, on the other hand, defend the action of the Nizam and caution the Government against the malicious propaganda carried on against him by Hindu papers. The Muslim press continues to protest against Lord Reading's reply to the Nizam's demand for the restoration of Berar.

Indians in the Colonies.

The papers generally welcome the decision of the Union Government to hold a round table conference but emphasize the need for continuing the agitation to safeguard the rights of Indians in that colony. They fear that if the agitation is slackened the "Black Bill" will ultimately be passed.

United Provinces Legislative Council.

The *Oudh Akhbar* joins the United Provinces Zamindars' Association in its protest against the next session of the Council being held at Naini Tal and says:—If the session is not held at Lucknow both the zamindars and tenants, specially the latter, will complain that the Government wants to trample upon their rights and it is not unlikely that the enforcement of the Act may be attended with troubles. It adds that the Naini Tal session will entail a heavy expenditure on the members as well as on the Government and only such members will attend the Council meeting as are accustomed to go to the hills every summer.

Elections to local bodies.

The *Tohfa-i-Hind* holds that official interference is inevitable in the present system of elections to local bodies and suggests that the official agency now employed in conducting the elections should be supplemented by a body of non-official returning officers, that the preparation of electoral rolls should be left to some capable and selfless workers in every polling station and that the rural voters should be educated as to their rights and privileges.

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ALLAHABAD:
May 8, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 19 of 1926.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 15, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

THE strike in Britain has received considerable attention in the Press. The *Leader* writes:—The end of the strike means a striking triumph of constitutionalism and a severe blow to the policy of direct action. Non-violent non-cooperation in Britain has failed, despite the international support of trade unionists. We hope that its lessons will not be lost on those in this country who still have faith or profess to have faith in the method of direct action and who cannot wean themselves from a wrecking policy whose futility and sterility has been fully established. The sympathies of the extremist papers are decidedly with the strikers. The *Aj* thinks that the strike may stimulate the Bolsheviks and Fascists. The paper welcomes signs of international co-operation of labour and writes:—Universal measures are required to deal successfully with a universal malady. Without such meas ures there can be no co-operation between labour and capital. The *Hamdam* writes:—The present despotic Government of England is trying to give the colour of rebellion to the legitimate demands of the miners. Mr. Baldwin will be wholly responsible for any bad turn which the strike takes in future. The *Sada-i-Muslim* thinks that if labour comes out successful the Government will, to a certain extent, come into the hands of the Labour party. The Muslim press is following the Riffian struggle with keen and sympathetic interest and is paying a warm tribute to the Riffs for their bold stand. The *Hamdam* writes:—We hope that the agreement between Turkey and Persia will produce a very good effect on the common politics of the Islamic powers and that both the countries will act up to the maxim that "all Muslims are brothers" and by means of a universal union of the Islamic powers will devise some plan of checking the imperialistic and anti-Islamic activities of the Christian League of Nations. The *Mansur* does not see any justification for the all-World Islamic Conference to be held at Cairo, as the Egyptians are not their own masters and are under British domination. The same paper says that the Islamic world will be grateful to learn that a zealous research relating to Islam is being carried on in Germany, a grand mosque has been erected in Berlin and an institution has been established to which Indian religious heads of Islam have been invited. The chief aim of the institution is to remove the curtain of darkness and difference which has hitherto been hanging between the East and the West.

Calcutta riots.

The press continues to indulge in communal recriminations and serious allegations against the authorities in connexion with the Calcutta riots. The *Pratap* remarks:—It has now become quite evident that the authorities acted negligently during the Calcutta riots and Lord Lytton followed the example of Nero who was fiddling while Rome was burning. The paper strongly protests against the proposal of the Bengal Government to prosecute certain papers under section 153A and says:—The sinful supineness of Government in Calcutta compelled the people to adopt whatever measures of self-defence they liked. Had the Government been alert and had it not failed in its duty there would have been no occasion for giving vent to communal ill-feelings. It is thus the Government which is responsible for these poisonous effusions and if any one deserves to be punished it is Government's own men. To punish others is to sprinkle salt over wounds and to seek to hide one's sins. The *Surya* remarks that a rigid scrutiny of the causes of communal disturbances will show that the partizanship of the Muslim leaders is at the root of the whole mischief. If Muslim leaders refrained from taking up the cause of Muslim *goondas* the regrettable and humiliating scenes would be witnessed no more and the opponents of India would

have no opportunity for proclaiming the unfitness of Indians for swaraj. The *Gyan Shakti* writes:—Has the British Government really become unfit for administration? Has it no longer the power to maintain peace and order in the country? If it is not so, the Government should make a plain statement that public roads and lanes belong to all communities alike and that those who interfere with processions and music on those roads will be severely dealt with. It is time that the Government took measures to suppress hooligans and those people who in the name of religion want to deprive others of their rights and to dominate over them. The *Aj* writes:—How can the Bengal Government escape from its responsibility for the continuance of the disturbances for so many days specially if the news about the desecration of Hindu gods in other parts of Bengal be true? The incidents at Calcutta give rise to serious suspicions and it is the duty of the higher authorities to compel Lord Lytton to give an explanation for them. We hope the new Viceroy will show impartiality and vigour in this matter similar to that exhibited by Lord Hardinge in connexion with the Calcutta Bakrid riots. The paper strongly criticizes the Calcutta Emergency Bill as in its opinion the powers provided in it are very comprehensive and there is no guarantee that they will not be abused in the political sphere. The prolonged disturbed conditions in Calcutta were not due to the absence of laws or powers, but to defects of administration. Referring to the Conference of Hindu and Muslim leaders held at Calcutta to devise means to put an end to communal disturbances the *Najat* says that such conferences have never been and can never be successful so long as the mischievous leaders stick to crooked and hypocritical ways. Proceeding, the paper says:—The truth is that we can have no idea of the irreparable loss which has been caused to truth, plain-speaking and fairness by the British laws and British administration. Falsehood, hypocrisy, dishonesty and shamelessness are rampant everywhere. In the courts falsehood and hypocrisy are so freely indulged in that we have lost all sense of the enormity of these evils and even big leaders have no scruples in resorting to hypocrisy and lies on platforms and in the press. The *Hamdam* regrets to find that the *Forward*, the leading organ of the late Mr. C. R. Dass, has been attacking the Muslims openly since the Calcutta disturbances. It has been fully established that the Arya Samajist procession was responsible for the first disturbance. It has also been shown that the second disturbance was caused to gratify the revengefulness of the Marwaris. Referring to the allegations regarding the responsibility of Government for the riots the *Aziz-i-Hind* says:—The charge which as usual is being levelled by political leaders against the Government is unfounded. When the power of Government is waning daily and people are being taught to resist the police and the army there is no wonder if there is some delay in quelling the riots. The peace of the country should be the prime consideration of political leaders. They should not so undermine the faith of the people in the Government as to throw difficulties in good administration. So far as the Calcutta riots are concerned, Muslims have been treated cruelly. The Muslims cannot be entirely exonerated, but certainly the offensive was taken by the Hindus.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The question of Hindu-Muslim relations is being widely discussed with much bitterness. Under the heading "Midsummer madness" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Maulana Mohammad Ali's proclamation of his spiritual ambition to convert Mahatma Gandhi to Mahomedanism would be perfectly worthy of an insane Maulvi who revels in waving a red flag in front of an angry bull. Let him not talk of nationalism hereafter, but tie his fate and fortune to the Jaggernath car of Sir Abdur Rahim. The Ali Brothers have evidently lost their heads. Referring to the Muslim party formed by Sir Abdur Rahim in Bengal, the *Hindi Kesari* says:—Sir Abdur Rahim is only fanning the flame of communal hatred. His new organization is the practical form of his address at the Muslim League. The *Vartman* tries to make out that Muslims have always and everywhere been the aggressors in all disputes and disturbances to which they were a party. Ignorant Muslims always attack Hindu processions and object to *artis*; in anger they slaughter cows, destroy temples, kidnap women and children, but nowhere have Hindus retaliated by attacking the processions of Muslims, kidnapping their women and destroying their mosques. It is true that at Calcutta Hindus did retaliate to a certain extent when they got disgusted, but even there it was the Muslims who were the aggressors. The *Aj* writes:—It is regrettable that the bureaucracy is mostly responsible for giving a religious complexion to the Hindu-Muslim dispute which is essentially a political question. Today the

country as well as the Government are suffering the consequence of Lord Minto's policy of special and separate representation to Muslims. God only knows where special rights and separate electorates will lead to. Sooner or later the Government will have to oppose these unjustifiable demands. One Vivekanand Sharma, writing to the *Bharat Dharma*, says :—Far-sighted Indian politicians have warned us that the Muslims cannot be relied upon and it is time that we took heed and non-cooperated with the Muslims. This will reduce the power of the Muslims and ensure the protection of the wealth, the cows and the people of India. Referring to the statement made by Mr. Mahomed Ali to a representative of the Associated Press, the *Anand* remarks :—Maulana Mahomed Ali's statement removes the mask and presents the Ali Brothers in their true colours. It shows that the Maulana wants to sacrifice nationalism at the altar of Muslim leadership in order to regain the prestige he had lost by the failure of the Khilafat movement. He should, however, know that if he does not put an end to the meanness of the Muslim *goondas*, the Hindu *goondas* will retaliate and render it impossible for the Muslims to live in peace. Discussing the possibilities of Hindu-Muslim unity the *Medina* writes :—Nationalism is a brutish sentiment which has arisen with the deceitful Western civilization. Western inauspiciousness has eaten into the vitals of Eastern civilization. Ever since the selfish white-skinned people set their impure feet on her soil, Asia has thrown away her morality and spirituality. The sun of Asiatic civilization has been obscured by the storm of Western foulness and impurity. Asia has now chosen to move about in the darkness of this narrow and blood-thirsty nationalism. In India the community which has been affected by this foulness and darkness is the body of educated Hindus because their moral and religious preceptors had nothing but brutish sentiments left to inculcate. Hindu civilization had become altogether bereft of every virtue. On the other hand, Muslims have come with a bright civilization possessing a complete code for the regulation of mundane and spiritual existence. How can, then, a lasting union be possible between Hindus and Muslims? Even if a common line of action could be found by means of extraordinary efforts the presence of the third, that is the ruling party, could easily thwart it. The Hindus have always kept aloof from movements which were likely to be helpful in bringing about unity between Hindus and Muslims. Their reform movements have accepted Western civilization and have laid the foundation of that blood-thirsty nationalism which has led to terrible bloodshed in Europe. Having adopted this angle of vision, it was inevitable for the Hindus to raise the standard of war against all other civilizations of India and to deny the right of others to live in the country. From Sankaracharya and Guru Nanak down to Swami Dayanand and Malaviya the aim of every one has been that only one community should live in the country. In this twentieth century the efforts of Malaviyas, Savarkars and Moonjes are actuated by unholy brutish sentiments. These men have adopted various means to overwhelm Muslims and to render them helpless. One of these is to try to hold up Islam and Muslims as extremely mean and immoral and to paint Muslim leaders and scriptures in the worst possible colours. In foreign politics Muslims are helpless in the face of the terrible imperialism and militarism of Western Christendom. We ask what is the duty which has been enjoined on Muslims by the Prophet in such circumstances? Brethren, arise! Take lessons in education and economics and give a fitting reply to the accusations of the enemies. Improve your morals and habits and show to the world that Islam teaches us to live a better life. Adopt a common line of action and begin your work with the name of Allah. The *Hamdam* regrets the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi towards Hindu-Muslim differences, and says :—The obvious cause of the differences is the numerical, economical, social and educational superiority of the Hindus who wish to assert it by their strength. *Al-Barid* complains that the orthodox Hindu leaders who formerly opposed Muslims in the press and on public platform have now begun to attack even those Hindu leaders who raise their voice in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Hindus wish to convert the Congress into a Hindu *Sabha*. It seems as if they want to use the Congress to poison the Hindu-Muslim relations which have already been estranged by the Hindu *Sabha*. But will the fall of the Congress bring about Hindu Raj? This is a dream which no sane man will cherish. Its only interpretation can be slavery. The *Aiena* supports the suggestion for a national pact, but apprehends difficulty in making Hindus agree to any compromise as their leaders like Mr. Malaviya, Sraddhanand, Lajpat Rai and Dr. Moonje are utilizing their political talents in preaching a war of aggression. The Muslims will be willing in every way as they only want to safeguard their rights and do

not wish to harm their Hindu brethren. Referring to the general boycott of Muslim bandsmen and makers of fireworks in Hindu marriages, specially at Meerut, the *Aiena* remarks that the Hindus who first favoured the Muslim boycott indirectly, are now openly encouraging the movement, with the result that even Muslim masons, tailors and blacksmiths have been discarded. Will not even such a movement open the eyes of Muslims and make them realise how dark and dangerous their future is becoming?

Khilafat conference.

The *Leader* writes:—The speeches at and the resolutions of the Khilafat conference we have read with grief. Is it conceivable, is it possible that Hindus can accommodate themselves to the Muslim requirements as pronounced in the Delhi speeches and resolutions? Should they, ought they to? Our answer can only be and is in the negative . . . It is evident that the Hindus are in no mood to turn the other cheek. The *Vartman* writes:—The Khilafat Conference has emitted terrible poison and has thereby made a deliberate attempt to throw the country into a very critical situation. The *Aj* deplores the sentiments expressed by a nationalist leader like Hakim Ajmal Khan and says:—He too reiterates the untrue charges brought forward by those who have made it their business to foment dissensions between Hindus and Muslims. Before blaming the Hindu *Sangathan* the Hakim should have taken into consideration Khwaja Hasan Nizami's scheme and the *Tanzim* and *Tablig* movements. Referring to Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi's presidential address, the paper remarks:—It is very painful that such a great man should have made such baseless and venomous statements and incited Muslims against Hindus. The *Hamdam* commends the addresses delivered by Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and says:—It has been fully proved in these addresses that the present tension owes its origin to the zeal of our fellow-countrymen which is in every way hurtful. It is to be regretted that the reports of the speeches sent by non-Muslim agencies emphasized the complaints regarding the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* and made light of what was said regarding the necessity for union. Had the speeches been fully reported the Hindus would have found no cause for complaint. Even as it is, these complaints are not justified, for whatever Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi said was based on facts and was not provocative like the utterances of the presidents of the Hindu *Sabha*.

The Sabarmati agreement.

Referring to the failure of the Sabarmati pact the *Leader* says:—Such political jugglery was never witnessed before in the history of the Congress after it came under the control of quick-change artists. It beats all records of unabashed opportunism. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* blames Responsivists for the breakdown of the pact and says:—The pact broke on the rock of insincerity and hypocrisy and lust of office without power. The broken pact, however, opens a new era in the history of Indian nationalism, because it brings nearer to each other the Responsivists and the Liberals and reduces the number of the innumerable parties to three. The *Aj* is glad that the pact has failed, as in its opinion it upheld a retrogressive course. The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—The collapse of the pact indicates that even in the present critical situation of the country our leaders attach greater importance to the interests of their parties than to those of the country. There is no doubt that it will cause a serious set-back in the country and will result in Mian Fazle Husain and Sir Abdur Rahim dominating the Councils and the provinces and the British and Muslims having their own way. The *Surya* remarks:—The collapse of the pact has proved beyond doubt that as long as Pandit Motilal Nehru wields absolute authority it is impossible for other political parties to join the Congress, and that he cares more for his leadership than for the country. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets the failure of the pact and says:—The Liberals have achieved the desired triumph and their hopes have been fulfilled. The *Sadaqat* also deplores the failure of the pact and remarks that the Swaraj party will have to yield and to unite with other parties because the country is no longer in favour of non-cooperation.

Muslim affairs.

The *Mashriq* invites the attention of His Excellency the Governor to the presidential address of Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub (at the Provincial Muslim conference) which depicts the deplorable condition of Muslims in United Provinces and says that Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub has stated the plain truth and has ably proved that the Congress-League pact is not being acted upon in these provinces. The figures given by him showing the posts held by the Hindus and Muslims in the various

departments of these provinces are worthy of the consideration of His Excellency. Commenting on the presidential address delivered by Hafiz Hidayat Husain Sahib at the Muslim Local Boards conference at Pilibhit the *Sadai Muslim* remarks that Hafiz Sahib has given a very sound opinion on all the controversial problems in local boards, and hopes that if the Muslims act upon his advice they will very easily be able to solve all their difficulties regarding the protection of their rights. The paper regrets that the Government has failed to give a practical shape, in its fullest sense, to the Lucknow pact, otherwise, it holds, there would have been no communal tension in these bodies. The *Hamdam* expresses surprise at the comment of the *Leader* on the resolution of the Provincial Educational conference regarding the transfer of primary education to the charge of the Minister of Local Self-Government and says that the suspicion of the paper is frivolous. Even Mr. Chintamani, who was Education Minister, did not keep primary education in his charge.

Political propaganda.

The *Hridaya* publishes an article communicated to it by one Hardayal Nag in the course of which he says:—The existing system of Government wants to suck the blood of India, to crush and powder its bones and devour them up . . . This alien administration cared only for its own interests, with the result that the rulers paid no heed to considerations of kindliness and humanity and went on plundering to the best of their powers and in all possible ways. When this loot continues even at present, how can it be possible for the villagers to meet their common, most ordinary and necessary wants? . . . The alien administration has totally ruined the villagers and defrauded them of what little was left to them. It has plundered Indians from all sides and has robbed the simple villagers of their wealth, corn, power, blood and flesh—pecked at it and devoured it. When the villagers had been maddened by hunger the alien administration made them drink liquor in order, on the one hand, to see the fun of it and provide amusement to the world, and on the other hand, to serve their own purpose. The villagers intoxicated with liquor and under the spell of the alien administration sell all their produce in the market. The poor and ignorant villagers have been tied down in such a manner that they cannot move.

Music before mosques.

Referring to the claim put forward by Calcutta Muslims that music shall not be played outside a mosque at any hour of the day or night the *Leader* writes:—In a recent Privy Council decision published elsewhere it has been laid down that the "worshippers in a mosque or temple which abutted on a high road could not compel the processionists to intermit their worship while passing the mosque or temple on the ground that there was continuous worship." Such extravagant claims, which cannot be supported in law and which are altogether novel, carry their own condemnation. It is impossible for the Hindus and other non-Muslim communities to accept them. The *Aj* holds a similar view. The *Mahashakti* commends the attitude of the Central Provinces Government regarding this question.

Indian States.

The *Medina* seeks to justify the Nizam's orders regarding the pictures of cows as in its opinion these pictures are not only calculated to insult the Muslims and the Quran, but also to inflame the Hindus. There is a picture in which a cow is shown helpless by the side of a demon (meaning probably a Muslim) standing with a naked sword over her head and a Hindu imploring him with folded hands to spare her. This reveals a most dangerous mentality. We do not know whether or not these Hindus will allow Muslims to remain alive in India. Muslims, beware of the time when the power of paganism and falsehood will grind you down into dust. The *Adalat*, the *Mashriq* and the *Rohilkhand Gazette* also write to the same effect and consider it merely a propaganda on the part of the Hindus to defame the Nizam. The *Haqiqat* apprehends that the relations between the Nizam and the Government of India are becoming strained and says that the treatment accorded by the Government to the Nizam has created unrest throughout India.

The unemployment problem.

The *Shakti* remarks:—It is strange that no regard is being paid to the future of lakhs of Indian youths who are at present receiving education in schools and colleges even in the face of the prevailing dearth of employment in the country. To us the future of these youths appears to be worse than that of an ordinary labourer. But will their unemployment go in vain? No, it will cause a serious commotion in the country within the next ten or fifteen years and our rulers who are

at present taking things lightly will then find themselves perplexed. It is quite possible that this unemployment may swallow up the existing administration itself.

The High Court staff.

The *Leader* writes :—We have published numerous letters drawing attention to the pitiable condition of the ministerial staff of the Allahabad High Court. We publish elsewhere a forcible letter from Babu Durga Charan Banerjee in which he pays a well-deserved tribute to the devotion to duty and efficiency of the members of the ministerial staff and joins others in pointing out the necessity of increase in their salaries. We earnestly hope that the Government will take early steps to afford relief to them.

Recording of evidence.

The *Leader* supports the resolution of the United Provinces Muslim League urging the necessity of restoring the old double record system in the subordinate and district judges' courts and says that, taking everything into consideration, the change is likely prejudicially to affect the administration of justice.

United Provinces Judicial Service.

The *Leader* strongly supports the representation of the United Provinces Judicial Service Officers' Association with regard to the improvement of their status and prospects.

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD :
May 15, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 20 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 22, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The extremist press is disappointed at the breakdown of the general strike. The *Aj* writes:—The failure of the strike shows that the British Government is prepared to utilize all the powers of the State in aid of employers with a view to keep down labour and that it is also possible for it to tell white lies to discredit the aims of labour. For purposes of propaganda labour was wrongly accused of seeking to subvert the existing Government. The *Vartman* says that there can be no effective and permanent solution of labour difficulties so long as there is no equal distribution of wealth. Unless this is done, strikes will go on and the people, the capitalists and Government will continue to suffer. The *Prabhat* apprehends that the calling off of the strike will result in strengthening the hands of the Government and capitalists and in the rights of the labour being trampled upon for all times. The *Medina* welcomes the recent Turko-Persian treaty and wishes Najd and Afghanistan also to join the alliance so as to form a combination of Islamic powers capable of opposing the imperialistic greed and military aspirations of Christendom. *Al Bureed* is glad that the humiliating peace terms offered by Spain and France have been spurned by the brave and self-respecting Riff warriors. It has been repeatedly declared by Ghazi Abdel Krim that the Riffs are always willing to accept an honourable peace. The fact is that France and Spain, puffed up with their pride and vanity, wish to enlist the sympathy of the world by proclaiming that they are for peace and the war has been forced upon them by the bellicose Riffs.

Khilafat Conference.

The proceedings of the Khilafat Conference have greatly accentuated the communal tension and recriminations. The *Prabhat* says that the sentiments expressed at the conference against the Hindus constitute an open challenge to them. The uproar in the audience at the Hindus being called "brethren" by one of the speakers shows how much the Muslim public has begun to hate the Hindus. The *Aj* remarks that the special session of the Khilafat Conference has sought to rehabilitate the Khilafat Committee and to restore the waning influence of its workers, but it is doubtful how far these objects will be achieved. Now the Khilafat Committee has virtually become a communal organization. The incident regarding the use of the words "Hindu brethren" shows what bigotry has taken hold of the Muslims now. Will the Khilafat Committee establish swaraj in India by fostering such a spirit? These are all signs of the forthcoming terrible communal conflict in the country. There is no doubt that the Khilafat movement has now become an anti-Hindu movement. This being the case it has become the paramount duty of the Congress to expunge the Khilafat from its objects and to wash its hands off the Lucknow Pact. The *Anand* writes:—The mask has been removed and the inner feelings of Muslim leaders like Maulana Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali have been exposed. Having duped Hindus for five years these Maulanas have given up the nationalist ideals and reverted to their old policy. We are not sorry, but rather pleased at this change, for Hindus will no longer be taken in by their moves and will think out their course of action for themselves. The *Surya* remarks:—A perusal of the report of the conference makes it abundantly clear that the Khilafat leaders have made venomous attacks against the Hindus and indulged in the most objectionable language against them. No condemnation of this action of the Khilafat leaders can be too strong. It baffles our understanding why the Government is not confiscating copies of these speeches. It is equally surprising that while the authorities in Calcutta are

enacting the emergency legislation, the authorities in Delhi, where the communal tension is growing deeper, have forgotten even section 153A, I. P. C. The *Abhyudaya* writes :—The speeches delivered and the resolutions passed at the meeting show that the conference was organized with the sole object of opposing the Hindus. It is regrettable that nationalists and protagonists of Hindu-Muslim unity like Hakim Ajmal Khan, Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and the Ali brothers gave utterances to untrue, inflammatory and anti-Hindu views. The president's declaration that it had become necessary to wage *jehad* in India for protecting Islam is an open incitement to violence. The anti-Hindu feelings expressed in the conference show that the Khilafat Committee is becoming a very dangerous organization for the peace of the country. The *Vartman* remarks :—By their inflammatory speeches the Ali brothers have fanned the fire of communalism kindled by Dr. Kitchlew and Sir Abdur Rahim and their followers. Had such speeches been made elsewhere, section 144 would have been enforced without delay. Surely the fact that the Government takes no notice at all of such barbaric speeches in the very capital of India and the heart of the Central Government is an incontrovertible proof of its deliberate apathy. The *Medina* is glad to note that the Khilafat Committee is now really entitled to be regarded as a living and practical body. It has now included among its objects the protection of Muslims from the high-handedness of Hindus. The Hindus have absolutely no ground for complaint with regard to the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference. The moderate speeches delivered at the conference and the peaceful business transacted by it are being viewed with hostility by the Hindu press. This shows nothing but the malice of Hindus against Muslims. In the Hindu Maha Sabha the speeches, the uproar and even the decorative material indicated a general hostility towards the Muslims. The incendiary and mischievous Swamis and Deshbhagatas openly advocated the breaking of the heads of Muslims. The Muslims were openly threatened with expulsion from India or conversion to Hinduism. On the contrary, every action and gesture of the Khilafat Conference was just and cautious, every speech was statesmanlike and every decision was far-sighted. If a peace-maker and impartial man like Hakim Ajmal Khan threw the responsibility on the shoulders of the Hindus, it only shows that their malevolent activities have now become intolerable. Similarly such earnest advocates of unity as the Ali brothers have also become despondent in view of the persistently mischievous activities of the Hindus. The *Hamdam* is surprised that Hindu papers are looking at the revised aims of the Khilafat Committee with suspicion and says :—The Conference clearly expressed its desire to improve relations with non-Muslims and reaffirmed the resolution of the Unity Conference regarding the appointment of joint boards of Muslims and Hindus for the settlement of disputes. Other resolutions aimed at the improvement of Muslims which will help the attainment of swaraj. All this must reassure the Hindus. The *Haqiqat* writes :—The Khilafat Conference resolutions have spread general uneasiness and unrest among the Hindus and particularly in *Sangathan* circles. There is hardly any Hindu paper which is not showering abuse on the Ali brothers, although their articles published in the *Hamdard* and the *Khilafat* leave no room for doubt that even today, in spite of such acute communal tension, they are sincere advocates of Hindu-Muslim unity. If the *Sangathan* movement is harmless and its object is to organize and protect the Hindus in emergencies, no blame should attach to the Khilafat Conference for introducing a similar organization among the Muslims. The course which the conference has chalked out, bearing the Hindu-Muslim relations in mind, is most suitable, but real success can be achieved only when the resolutions are acted upon and the communal differences are laid aside. *Al Bureed* remarks that one gifted with even a tinge of fairness and justice cannot blame the Khilafat Committee for breach of union. The Khilafat Committee struck the bargain of union with the Hindus at such a high cost that it had to realize ultimately that it has become insolvent. Still some bigoted and obstinate Hindus do not hesitate in throwing the blame on the Khilafat Committee. The committee had to amend its internal policy in order to defend itself against the Hindus who resorted to offensive ways. The distinguishing feature of the presidential address was the calmness and sobriety worthy of the peace-loving Muslims. The proceedings may be summed up in two words: "Union and defence". Muslims will ever extend their hand towards an honest and well-meaning union. If the zealotry of the *sangathanist* Hindus cannot accept this union and they are anxious to break the heads of Muslims with the rod of Dr. Moonje and the bricks of Pt. Malaviya, are not the Muslims entitled

even to protect themselves? The *Sadaqat* is gratified to note that the Khilafat Conference realized its duty and its proceedings were throughout informed with a moderate and peace-loving spirit. It is deplorable that the Hindu papers are criticizing even such a moderate attitude of Muslims, although the conduct of the Hindu Maha Sabha has been extremely harsh and painful to the Muslims. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* remarks:—The unceasing oppressions of the *Sangathan* heroes on the Muslims and the unpleasant results of past endeavours to bring about amity and union forced the very Muslim leaders, who were the advocates of Hindu-Muslim co-operation, to acknowledge their mistake and at last they had to voice the general Muslim feeling.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Aj* rebuts the charge levelled by Muslim leaders that the Hindus are responsible for the present communal tension and says:—It can be boldly asserted that wherever disturbances have taken place they have been initiated by those who in the name of religion are calling Hindus *kafirs* and slaves. We are among those who have so far been opposing *Sangathan*, but after seeing the attitude of the special Khilafat Conference and hearing the speeches of Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Saiyed Sulaiman Nadvi and the Ali brothers our mind is filled with misgivings about the future of the country and we begin to suspect that we ourselves were under a delusion and that the leaders of *Sangathan* had after all really divined the true nature of Muslim swaraj and Muslim nationalism. One Srikrishna Vaidya Shastri writing in the *Aj* says that a close observation will establish that the existing system of Government is responsible for the Hindu-Muslim strifes and the ever-growing tension between the two communities. The attitude of the bureaucracy is always liberal towards the Muslims and indifferent towards non-Muslims. It is the crooked policy of the bureaucracy which does not allow the people to live in peace. If the Hindu religion and the Hindu community are to be saved the policy of the bureaucracy to encourage one community and discourage the other should be counteracted and the Hindu Maha Sabha should return its own candidates to the Councils to protect Hindu interests. The *Pratap* publishes a letter from a correspondent under the pseudonym "A Hindu" in the course of which he refers to the desecration of Hindu temples by Muslims in some districts of Bengal and says that he considers temples to be inviolable and in their defence is ready to sacrifice his life and also to take the lives of other people. The correspondent also refers to the defilement of an idol at Gaughati and the threats of attacking Hindu processions and says that he considers it to be right that a religion which enjoins such things must be destroyed. Is it not the duty of the Bengal Hindus in these circumstances to return blow for blow? Commenting on Maulana Mahomed Ali's "threats" to Hindus the *Arya Mitra* remarks that while blaming the Hindus for not denouncing the evil deeds of Hindu rioters the Maulana lost sight of the happenings at Malabar and Kohat. No Mulla or Maulana denounced the high-handedness of their co-religionists at the time. They were not even ready to believe the true facts. We shall challenge Maulana Mahomed Ali to point out even one instance in which the Hindus had been aggressors. Can any one say that the disturbances at Calcutta were not begun by the Muslims? The Muslims commit all sorts of high-handedness and still try to show that they are innocent. Now the Hindus have awakened and are ready to fight in self-defence. Mahomed Ali's threats cannot affect them. In the course of an editorial note on the Sikh procession at Calcutta the *Medina* writes:—By siding with the non-Muslim population the Bengal Government presented an instructive spectacle of the helplessness of the Muslims of Calcutta and pointed out to the Muslims of India that they should not expect anything from law and justice. The administration yields to majority, power and wealth and by humiliating and insulting Muslims wants to please Hindus. When the Sikhs stopped music before mosques the Police Commissioner had music played under orders. The Muslims looked on like pictures of helplessness. Machine-guns and rifles were protecting the Hindu rowdies. When Muslim religious sentiments have begun to be hurt like this by a Government which is regarded as the greatest Muslim Empire in the world we do not know what the fate of Muslims will be . . . . Why did not Sir Abdur Rahim, who claims to be the undisputed leader of Muslims in Bengal, restrain his favourite Government from these tyrannical acts? Referring to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's recent speech at Delhi defending the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements the *Hamdam* writes:—The question is whether the Muslims have misunderstood the objects of these movements or the Pandit is trying to misinterpret them. One can see that *Shuddhi* is provoking the Hindus against the Muslims by bringing into

contempt the saints, the Prophet and the holy books of the Muslims and *Sangathan* is stimulating the meanest spirit of the Hindus and is preparing them to face the Muslims. The fact is that Hindus do not possess the capacity for carrying on such movements and are merely imitating Muslim organizations, but they ignore their good and adopt their bad points. Mr. Malaviya's speech will only wound the feelings of Muslims and will not help the cause of national union. Though the Hindus at some places threw bombs and boiling oil and acid over the Muslims, yet Mr. Malaviya regards the Hindus as meek and helpless and tries to represent the Muslims as wild and ravenous beasts.

Music before mosques.

The question of music before mosques has again come to the fore. Referring to Mr. Ghuznavi's statement that it has been the established practice on the part of Hindus to stop playing music when passing by mosques no matter what time of the day or night, the *Leader* writes :—This statement is absolutely incorrect. There is no such established practice as claimed. We do not admit that any disrespect is involved if a procession with music passes a mosque abutting on a public thoroughfare, and it is wrong of Muslims to interpret it in that light. If they can put up with a thousand and one noises, they can, if they choose, tolerate the sound of passing music. The beating of big drums during the *Moharram*, especially throughout the night, accompanied with other sounds, is felt as a nuisance by many Hindus, but they have never objected to it, nor bave they taken the law into their hands . . . , It is obvious that the Muslims are not anxious for peace. The *IndianDaily Telegraph* strongly opposes the resolution proposed to be moved at the Lucknow municipal board regarding the prohibition of *Namaz* in the Aminabad Park by enforcing a municipal bye-law. It says :—We do not think responsible Hindu members including the chairman will be a party to the madness of enforcing the bye-law at the risk of bloodshed. We would ask the reader to put in one scale the certainty of the groans of the dead and dying (the concomitants of a riot which is inevitable under the circumstances) and in another the anxiety to enforce a bye-law honoured for long in the breach—and he can easily know which scale will weigh the more. The *Arti-Namaz* question cannot be settled on a lawyer's note on the bye-law, but on the higher note of old traditions and practice. The *Surya* regrets the Muslim obduracy on the question of music before mosques and says :—It shows that a few Muslim leaders want to achieve in the twentieth century what could not be possible for even the mightiest and the most tyrannical of Mughal rulers. It is surprising that Muslim leaders do not even realize that any attempt at suppressing the Hindu religion which has survived the most serious shocks and trials cannot but be ludicrous. It is the duty of the Hindus not to stop music under unjustifiable outside pressure. The solution of the question is bound up with Hindu organization. Referring to the failure of the conference of the representatives of Hindus and Muslims at Calcutta to arrive at a settlement regarding the question of music before mosques the *Aj* says :—No decision on the question could be more suitable than that of the Unity Conference of Delhi ; but when that decision is trampled upon it means that some power is working against the interests of the country. The demand that music should not be played before mosques at any time is altogether novel. No Government should support such a demand and thereby lay the axe at the root of public rights. We wish that this question were settled by mutual agreement, but this is not to be. The authorities will frame certain conditions of licence which will have to be observed by both the parties. This may or may not do anything else, but will surely establish the need of foreign rulers for the country. In another article the paper supports the resolution of the working committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha recently passed at Delhi regarding the objection of Muslims to music before mosques and remarks :—We cannot but oppose the action of those who in the name of religion wrongly insist on interfering with the liberty of others. We would warn the Muslims in amicable but emphatic terms that their attempt at interference with the liberty of others cannot be successful. The *Hamdam* writes :—The recent decision of the Privy Council on the appeal of the Shias of Aurangabad so generally quoted by Arya Samajist organs in support of their right to take their processions with music on highways without any restrictions cannot help the Hindus in any way because the same decision has authorized the magistrates in special circumstances to stop all music in front of places of worship.

Bengal Presidency Area (Emergency) Bill.

Indian papers have unanimously opposed the Bengal Presidency Area (Emergency) Bill. The *Leader* writes :—Exceptional legislation vesting large discretionary and arbitrary

powers in the hands of an irresponsible executive has been so often abused in this country that we sympathize with the attitude of distrust of the swarajists. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The commonsense point of view is that the civil sword is strong enough to put down an uncivil uprising. Law cannot provide for the lack of heart to act in a communal situation when Indian lives are put in danger. Mr. Sen Gupta could have asked whether Lord Lytton's Government would have waited for an emergency Act if instead of Indian lives as many European lives were in jeopardy. The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—This Bill is altogether unnecessary and injurious. The cause of the recent arson and bloodshed in Calcutta was not inadequacy of the law but the worthlessness, incapacity and the negligence of the authorities. The police will take undue advantage of this measure as it has already done in the case of other repressive measures. Besides there is no guarantee that it will not be misused for political purposes. The *Aj*, the *Pratap* and the *Surya* express similar views. Commenting on the speech of Lord Lytton on Calcutta riots the *Hamdam* remarks that when the present bureaucratic Government fails in properly managing any affair owing to its incompetence it takes refuge in special laws. The present demand of Bengal Government for a new emergency law is wholly due to this incompetence. Indians are helpless and the Imperial Government cares not whether an officer is competent or not and whether an administration is just or oppressive so long as the object of the "steel frame" is fulfilled by the officer and "the iron hand" of the Government is not weakened. If the arbitrary powers of the executive and the police are increased there will be greater mismanagement and unrest. If the Criminal Investigation Department of Bengal is really useful, Lord Lytton must have come to know of the power which is inspiring the publication of false news regarding the breaking of temples. It is well known to every one that Arya Samajists are trying everywhere to gain both of their main objects, namely, opposition to idolatry and antagonism to the Muslims. Lord Lytton should deal severely with those whom he believes to be real instigators of the disturbances. If his policy is to show favour to one community at one time and then to the other, it would be a waste of time for any self-respecting Hindu or Muslim to take part in any proceedings of the Government.

Indians in the colonies.

Referring to the adoption of the Colour Bar Bill by the joint session of the Senate and the Assembly of the Union of South Africa the *Leader* writes:—We are afraid the atmosphere created by the passage of the Bill will be prejudicial to a calm consideration of the Indian problem at the round table conference. Its passage is not in keeping with the spirit of the agreement arrived at with the Government of India and we hope the latter will lose no time in making a protest against the irritating measure. The *Aj* points out how the Act may seriously affect the interests of Indians in future and urges them to protest against it and tell the Union Government that this move of starving out Indian immigrants cannot be tolerated. The *Hamdam* remarks:—It appears that no change has taken place in the angle of vision of the statesmen of the Union Government. The whites of South Africa have no regard for the public opinion of the world. This is why we entertain no great hopes from the proposed conference. The only way of solving the difficulty is to adopt such plans as may compel the Union Government to accede to the legitimate demands of Indians. The Gandhi-Smuts agreement was the outcome of passive resistance and not of any conference. The *Oudh Akhbar* pleads for the inclusion of Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Abdur Rahman among the representatives of India at the proposed conference.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* says:—Although separate representation and special rights have begun to cause even bloodshed in the country, yet the bureaucracy continues to encourage this system as is evidenced by the recent announcement from Simla regarding appointments to the Civil Service by competition as well as selection. There is no doubt that the appointments are being made to satisfy the Muslims. This policy of making appointments not on merit but on communal considerations will surely earn the gratitude of incapable communities and may be defended on political grounds, but is in reality very dangerous. In the course of a lengthy article the *Sainik* gives the history of the Arms Act and remarks:—The Arms Act is one of the most terrible laws which have been framed by the bureaucracy. It is an emblem of our slavery and a blot on India. It has emasculated the whole nation and has made sheep of lions. We are in sore distress on account of the

bribery, administration and the laws of the authorities and our soul exclaims: God save us from these protectors of ours who have become our devourers. The *Hridaya* publishes the second instalment of the article under the heading "Swaraj in the villages" communicated to it by Babu Har Dayal Nag in the course of which he remarks:—The first and foremost attack which the aliens made on the Indians effected a radical change in the system of education. Our thoughts and ideals changed with the change in our education, and the inevitable result was that our wealth and property were plundered, our trade and industries were destroyed, and today we are starving. Indians have now realized that the cause of their degenerate condition is the alien rule which has ruined them and blotted them out of existence. The atrocities practised by the foreign traders in the name of trade still continue, and it cannot be said when they will cease. Whatever name may be given to British trade and commerce, it will be universally admitted that its object is to plunder Indians and impoverish them.

Election campaign.

The *Barat Jiwan* exhorts the voters to vote for the swarajists in preference to other political parties. It says:—It is essential to return the swarajists in next elections in such a large majority as will enable them to fulfil their promises. The scheme of the Indian National Party might prove more effective, but it is a new and untried medicine, whereas the swarajist prescription has proved to be useful, and if taken in larger doses is likely to eradicate the disease. The *Aj* writes:—If the swarjists declare that so long as the Government does not give a satisfactory reply to the national demand they will oppose almost all the demands of the Government and will remain neutral in regard to questions of public good; they are even now likely to secure a larger number of votes than other parties, but for making such a declaration it is necessary that they should be prepared for mass civil disobedience and should work among the people. Non-cooperation and obstruction can be of no avail without mass civil disobedience.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the presidential address of Maulvi Muhammad Yakub at the Provincial Muslim League, Pilibhit, the *Mukhbir-i-Alam* invites the attention of the United Provinces Government to the fact that the privileges provided for the Muslims in the Congress-League Pact have not been granted to them in this province so far and that in considering the question of compulsory education the local Council paid no heed to the Muslim demand for including religious instruction which is an essential element of swaraj. The Central Government and the Government of Bengal have recognized the principle of minority representation, but Muslims in the United Provinces are labouring under special disadvantages. Emphasizing the need of congregational prayers the *Medina* says:—By God, if all Muslims make it a habit to meet together for prayers, all the powers of the world will have to bow to them within a year. This is the key to success of every kind.

Public Services Commission.

The *Leader* objects to the Commission as well as its personnel on constitutional and political grounds and also for financial and administrative reasons. "We do not know why India should be saddled with this unsatisfactory and unwanted Commission of three Englishmen, one official Hindu and one pronouncedly communal Musalman."

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
May 22, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 21 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 29, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Leader* remarks that the victory of the Franco-Spanish forces in Morocco will neither bring glory to them nor rich territories to the two European powers. The narrow spirit of imperialism blunts the conscience of nations and makes physical force the test of right. But it carries within it the seeds of destruction, for the cult of force brings about its own nemesis. Commenting on the proceedings of the *Khilafat* Congress in Cairo the *Hamdam* regrets that the Central Khilafat Committee and the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* of India did not send their representatives to the Congress as they could have produced some effect on the foreign offices of Europe. Even if the Congress elects Sultan Faud as the *Khalifa* he will not be able to benefit even his own country so long as Egypt does not become independent. Muslims are living the lives of slaves in countries which they once entered as conquerors. The paper approves the resolutions passed by the Congress and is glad to note that they are based on the memorandum presented by Inayatullah Khan who declared himself to be a representative of Indian Muslims. In another issue the paper congratulates the Turks on the settlement of the Mosul dispute, which it hopes will be a guarantee of peace in the Near East for a long time and expresses satisfaction at the provision permitting Turkey to join the League of Nations. Referring to the licence granted to the Turkish petroleum company in Mesopotamia, it says:—The successor of the blood-sucking statesman (Lord Curzon) is thinking of sucking the blood of Mesopotamia in the shape of its oil-wells. Had Mesopotamia been free it would have demanded a reasonable share in the profits of the scheme.

Khilafat Conference.

The proceedings of the Khilafat Conference continue to be discussed with much bitterness. The *Aj* remarks that Khilafat leaders having lost their influence with their community have resorted to the mean policy of humouring it by attacking the Hindus. The exclusive and aggressive policy of Muslims has given a serious blow to the national movement for freedom. Swaraj and Swaraj alone is the panacea for all the social, religious and political ills of the country. In a lengthy article contributed to the paper the writer, Pt. Salig Ram Shastri, takes serious objection to the spirit of fanaticism inculcated by Muslim leaders at the Khilafat Conference. He wonders what good those leaders have in view in inciting the ignorant masses. If there are disturbances on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* the responsibility will be on the shoulders of Maulana Muhammad Ali and Abdur Rahman, who incited the masses to commit violence during that festival, but to save their skins have departed for the Hedjaz. That day will be written the last chapter of the Indian history of Islam when Indian Muslims will forfeit the sympathy of other communities of the country and will not be able to win the support of outside Muslims. The *Hridaya* deplores the anti-Hindu speeches delivered at the conference. It takes strong exception to the remarks of Mr. Muhammad Ali about his wish to convert Mr. Gandhi and says: Is it cooperation or a challenge or the sword of *tanzim*? What is the import of Mr. Muhammad Ali's statement that the *kafirs* and not the Muslims are afraid of death? Is it not a hint that Hindus should be killed? Kill and be killed is the sum and substance of all these utterances. The *Arya Mitra* remarks that there was not a single speech at the conference in which an attempt to provoke the Muslims against the Hindus was not made. There can be no limit to the perversity, fanaticism and intolerance of a people who cannot bear to hear the word "brother" used for the Hindus. We do not understand

why the Government does not take action against such violent speeches? Does it not realize that these speeches provoke the people? The *Bharat Jiwan* says that Maulana Muhammad Ali's speech marks his secession from the national field into the camp of fanaticism. It is most regrettable that by their fanaticism the Khilafat leaders are helping in perpetuating the thraldom of the country. The *Vartman* remarks: Instead of breaking up the Khilafat committees for which there is no need after the abolition of the Khilafat the Indian Muslims are still maintaining them in order to convert them into arenas of communal warfare. The performances of the Muslim leaders at the special Khilafat Conference show that their sole object is to propagate Islam, to vilify the Hindus and to excite the fanatics by irresponsible utterances. The *Mashriq* approves all the resolutions passed by the Khilafat Conference with the exception of those relating to Swaraj and the organization of the Khilafat committees and says:—The speeches delivered by the Muslim leaders show that they have now become alive to the real facts. The Hindus have been provocative and aggressive. The *Jadu* writes: Since the inauspicious advent of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements enthusiasm for freedom has been replaced by communal hatred. Our Hindu countrymen have begun to make venomous utterances against the Muslims who have always been on the defensive. Even at such a critical juncture the Khilafat Conference is willing to extend its hand of co-operation. If this last appeal for union is also spurned by the Hindus, Muslims will be compelled to give up the idea of helping their fellow-countrymen and shall have to make their own arrangements for self-defence. The *Rahnuma* remarks:—The distinguishing feature of the proceedings of the conference throughout was a moderate, conciliatory and constructive spirit which will be appreciated in all justice-loving circles in India. It is not fair to say that the Khilafatists deviated from the road to union. On the other hand, the Hindu Maha Sabha resolutions were instinct with an obstinate and uncompromising spirit and challenged war.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The Hindu-Muslim tension continues to grow. The *Vartman* says that the *namaz* at the Aminabad Park (Lucknow) is becoming an obstacle in the way of every Hindu procession. It has encouraged the Muslims to think of taking the law in their own hands and to demand the stoppage of music even on certain roads. It is, therefore, the duty of the Lucknow Municipal Board to prohibit *namaz* at the park and thus to put an end to this communal dispute. In the course of an article published in the *Arya Mitra* Pandit Sheo Dayal, assistant secretary, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, United Provinces, writes:—The followers of the Prophet are making preparations for crushing Arya Samaj. The Hindus have been warned not to side with Arya Samajists. The time of trial is drawing near when the great human sacrifice will have to be performed and every child of the Aryas will have to be sacrificed at the altar. The Aryas should be united and ready to fight out their right cause. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the speeches of Maulana Muhammad Ali surpass all venomous speeches ever delivered before by those opposed to Hindu-Muslim union. Had the Hindus been bold the Maulana could not have attacked them in this way. Had the Hindu leaders been like the Maulana, we do not know what would have happened in the country. In spite of being insulted the Hindus consider it a sin to commit excesses like the Muslims. The Hindus do not want to fight with the Muslims. They only want to protect their lives and property. If in spite of this the Maulana and his colleagues threaten war, the Hindus will protect their honour and rights even at the sacrifice of their lives. The *Gyan Shakti* takes strong exception to the speech of Maulana Muhammad Ali at Bombay before his departure for the Hedjas. It says:—The Maulana was most foulmouthed on the occasion and indulged in impudence even against the Government. It is only because of the tolerance of the Hindus and the want of organization among them that the Maulana can freely attack them. He who wants to annihilate the "cow civilization" in India cannot live in peace here. "Camel civilization" cannot supplant "cow civilization" in the country. It is idle to hold out threats to Hindus who too know how to die for their religion. The *Vartman* publishes an appeal issued by Taraknath Das, M.A., PH.D. from the Hindu Maha Sabha office, Delhi, in the course of which he says that the deliberate policy of the British Government has been to inflame Hindus and Muslims against each other and then to favour the latter. A number of Muslim leaders are advocating violence and the establishment of Muslim raj. The twenty-two crores of Hindus are disorganized and have lost touch with China and Japan. As a result, they are humiliated at every step and are oppressed. Emancipation lies in atoning by

deeds for our sins and then proclaiming that India is for Hindus. The *Pratap* says that the authorities can if they like suppress communal disturbances very easily and can even prevent them. But if they do not do so the people do not suffer much thereby. The occurrence of disturbances throughout the country from time to time is not something very bad. It will, no doubt, result in some loss of life and property, but the gain will outweigh the loss. The desire of the people to live in peace and comfort has made them indolent. The so-called "peace" and "peacefulness" are even worse than death. These disturbances will remove the indolence of the people and make them alert. They will devise means of self-protection, give up luxury and abandon the idea of depending on others. This change in the life of Indians is bound to prove beneficial. The *Shakti* remarks:—Maulana Muhammad Ali's Bombay speech is like a cup of poison. It is a repeated threat to the Hindus and is calculated to weaken the roots of Islam. Surely the Maulana will be held responsible for any future communal outburst in the country. Commenting on the proceedings of the Bengal Provincial Conference the *Hamdam* remarks:—The change in the mentality of Bengalees in the short period of two years after the death of Mr. Das is regrettable. Unless the responsible Hindus of Bengal make a public declaration that they are opposed to the rescission of the Bengal Pact the Muslims of Bengal or of India cannot be reassured and they will entertain doubts regarding the fulfilment of any other pacts made in future by Hindus. Referring to the rumour about the cancellation of the Bengal Pact the paper remarks:—It should serve as a lesson to the Muslims that so long as they do not depend upon themselves their rights will not be safe. Even now the Muslims should unite together to face the national danger. Commenting on Babu Sita Ram, M.L.C.'s articles published in the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, advising Muslims to read the *Satyarth Prakash*, the *Hamdam* writes:—If there is any book which cuts the root of national unity in India it is the *Satyarth Prakash*. The Muslims hold that this book should be proscribed. It is the followers of this book who are mostly responsible for breach of peace in India. Commenting on Pandit Malaviya's speech at Calcutta the *Jadu* remarks that the Pandit is accustomed to shed crocodile tears to pacify the oppressed Muslims. If he is really anxious to win peace and prosperity for the country he should not encourage the *Sangathan* movement. Muslims are neither bellicose nor cowards, but when one is too much oppressed one is forced to take up arms. There is a limit to everything. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that it has come to know that wherever Arya Samajists are placed in responsible positions they exert undue influence on their Muslim subordinates, specially Rajput Muslims, in order to convert them to Hinduism. Government should investigate the matter and satisfy the Muslims, otherwise this state of affairs will render Government service disagreeable to the Muslims and create unrest. Government should watch the movements of its officers who hold Arya Samajist views. It hopes that Government will respond to the Muslim appeal and punish the guilty immediately. The *Hamdam* complains that Hindu Railway employees show special consideration for the Sadhus in allowing them to travel without tickets but treat Muslim fakirs harshly. Those who collect subscription for cow-protection make inflammatory speeches in the railway compartments against the Muslims. This will tend to create hatred among the Hindus and will fan the smouldering fire of communal hatred. It is hoped that the Railway authorities will prohibit such religious subscriptions and objectionable speeches.

Music before mosques.

Referring to Lord Lytton's statement about the failure of the conference between Hindu and Muslim leaders at Calcutta the *Vartman* writes:—It is mere obstinacy to raise the question of music. We see that efforts are being continued to keep up this unjustifiable obstinacy and when an opportunity occurs to encourage it and then to make political capital out of it. This is the meaning of Lord Lytton's statement. His Simla talks and the tactics connected with this statement appear to be disingenuous. The only way to keep up the Hindu-Muslim tension was to prevent a settlement. The Bengal leaders should be on their guard and should frustrate the designs of crooked diplomats. In another issue the paper strongly protests against the stoppage of music when the procession of the President of the Bengal Provincial Conference reached in front of a mosque and says:—To concede such unreasonable demands as the stopping of music before mosques at the sacrifice of one's ancient rights is to encourage injustice and to undermine the basis of nationalism. Those responsible for stopping music have trampled upon the sentiments of twenty-two crores of Hindus and have set a very bad precedent. The *Anand* remarks that the Muslim

insistence on the stoppage of music before mosques in spite of the decision of the Privy Council to the contrary makes it incumbent upon the Government to do justice and to protect the rights of the Hindus. It is only then that the Muslims will abandon their obduracy and follow the right path and the prevailing communal tension will cease. Referring to the claim of the *Maha Sabha* that the Hindus have the right to play music on public roads at all times the *Medina* writes:—We hear that as a reply to this the Muslims of Calcutta have decided, as an expiatory act, to kill seven cows in front of every mosque which has been dishonoured by the playing of music. Every Muslim will have full right to use public roads. Probably the Hindu *Maha Sabha* will have no objection to this.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* remarks that the devotion and enthusiasm which marked the efforts of the British for the improvement of Indian administration during the last years of the eighteenth century are not visible today. Terrible massacres, riots and communal disturbances are increasing in every part of the country in spite of the strengthening of the military and the police forces. It appears that the present administration is not at all for the benefit of Indians. It is the British who are deriving the utmost facilities and happiness from it. But this atmosphere of luxury created by the exercise of power is weakening the British Government as is shown by the fact that it is not prepared to undertake the protection of the civil rights of the public despite its large army and ubiquitous police. We have our own doubts whether the British Government will defend India against foreign attacks in case Britain is not immediately affected by them. Very little concern is shown for the lives of Indians. This growing intoxication of selfishness and luxury is gradually changing the British. The administration falling from its high purpose is assuming the form of frightfulness and making the rulers traders in politics. In another article the paper welcomes the multiplication of political parties in the country and regards the differences of opinion among the politicians as an indication of that enthusiasm which has always been found to precede political revolutions in every country. It compares the existing situation of India with the days of the Russian revolution when old and experienced leaders who opposed the Russian youths were not only not heeded but were also imprisoned and says that a few accredited leaders of the Liberal or the Swaraj party cannot now hope to secure a blind following among the people. It does not necessarily follow that there will be a revolution in the country or that the youths of the country want to attain Swaraj by means of red revolution but there is no doubt that after several struggles they are now coming to the right path and demanding that the next struggle for Swaraj should be carried on according to the wishes of the rank and file and in the spheres pointed out by them. The *Hridaya* publishes the fourth instalment of the article under the heading "Swaraj in the villages" communicated to it by Babu Hardayal Nag in the course of which he remarks:—England feeds herself by depriving others of their food. She secures food and clothing for herself by unjust means and by oppressing the weaker nations. If today England is rich and powerful she has become so by cutting the throats of others. England's patriotism is nurtured on injustice and oppression. The Indian villagers are at present faced with the question of life and death. The principle of self-preservation will soon drive them into the struggle for existence. The efforts of one nation to perpetuate its domination over another by destroying its progress, wealth and rights is bound to fail. It is time that our brethren in the villages realised that they have every right to enjoy the fruits of their labour in any manner they like. The first thing for them to do is to be on their guard against being robbed and cheated by the foreigners. Babu Sampurnanand, writing in the *Aj*, welcomes Hindu-Muslim disturbances as dealing a blow to Government prestige and encouraging self-help, self-defence and cooperation among the people. At present this spirit may be visible separately among various communities, but when they are tired of mutual dissensions it can be utilized for the good of the country. Riots and disturbances are, no doubt, bad things, but they are indications of the birth of a new nationality. Communalism must give way to nationalism in course of time. The *Hamdam* emphasizes the need of winning the sympathy of the free and powerful nations of the world for achieving the freedom of India. It regrets the abolition of the British Congress Committee and the newspaper *India* and strongly urges the Congress to establish its offices in New York, London and Geneva for carrying on propaganda in foreign countries.

Muslim affairs.

In the course of a series of articles pointing out the evils of nationalism and patriotism as inculcated by European nations the *Medina* writes: This bane of nationalism has affected Indian communities also with the single exception of Muslims. India will, in future, be ranged into two groups, one representing nationalism and another Islam. The former will consist of Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others. An instance of this has already been furnished by the combination of non-Muslim members of the Calcutta corporation against its Muslim Deputy President. It means that twenty-four crores of the inhabitants of the country will be ranged in a terrible struggle against seven crores of Muslims. Contemplating such a future, we leave it to the helpless and forlorn Muslims of India to decide what their line of action should be. We would once more urge that the only thing which can help Indian Muslims is inter-Islamic union and alliance with the Islamic world. All hopes from Western capitalists will be vain. The problem of winning the friendship of any other community of India is insoluble. On the one hand, Muslims are faced with European capitalism and militarism and, on the other, with the terrible nationalism of India. Today we are forced to call upon Indian Muslims to devote themselves to their organization. They should at once convene an inter-Islamic conference and proclaim that all Muslims of India are one. They do not intend to purchase Swaraj at any price if this Swaraj is to be the Swaraj of Malaviya and company, or of nationalism. They should proclaim that they will not go in for a union which can be had only on self-immolation. If they cannot help annihilating themselves these few Muslims will first annihilate foreigners and strangers. The *Mashriq* suggests that the Government should direct the district authorities to form Hindu-Muslim committees to prevent disturbances on the occasion of *Bakr-Id*. It adds: The cow-sacrifice is not binding on the Muslims. They do it on account of their poverty. We, however, advise them to be sparing in cow-sacrifice. The *Bir Hindu* says that as a result of the recent Calcutta riots, the public naturally apprehends danger on the coming *Bakr-Id*. On such occasions the Hindus being rich, suffer greater loss of life and property and, therefore, it is essential for them to adopt precautionary measures. Every Hindu should provide himself with such things that if a *goonda* enters into a house he may not be able to go back without being sufficiently wounded. Defensive societies like Mahabir Dal, Shankar Dal and Seva Samitis should be formed to cooperate with the police, if necessary. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that there is no doubt that the Hindus are bent upon expelling the Moplahs from India. If the Muslims of India remain indifferent, Hindus will surely succeed in this matter. We request the Government of India not to send the Moplahs to a country where they will not only be cut off from their national traditions but will also be annihilated. The paper also pleads for the release of the Moplah prisoners. The *Hamdam* requests the Local Government to take necessary and early steps for the passing of the Muslim Marriages and Divorce Bill.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Leader* writes: It is our clear opinion that the Government of India ought not to accept the Colour Bar Bill as a settled fact and should make strong efforts to have it included in the subjects for discussion at the conference. There can be no lasting settlement of the Indian problem without a clear understanding as to how far this measure is going to be applied to Indians. Commenting on the passage of the Colour Bar Bill the *Surya* remarks :—This Bill is blacker and more terrible than the Asiatic Bill and its passage indicates the probable attitude of the South African Government regarding the Asiatic Bill. The situation demands that an organized protest against the Bill should be made in India. Otherwise the proposed Round Table Conference is bound to fail and the South African Whites will drive out Indians as untouchables. The *Hamdam* writes :—Lord Birkenhead's speech revives our anxieties and we are convinced that the interests of Indians in South Africa are not safe in the hands of the English statesmen of India and England. The question is not so complicated as it is made out to be in the speeches of the British statesmen. Indians demand only human rights and impartial justice. To raise diplomatic points in this connexion shows that the intention of the patrons of Indians is not above suspicion. The *Haqiqat* suggests that Mr. Shastri, Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Andrews should be included in the proposed Round Table Conference, otherwise it will be a great disappointment to Indians.

The Rewari riot case.

Commenting on the judgement in the Rewari Hindu-Muslim riot case the *Surya* remarks: The judgement is most important and deserves to be considered by the Hindus and the Muslims alike. It recognizes the right of the Hindus to take out their processions accompanied by music before mosques. No commendation of the judge can be too high for this impartial and ideal justice. The obduracy of the Muslims will certainly disappear if they have to face such justice a number of times. The authorities in every part of the country will do well to follow this precedent. The *Medina* writes:—In connexion with the Calcutta riots Muslims are being convicted and Hindus are being set free. Why? Because the Government is afraid of Hindus and Muslims have no power. The decision of the Magistrate in the Rewari case is that the Muslims had no right to stop music and that they had prearranged the riot. Why did the Magistrate give such a decision? Because the Muslims were resourceless. The Magistrate is an Englishman and is a part of the administration. He could not, therefore, decide in favour of Muslims. Will those Muslims who seek Government help not remember their God even now and depend upon Him alone?

Calcutta riots.

In the course of an editorial note on the Calcutta disturbances the *Medina* writes:—There is absolutely no doubt that the disciples of Malaviya and company who are embodiments of peace made the most strenuous efforts to avenge Kohat. But the bold Peshawaris and other Muslims of Northern India did not allow the fire of Malaviyajee's heart to be quenched. Owing to the excesses of the Hindu police and the combined attack of the whole of the Calcutta population Muslims had to incur greater losses and punishments, but the boldness displayed by them in the protection of their communal rights and in spurning the impossible demands of strangers is really commendable. It is true that Lord Lytton's follies in taking out the Sikh procession wounded the hearts of Muslims and the cowardly Bengalees desecrated the mosques. But oh weak Muslims, your God is very powerful and your religion is perfect. Bear all these sufferings with patience and fortitude. Bury your martyrs cheerfully and rejoice over the fact that they have attained life immortal.

Election campaign.

The *Sainik* warns the electors against voting for members of the Indian National Party and representatives of the Hindu sabha as that would weaken the Swaraj party which alone can fight the Government. The tactics adopted by the Liberals might result in the election of those who are known traitors and who are a step ahead of Dyer and O'Dwyer. The *Pratap* points out the need for holding a special session of the Congress in August or September with a view to bid good-bye to elections and strive to concentrate the entire energy of the country on the constructive programme.

Indian states.

The *Sarfaraz* complains that since the beginning of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements the ruler of Hyderabad is being defamed and since the demand for the restoration of Berar the Government of India have been finding fault with his administration. There is a rumour that some important changes are to be made in the internal affairs of the state and that the question of increasing the number of British officers in the Civil and Military departments of Hyderabad and some other matters relating to the state are being discussed at Simla. We may say here that any change in the internal affairs of the state will wound the feelings of the Muslims all over India. The *Hamdam* and the *Haqiqat* express satisfaction at Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal's abdication in favour of Prince Hamid Ullah Khan as they think that this will put a stop to all future troubles.

Bengal Provincial Conference.

Referring to the opposition to the Bengal Pact at the Provincial Conference the *Leader* writes:—It probably means another breach in the swaraj party and a blow at Mr. Sen-Gupta's leadership. The net result of the Bengal Provincial Conference is a further disintegration of the party.

German lottery.

The *Advocate*, *Hindi Kesari*, *Haqiqat*, *Hindustani* and some other papers have published advertisements of a lottery said to have been authorized by the German Government.

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ALLAHABAD:
May 29, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAIL BRANCH
29 JUN 1926
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 22 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 5, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The fate of Abdel Krim has evoked wide sympathy in the Press which pays a warm tribute to his prolonged and heroic resistance in the face of heavy odds. The *Leader* writes:—An ardent patriot, a valiant fighter and a chivalrous foe, he will go down in history with the halo of a martyr to the cause of liberty. The *Aj* writes:—Whatever the fate of Abdel Krim may be the whole world will applaud him with one voice for his heroic struggle and will sympathize with him in his failure. Though the Riffs were defeated yet they are victorious, whereas the French and the Spaniards though victorious are defeated and have fallen in the estimation of the world. Their very name has become disgusting. Sooner or later they will have to face the wrath of the whole world. The *Vartman* deplores that Abdel Krim did not fulfil his vow that he would fight to the last man and die rather than surrender and says that if he had died a heroic death the Riffs would have become stronger a thousand-fold. The *Pratap* remarks:—It was not the combined strength of the French and Spanish armies but their delusive tactics and despicable diplomacy which inflicted a defeat on Abdel Krim. This victory of France represents her moral downfall. It is a victory of brutality and let us see how long it lasts. The *Hamdam* regrets the defeat of Abdel Krim and says:—Unfortunately he has submitted to hard-hearted enemies who do not appreciate bravery. We shall soon see how cruelly he is treated. The peace negotiations were intended by France and Spain to spread disunion among the tribes and the ruse has at last succeeded. But as the defeat of Karbala opened the door of Islamic victory so this defeat of the followers of the Prophet will promote the cause of independence and liberty. The *Haqiqat* writes:—Abdel Krim's heroic defence for a year and a half against one of the greatest military powers of the world is a glorious achievement of the Riff Commander on which he deserves congratulations from friends and foes alike. His defeat involves no disgrace to the great warrior. History will surely do justice to him and his name as a brave and victorious commander will ever illumine its pages. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says:—Europe having done its utmost to swallow up Islam will now be thrown into the abyss of ignominy. Ghazi Abdel Krim was not defeated in a pitched battle, but was left friendless and helpless as his followers were made to turn traitors. The extremist press is jubilant over the victory of Zaghlulists in the Egyptian elections. The *Aj* writes:—The news about Egyptian elections is highly inspiring. The victory of Zaghlulists in the elections has caused a stir in Britain and threats have begun to be held out to them. This should serve as a warning to those who advocate cooperation for the attainment of dominion Self-Government in India. The *Pratap* pays a tribute to the Egyptians for having returned the Zaghlulists to the Assembly in an overwhelming majority and says that only a leader like Zaghlul can liberate Egypt from the grip of John Bull. The *Sada-i-Muslim* remarks:—The result of the election has shown that the greatest enemy of the British power can be the greatest friend of the Egyptians. Referring to the comments in the British Press on the elections the *Haqiqat* writes:—The clamour of the British Press will only accentuate hatred and animosity against the British and will serve no useful purpose. By turning Egypt into an enemy England cannot protect her interests in the Near East nor can she peacefully guard the Suez Canal by enslaving Egypt. The *Aj* expresses satisfaction at the settlement of the Mosul question and gives the credit for it to the Turkish statesmen. It says:—The history of this dispute does not reflect any glory on the British foreign policy which tried its best, though without complete success,

to usurp Mosul with all its oil-fields. The *Haqiqat* remarks:—A union between Britain and Turkey will be a guarantee for the peace of the Near East and by according generous treatment and friendly concessions to Turkey, Britain can very well strengthen her position in the Islamic world. The *Medina* says that even if the terms of the Mosul decision prove economically beneficial to Turks there is no doubt they are injurious from the moral and political point of view. The Turks, no doubt, will become members of the League of Nations, but the membership of the League is slavery under European capitalists. Perhaps the Turks will realize this very soon. The *Haqiqat* thinks that although the Cairo Conference was not a representative one it has laid the foundations of Islamic brotherhood which will develop into a League of Nations. Referring to the action taken by the British Government in dealing with the general strike the *Signal* writes:—The State has allied itself with capital and is trying by every means to crush organized labour and to reduce it to a state of perpetual vassalage to capital. But this much we can say with confidence that an armed coercion to trample down the demands of labour would undoubtedly involve a serious disaster that would shatter the very foundations of constitutional Government so much trumpeted by the descendants of Milton and Cromwell and Burke.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

There has been a marked improvement in the tone of the Press in the discussion of Hindu-Muslim relations. In the course of a letter to the *Pioneer* and the *Leader* discussing measures for stopping communal disturbances Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru writes:—"I think that the situation demands that not only should our law be able to cope with dangerous manifestations of religious bigotry, but that it should also have the power to deal with political ambition which feeds upon the ignorance or the enthusiasm of the many who can be easily misguided and inflamed. I raise no question as to the present-day slogans—Hindu or Muslim—but I do suggest in all seriousness that we should ask for legislation making it possible to disenfranchise all electorates of local boards, councils and the Assembly in any area where communal riots take place. It should not be difficult to understand or define what is meant by a communal riot nor should it be difficult to get a properly constituted authority to declare that a communal riot has taken place. Once a declaration of that character has been made the electorate of that particular district should be completely disenfranchised and should not be allowed to take part in any election to local bodies or councils, for, say, three years." The *Pioneer* doubts if the Government would be able to induce the Legislative Assembly to pass legislation of the kind suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and refers to the difficulty of setting up a properly constituted authority. "If that difficulty could be overcome the proposal deserves careful attention." Pandit Motilal Nehru in a letter to the paper gives his fullest support to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's proposal and says:—"I quite agree with him that such legislation will prove an effective deterrent to a considerable section of a well-known class of people who trade on communal differences . . . My humble suggestion is that if the Government has really set its heart on eradicating the evil it should in addition to the taking of powers suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur introduce certain changes in the practice relating to the framing of the periodical honours lists and also in the rules regulating appointments and promotions in the public services . . . A useful amendment may also be made in the Election Rules by providing that any candidate or his agent who excites communal passions and prejudices in the course of his election propaganda shall be guilty of a corrupt practice." Saiyid Asghar Abbas in a letter written to the *Pioneer* thinks that the riots are due to religious movements and therefore, legislation which is calculated only to chastise political ambition may not prove as fruitful as it appears to be at first sight. Mr. A. P. Dube opposes the proposal. The *Anand* heartily supports the suggestion of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The paper urges the Hindus to proceed very cautiously in respect of the *arti-namaz* dispute in the Aminabad Park, Lucknow. Instead of enforcing the municipal bylaw themselves the Hindu leaders should approach the authorities for bringing about a permanent settlement of the controversy. The *Pratap* remarks that the only means of preventing Hindu-Muslim conflicts and removing the nation's weakness is that a few selected, true and determined persons should declare a *jehad* against religious bigotry. Freedom cannot be attained through pacts, patched up peace or distribution of Government posts. The *Garhwali* says that it is owing to self-seeking leaders who mislead the people for self-aggrandisement that Hindu-Muslim tension and friction is growing day by day. It is to be regretted that

such leaders are to be found more among Muslims than Hindus. The Ali brothers, Sir Abdur Rahim and Khwaja Hasan Nizami have laid themselves open to this charge by their recent speeches. The *Medina* does not expect that any good will come out of the order of the Magistrate of Delhi prohibiting the publication of posters and notices as it holds that the communal disturbances are the results of the activities of Arya Samajist leaders and newspapers. If the Government can restrain the fountain-heads then these daily disturbances may possibly stop. Commenting on Mr. Malaviya's speech at Patna the *Hamdam* remarks :—If the Hindus become the worshippers of one God many disputes connected with the cutting of a branch of the Pipal tree, or the killing of a monkey or a cow will come to an end. Had the Pandit exerted even a little for establishing joint civic guards they would have been established long ago. The Mahabir *dals* not merely protected their co-religionists, but also attacked mosques and killed solitary Muslims. Music has always been stopped before mosques. The *Sada-i-Muslim* takes strong exception to an article published in the *Vartman* alleging that there is excessive rowdyism among Muslims and says :—The statements made in the paper are always unfounded and misleading. As a matter of fact it is the Hindu *goondas* who have left no stone unturned to desecrate places of Muslim worship in most of the cities of India. Thousands of women and children and the old and the sick have been beaten inside mosques. Rowdyism is much more prevalent among Hindus and this is inevitable for their religious tenets leave a man free to become what he likes, e.g., a drunkard, a gambler and the like.

Music before mosques.

The *Signal* writes :—Our Hindu leaders should not throw away their valued time and activities in pandering to the whims of Muslim politicians. They should oppose communal representation for any class of people in India. The *Abhyudaya* condemns the action of congressmen in stopping music before a mosque while taking out the president of the Bengal Provincial Conference in a procession and says that if they had regard for the sentiments of Muslims they should have shown a similar regard for Hindu sentiments also, but the right of the Hindus " was murdered " to humour Muslims. Such unjustifiable partiality cannot lead to satisfactory results and will only make the Muslims more obdurate in their unfair and new demand for the stoppage of music before mosques. Referring to the report that the District Magistrate has stopped cow sacrifice and music before mosques on public roads at Jubbalpore the paper writes :—Why have the innocent been punished along with the guilty in this manner? Have the Hindus done anything to create a disturbance? If not, why was the traditional music of Hindus stopped for fear of rowdies? It was the Muslims who gave cause for excitement by sacrificing cows in open places and thereby tried to disturb public peace. The Jubbalpore authorities should therefore have stopped such sacrifices and taken securities from those who caused excitement. The *Anand* says that Lord Lytton's statement that he was prepared to include in the licence the condition that music would be stopped before certain mosques at the time of *namaz* proves that the Muslims have partly gained their object by recourse to hooliganism and bloodshed. It also betrays the weakness of the Government inasmuch as it could not refuse to recognize the Muslim demand in spite of its illegality. If the Government does not act prudently at the present time it will have to face critical situations every day in future. The partial success achieved by the Muslims through threats will encourage them to disturb peace and tranquillity. It is, therefore, the main duty of the Government to suppress the meanness of the hooligans. In another article the paper says :—The agitation of the Muslim fanatics led by a few bigoted Maulvis is increasing anarchy and lawlessness day by day. The Muslims want to cow down the Hindus by means of threats, but no self-respecting Hindu will submit to their dictatorship and music will not be stopped before mosques. The degraded mentality which the Muslims are displaying is detrimental to the interests of the country and is likely to cause incalculable injury to both the communities. Referring to the judgement of the Privy Council on the question of music before mosques which is being prominently quoted by Hindu papers *Al Barid* says :—Our fellow-countrymen forget that this judgement was delivered in connexion with a dispute between the Shias and Sunnis of Aurangabad which arose on the occasion of *Muharram* celebrations and that it contained a proviso laying down that in special circumstances the Magistrate's orders must be explicitly obeyed. Does not the playing of music before mosques at prayer time for the sake of wounding the religious sentiments of Muslims constitute a special case? The *Haqiqat* deplores the growing tension between Hindus and Muslims and says :—Selfish leaders promote their own interests by

communal differences and see their greatest success in them. It is not at all difficult to remove these differences if efforts are made to effect a compromise in a friendly and disinterested spirit.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* refers to the denationalizing process formerly induced among Indians by foreign domination and notes with satisfaction that this process has now been arrested and is being rapidly supplanted by love of old national ideals. Now the foreign muslin is an eye-sore to the people and the home-spun *khaddar* is an object of love. Now muslin stands for national downfall and *khaddar* for national regeneration. The *Hridaya* publishes the fifth instalment of the article on "Swaraj in the villages" communicated to it by Babu Hardayal Nag in the course of which he remarks:—Swaraj is the panacea of all our sufferings and the villagers are the roots of that panacea. As long as we allow ourselves to be duped by the foreigners, as long as our blood continues to be sucked by them, and as long as we do not become thrifty and industrious we cannot get Swaraj. The villagers should sever their connexion with the aliens and non-cooperate with them which means that they should state clearly that they do not like to be looted by the aliens, that they can meet their requirements and that they will not depend on others. Foreign trade is the root of the miseries of the Indian villager. This foreign trade may better be described as foreign loot, because it is in the interests of foreign trade that our old indigenous industries have been destroyed.

The Bengal Pact.

The *Surya* remarks that the most important event of the Bengal provincial political conference is the burial of the Bengal Pact. The swarajists may yet protest against the collapse of the Pact, but their protest will prove as ineffective as that of the Indian Muslims against the abolition of the *khilafat*. The *Anand* attributes the accentuation of the Hindu-Muslim tension to Mr. Das' Bengal Pact and says that wisdom demands that the Pact should be repudiated. The *Abhyudaya* also condemns the Pact and says that the Muslims will nowhere show gratitude for the concessions embodied in the Pact. Referring to the opposition to the Pact the *Al Barid* remarks:—Not only the Sangathanists, but even nationalist Hindus are vehemently opposing the Bengal Pact. It is to be regretted that the foundation-stone of national union laid by the late C. R. Das is being demolished. If the repudiation of the Bengal Pact fails to bring home to the Muslims of India the fact that rights and an honourable life can be secured by self-help alone, the Muslims will be doomed to perdition.

Election campaign.

The *Aj* deprecates the action of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha in deciding to secure an undertaking from Hindu candidates to the council to protect Hindu interests. It says that by adopting this suicidal course which cannot but lead to divisions among the various Hindu castes themselves the Hindus will lay themselves open to the same charge which they level against the Muslims. The *Surya* charges the swarajists with wilful indifference towards the cause of the Hindus and exhorts the voters not to vote for the swarajists in the next elections. It refers to the introduction of the Bengal Pact and the refusal of a well-known swarajist leader to join the Hindu-Muslim Round Table Conference as illustrative of the swarajist mentality and says that if the Swaraj party secures the Hindu seats there is no doubt that it will lay the axe at the rights of the Hindus and favour the Muslims. In the course of a leading article the *Vartman* says:—Muslims have become extremely bigoted and the executive body of the European Association is not content with even ten seats. And it is well known how the interests of Hindus have suffered by their going to the legislatures solely as congressmen. Why then should Hindus alone go to the councils and the local bodies after spurning their Hinduism? They should combine patriotism with solicitude for the protection of their religion. The *Abhyudaya* says that responsive cooperation is the only suitable policy in the existing circumstances in the country and urges voters to give their votes to responsivists only.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the Bengal Government's decision to increase the percentage of Muslims in Government offices the *Sada-i-Muslim* remarks:—The minority of Muslims in Government offices is also one of the causes of the prevailing communal disturbances and therefore it is hoped that the United Provinces Government will follow the example set by the Government of Bengal and take necessary steps to remove

this real grievance of the Muslims. The *Zulqarnain* says that the disturbances on the occasion of the *Bakr-id* are often due to misunderstanding among the parties concerned or the hastiness of officials or the want of full instructions and therefore suggests that opportunity should be given to District Magistrates to form committees of local influential persons for advising them. The paper commends the action of the District Magistrate of Saharanpur in forming such a committee. The *Nizam-i-Alam* takes strong exception to the publication of a book "Vichitra Jiwan" (Strange life) written by an Arya Samajist named Kali Charan in which, it says, the author defames Prophet Muhammad in the most profane language. If such a venomous propaganda calculated to wound the religious susceptibilities of Muslims is not checked they will be forced to bid farewell to all communal considerations and to have recourse to effective demonstrations and protests. The situation will then become dangerous.

Indian States.

The *Hamdam* apprehends that the stay of the Resident of Hyderabad at Simla for nine days and his secret conference with the new Viceroy and the superior officers of the Political Department have some sinister meaning. It is difficult for us to believe that the Resident has brought with him some papers signed by the relatives of His Exalted Highness complaining against him but history is not devoid of such instances. It is well known to everyone how the representatives of the paramount power obtain such signatures. We would like to tell His Excellency Lord Irwin that Indians in general, and the Muslims in particular, have special and deep faith in the Hyderabad state. The *Haqiqat* says:—Government are trying to discover legal flaws on the basis of which the Nizam may be entrapped. May God protect the Nizam from the weapon of abdication!

Punjab Jails Committee.

Commenting on the report of the Punjab Jails Committee the *Leader* writes:—The report of the committee shows that the whole system of jail administration in the Punjab is rotten. The resolution of the Punjab Government shows that its ideas on the subject of penology are in consonance with the views which have been accepted in civilized countries in the west. We congratulate it on its courageous adoption of a sensible policy and its decision to introduce radical measures of reform which will be welcomed throughout the country. The *Pioneer* writes:—The measures contemplated by the Punjab Government should, when given effect, have a satisfactorily remedial effect. All are salutary and the money spent on them will be well spent.

Railway affairs.

The *Weekly Mazdoor* strongly criticizes the Government for its indifference towards the grievances of railway employees and says:—Many things are happening daily before the very eyes of the Government and when questioned Government reply that they have no information. Government must know everything when they are getting fat by the Indian tax-payer's money. Let the Government understand that labour in India is also gathering strength and their number is not a negligible one. A day will soon dawn when the railwaymen in India will be forced to adopt direct action against the Government to better their position.

Congress politics.

The *Aj* complains that the Lucknow Pact has vitiated national life by recognizing communal representation and special rights in administration and public work. Unless the Congress is released from its grip no fresh life can be infused into the national movement. As a result of this Pact communal and religious distinctions have taken the place of merit in Indian administration and local bodies and it has proved to be the apple of discord in the national life. The swarajist policy has proved to be a failure. We shall get swaraj only when our rulers realize that they cannot govern by disregarding public opinion. Such a situation can be brought about only by non-cooperation. It will be better if the Congress dissociates itself from council politics.

The Rewari riot case.

In the course of an impassioned appeal to the Muslim community to help the families of those Muslims "who have fallen a victim to the Nausherwanian justice" of the Magistrate of Rewari, the *Medina* writes:—The decision in the Rewari case has shown that Muslims cannot expect justice even from Government courts. The blood of one Hindu was considered so precious that the gods of justice were not content with ruining twenty Muslims for it and sprinkled salt over the wounds by according legal recognition to the unjust claims of Hindus.

The Khilafat Conference.

Commenting on the resolutions passed by the special session of the Khilafat Conference the *Medina* says that although all Muslims aspire after independence they do not want swaraj, for swaraj as defined from time to time from the Congress platform cannot fulfil the requirements of Muslims. Its Sanskrit interpretation is Hindu raj. According to the Indian political creed it cannot go beyond the Dominion status. This would be most dangerous for the religious life of Muslims. The Khilafat Committee ought to have defined swaraj as complete independence and true democracy. The *Nejat* vehemently criticizes the comments in the Hindu Press on the Khilafat Conference and remarks :—When the mentality of the majority of Hindus has become so mean as is revealed by the attitude of Hindu papers in connexion with the proceedings of the special meeting of the Khilafat Committee we doubt if any attempts at improving communal relations will be fruitful. Why do not the Muslims and the Hindus then make a formal declaration of final rupture so that each party may set about to improve its condition and do whatever it can ?

District gazettes.

The *Hamdam* complains that the publication of summonses and court notices in English papers and the *Government Gazette* and the *District Gazettes* does not serve the object in view and deprives the national organs of pecuniary help to which they are justly entitled. The *District Gazettes* in some districts have, moreover, become competitors of private papers and are openly published under the patronage of local officers. The Government should declare that it makes no distinction between the *District Gazettes* and private papers and should direct the Deputy Collectors not to take any part in the publication of the former. The *District Gazettes* have rendered no public service and are quite useless.

The Bengal Presidency Area (Emergency) Bill.

Commenting on the passage of the Emergency Bill the *Shakti* remarks :—The Emergency Bill which has been enacted for Calcutta is not useful in any respect. We had never even dreamt that the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal would have to atone for Lord Lytton's sin in this manner. Does not the constant demand for new legislation prove the unfitness of the authorities to carry on the administration of India ? Is it not, therefore, advisable that the bureaucracy should leave India bag and baggage in time ?

Artificial ghee.

The *Tijarat* says that the consumption of artificial foreign ghee in every town and city is mainly responsible for the loss of vitality among the people and the prevalence of epidemics in the country and suggests that health officers should try to check its use.

Abolition of mukhtarship.

The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* protests against the abolition of the Mukhtarship examination and says that it will cause great hardship to the poor zamindars and tenants who hitherto used to engage mukhtars on nominal fees.

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ALLAHABAD :
June 5, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 23 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 12, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The Egyptian elections have received prominent attention. Extremist papers express warm satisfaction at the victory of Zaghlulists and strongly criticize British attitude towards Zaghlul Pasha. The *Aj* says:—The Egyptian dispute with the British Government is of great significance to India also. Zaghlul Pasha and his patriotic party have the sympathy of all thinking Indians in their struggle for independence. Referring to the "provocative comments" of the British press on the elections the *Hamdam* says:—How can a nation claim to be the champion of liberty and democracy when its press is so infused with the spirit of despotism and imperialism? If even Adly Pasha is not liked by Britain on account of his patriotism it would only mean that Britain's talk of granting independence to Egypt is mainly intended to deceive the world. British policy in Egypt is directed mainly towards acquiring complete control over the Suez Canal and the adjoining territories and for this every fair and foul means is being adopted without any hesitation. In another article the paper contends that Zaghlul Pasha's election is quite valid and says:—The British Government's opposition to Zaghlul is an open violation of the Egyptian law and shows that puffed up with her materialistic power Britain has no regard whatsoever for any legislation. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says:—It is strange that the British Government should refuse to acknowledge a person who has been elected under the rules framed and sanctioned by itself. The action of the British Government is absolutely unlawful and it should realize that such high-handedness is not always successful. The *Najat* regards the success of the Zaghlulist party as a menace to British domination over Egypt and says:—It is certain that British aspirations can no longer be fulfilled in Egypt and sooner or later Britain shall have to face the danger which has been created by the success of the Zaghlulist party. Referring to the surrender of Abdel Krim the *Medina* says:—To-day not only Muslims but all others who have been carrying on a life and death struggle against western capitalism and militarism will shed tears over the defeat of Abdel Krim. The whole world has come to know that the immoral and capitalistic Europe, the cruel and blood-thirsty Europe, the avaricious and tyrannical Europe is assuming pleasant but deceitful garbs in order to fulfil its capitalistic, imperialistic and materialistic designs. France, Spain, Germany and Italy are all disciples of Satan and slaves of devilish power. They are all enemies of humanity. Behind their courts, their laws and their assemblies are played the most dreadful games of militarism and imperialism. The whole of this group is a messenger of death for weak and helpless nations. The garden of the world's morality and civilization has been parched up by their breath. In the name of civilization these brutes are using their satanic power to suck the blood of God's helpless creatures. The day is, however, near when these enemies of morality and civilization will be hurled for good into the abyss of ignominy by the kick of God. The *Hamdam* apprehends some sensational and drastic proceedings against Abdel Krim and says:—Such proceedings though opposed to international usages will not be surprising because the western principles of morality and international laws become perverted when applied to a weak Asiatic nation. It is impossible for France and Spain to accord good treatment to the Emir. Has the world become so demoralized that it will become a passive spectator of this method of revenge? The *Leader* regards the Mosul agreement as another triumph of British imperialism. The *Hamdam* congratulates Sir Ronald Lindsay on his successful negotiations regarding the Mosul question and

hopes that after this settlement the friendly relations between England and Turkey will very much improve. The *Medina* exhorts all delegates to the Islamic World Congress to lay the foundation of a permanent Muslim organization for the protection of pan-Islamic rights and the establishment of cordial relations and co-operation among Islamic states. If this object is fulfilled the period of western high-handedness will end and the Islamic countries will soon become free. The *Hamdam* is gratified to note that all Muslim countries are represented on the Congress and hopes that it will be able to solve the problem of the protection of the holy places of Islam and to prepare a programme which will prevent a repetition of undesirable occurrences at these places. The *Pratap* publishes an article from Swami Mangalanandpuri on Iraq in the course of which he remarks :—Although the people of Iraq have got *swaraj* their king, Faisal, is a mere puppet in the hands of the British. The Indian settlers in Iraq have to face overwhelming difficulties. They cannot get Government service in any department and cannot buy land. The British Government which brought the Indians to the country at the hour of its need is throwing them overboard now that its interests have been served. The British Government is preparing to swallow up Iraq.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The suggestions of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru for the prevention of communal disturbances have received wide attention in the Press. The *Sainik* writes :—These measures cannot cut the root of the disturbances, but they can, to some extent, serve as a deterrent. Instead of resorting to wholesale disenfranchizement it ought to be enough to invalidate the elections of those who are directly responsible for the disturbances. The *Anand* urges the Government to accord earnest consideration to these suggestions and says that it will not be undesirable to apply drastic measures to deal with the existing deplorable communal situation in the country. The *Aj* does not approve of the suggestions and says that people should not be disenfranchized in any circumstances. Such punishments will constitute an unjustifiable encroachment on the rights of the people. The paper holds that the root cause of these communal troubles is the grant of separate representation and special rights to Muslims and asks whether some higher authorities had no hand in the formation of separate Muslim parties in Bengal and other places? The paper publishes a letter contributed by Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta (Benares) in which he attributes communal strifes to the Reforms and to the desire of the "aliens" to give a further lease of life to their unnatural authority in the country by placing obstacles in the way of national life and to divert public attention from the pursuit of liberty. He says that if Indians do not wake up soon and get over the intoxication of the liquor of the Reforms they will surely destroy themselves in mutual conflicts. Proceeding he writes :—The aliens are wholly responsible for the communal dissensions. They have deliberately created this situation by means of their crooked diplomacy. The way to escape from it is not to disenfranchize simple people as suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru but to accord exemplary punishment to wire-pullers. If a communal disturbance takes place in some province its Governor should be dismissed forthwith and he should be required to defend himself before Parliament. The Commissioner of the division and the Collector of the district in which the riot has taken place should be severely punished, and if there has been loss of life they should be transported for life. The highest police officers and the Kotwal of the town may even be sentenced to death for loss of life. The *Abhyudaya* remarks :—It would have been better if instead of offering such a novel and futile suggestion Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had advised the abolition of communal representation which is the root cause of the whole trouble. The *Haqiqat* writes :—Dr. Sapru's proposal can be rendered practicable with a slight modification. It is an undoubted fact that the present communal riots are the result of council and municipal elections. The *Shankar* refers to the reports of Muslims demolishing Hindu temples, throwing idols into gutters, forcibly stopping the blowing of conches in private houses, committing rape upon women, etc., and remarks :—It is regrettable that the Muslims are not hesitating even in committing rape upon girls of six years. What a downfall! How diabolical! Are Hindus behaving in a similar manner? If not, the Muslims should drown themselves through shame. One Chaudhri Budh Singh writing in the *Sudharak* appeals to Hindus and Musalmans to cease mutual dissensions and conflicts if they want to get rid of the foreign yoke. He advises the Government not to take advantage of Hindu-Muslim strifes for this not only brings discredit on it but also makes people lose faith in it. Besides who knows

that getting accustomed to violence Hindus and Muslims will ultimately not turn against the Government itself? The *Aj* pays a warm tribute to Maulvi Muhammad Taiyabullah of Assam for his courageous views on the recent activities of the Khilafat Committee and calling attention to the danger to Islamic countries from European powers, says:—The subjection of India is proving to be the cause of the ruin of all the eastern countries. If the thirty-two crores of Indians become self-conscious, what power is there on earth which can even dream of extending its domination in Asia? The *Medina*, the *Sada-i-Muslim* and the *Farishta* take strong exception to the publication of the book named "Vichitra Jiwan" (strange life) in which the author, Kali Charan Sharma, editor of the *Musafir* (Agra), is alleged to have vehemently and in the most profane language attacked the prophet Muhammad. They urge the Government to proscribe the book and to punish its author and thereby allay the unrest among Muslims.

The Raj Rajeshwari Procession.

The action of the authorities with regard to the Raj Rajeshwari procession has evoked strong protests in the Hindu papers, the burden of the comments being that it is calculated to encourage obstinacy and rowdyism among Muslims and ultimately to throw serious difficulties in the way of peaceful administration. Referring to the action taken by the authorities at Delhi and Calcutta in connexion with the Pahari Dhiraj route and the Raj Rajeshwari procession respectively the *Leader* writes:—In both places the Hindus feel aggrieved, in one place because the right of passage of Muslims along a public road has been upheld and in another because the right of Hindus to carry a procession along a time-honoured route has been denied. We leave it to the responsible authorities to consider what is the impression likely to be created on those concerned and the general public by this lack of uniformity in the course of action followed at the capital of India and of Bengal. In another article the paper says:—The impression produced by the action of the Commissioner of Police in changing the route of the Raj Rajeshwari procession originally sanctioned will not inspire respect for or confidence in the local authorities and will only complicate the situation. Those who by their attitude show a defiance of orders lawfully issued ought to be suitably dealt with. The *Aj* remarks that the Raj Rajeshwari procession affair is simply astounding. Is Calcutta ruled by the British Government or by the Musalmans? We firmly assert that the Government's action in this connexion teaches the people to disregard the law. The authorities of Calcutta may not realize the seriousness of this matter to-day but they will surely one day repent of it when the obduracy of the obstinate has gone beyond limits. Who can say that those who are to-day obstructing the public road for the Hindu processions will not another day exhibit similar obduracy in other matters? In another article the paper says:—The reason given by the Bengal Government in its *communiqué* for stopping the Raj Rajeshwari procession provokes laughter. Those guardians of peace are unfit to govern who consider it necessary to deprive a peaceful section of the people of its right relating to the use of public roads for fear of a disturbance on the part of another section. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the order of the Police Commissioner was altogether unjust and betrayed the cowardice and the unfitness of the authorities. If the authorities yield to the threats of the hooligans in this manner a day will come when they will get encouraged to such an extent that it will become very difficult for the Government to control them. The *Vartman* says that the Calcutta authorities have hurt the religious sentiments of Hindus by ordering them to change the route of the Raj Rajeshwari procession. If the old customs are changed it will have to be said that the authorities wish to curtail the rights of one community in order to please another and they themselves will be solely responsible for the unrest which is bound to follow such a policy. If the authorities are unable to arrange for the taking out of processions in accordance with the established customs then it must be said that they are pointing out the need of a change in the administration itself. The *Bharat Jiwan* says:—Will the people still have respect for and faith in the Government and its laws?

Political Propaganda.

A new English weekly entitled "Republic" has been started from Cawnpore. It is edited and published by G. P. Nair at Cawnpore and printed at the Alijah Darbar Press, Gwalior. In the course of the leading article the paper says:—"The very name (Republic) is suggestive of both its message and aim . . . India wants a Federal Republic, though not now, at a later date. But *Swaraj* we want immediately and it is impossible for us to do without it any longer." The

paper publishes an interview granted to its representative by Maulana Hasrat Mohani in the course of which he says:—" I have always been of opinion that the *swaraj* that is to be established in India must be in the form of a Federal Republic, or a federation of the free and united states of India by all fair means . . . I am sure that ultimately the Congress will find out that mere constitutional agitation is meaningless in a country like India which has no constitution and will again have to adopt the same view which I wanted it to approve at Ahmedabad." In the course of a leading article the *Hridaya* remarks:—Our birth-rights are robbed before our very eyes and yet we stand unmoved like a statue of stone. Our religious rights are throttled and yet we remain unaffected; objects of our veneration are spurned and yet we pass it over in smiles. Be that as it may, when we are destined to die why should we not make preparations for death? How long will you continue to offer to the devils of the bureaucracy tea made of the bones and skeletons of crores of poor Indians? How long will you continue to provide for the entertainment of those heartless men the wails of countless cows, orphans and widows? The paper publishes the sixth instalment of the article under the heading " *Swaraj* in the villages " communicated to it by Babu Hardayal Nag in the course of which he remarks:—The sword of foreign trade destroyed the happiness bound up with the freedom of the country and let flow the stream of blood in the form of wealth as a result of which hundreds of thousands of our villagers are crying for a morsel to-day. This foreign trade, education and industries have almost killed the Indian peasants or the Indian villagers who formed the most powerful community in the world. They have ruined their lives, maimed them and left them alive only that they may bear the greatest tortures and agonies. If the villagers still want to exist let them establish *swaraj* which means that they will grow corn for themselves, sell the surplus to their neighbours at reasonable price and on no account sell it to the foreigners. Suffice it to say that every Indian should realize that every shell going to the foreigners represents a drop of blood from the body of the Indians.

Music before mosques.

The *Medina* deplores that on the question of music before mosques Hindus are evincing extreme obstinacy, bigotry and hatred. If by combined action they succeed in forcing the Government to recognize their right to play music before mosques will the country and the Government continue to live in peace? How long and to what extent will Government continue to bow down to Hindu majority? We would urge Muslims to strengthen the foundations of pan-Islamic unity and to take up the task of internal reforms. *Al Bashir* says:—If the Hindus claim the right to play music before mosques on the ground that the roads are public property are not the Muslims also entitled on a similar plea to sacrifice cows on public thoroughfares? While claiming the right to play music before mosques, Hindus object to the sacrifice of cows even within the four walls of the houses of Muslims. What inscrutable justice? Sensible, just and liberal leaders of the Hindus who dislike these disturbances should advise their co-religionists to abandon this unreasonable obduracy. *Al Barid* remarks:—Since the advent of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements the unfounded and unjust claims of the Hindus have wounded the religious sentiments of the Muslims. Muslims do not wish to provoke quarrels by spurning the just demands of the Hindus but they are not prepared to tolerate any insult to their religion even if offered by the biggest power. Those responsible for the Calcutta riots not only spurned the decision of the Unity Conference regarding the observance of old customs, but also tore the Bengal Pact into shreds and caused a conflagration the flames of which have affected the four corners of India. Was not the playing of music before mosques in Calcutta a violation of the old custom and of the Bengal Pact? It is the duty of farsighted nationalists who are anxious for India's prosperity to settle this question which is paving the way for bloodshed and plunder. Commenting on the Bengal Government's *communiqué* regarding music before mosques the *Hamdam* says that although the decision would not satisfy those holding extreme views in both the communities yet it is a most sound and wise decision in which due regard has been paid to moderation, caution and old customs. Now it is the duty of both the Hindus and the Muslims to abide by the decision and live peacefully.

The Bengal Pact.

The *Vartman* says that the evil caused by the Congress-League Pact of Lucknow has been aggravated by the Bengal Pact and remarks that not content with the provisions of these pacts Muslims want an extension of their special rights and some Muslim papers want that the principle of communal representation should be observed

even in awarding punishments to thieves, rogues, etc. This is the limit of meanness. It is the duty of all wise Hindu and Muslim members of the Bengal Provincial Committee to bury the Bengal Pact for good. The *Pratap* remarks that the Bengal Pact was framed by Mr. C. R. Das in the hope of persuading the Muslims to give up their demand for separate communal representation. But when at the instance of Sir Abdur Rahim and other shrewd leaders the Muslims of Bengal began to press the fatal demand still further there remained no need for the pact and it is in the fitness of things that it has been rescinded. The *Bharat Jiwan* deplores the resolution passed in the Bengal Provincial Conference cancelling the pact and says that it will not only accentuate communal tension but create discord among political parties also and thereby prolong the thraldom of the country. *Al Barid* writes:—The programme of the Hindu mischief-makers has succeeded and the most important achievement of the late Mr. C. R. Das has been wrecked altogether. The sangathanist zeal has perverted Hindu mentality and so long as it persists the Hindus will not be prepared to listen even to the greatest of their leaders on any matter other than that of usurping Muslim rights and dragging them towards annihilation. The *Zulqarnain* remarks:—The noble achievement of the late Mr. C. R. Das which gave indications of just treatment being accorded to the Muslims has at last been repudiated. The Muslims should not regret it much as after the death of Mr. Das the pact had become a dead letter.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the apprehensions of serious communal riots on the occasion of the coming Bakrid the *Rahnuma* remarks:—The communal tension is being accentuated by the provoking activities of Arya Samajists. Now instead of carrying on their propaganda for cow protection peacefully and appealing to Muslims they are adopting provocative methods and are secretly concerting measures to stop cow sacrifice forcibly. All this will result in exceptionally serious riots. The *Mashriq* says that the Hindus have no right to obstruct Muslims in sacrificing cows nor can the authorities justly ask them to sacrifice cows only at a particular place. Sacrifice is a religious injunction for Muslims and they are at liberty to sacrifice any animal they like. In case of obstruction it becomes incumbent on them to sacrifice the very animal objected to. The paper, therefore, asks the Hindus not to provoke Muslims in this matter but at the same time advises Muslims to sacrifice cows sparingly. The *Aiena* deplores the recent communal riots which have only ended in loss of innocent lives, bloodshed and unnecessary prosecutions and exhorts both Hindus and Muslims to exercise moderation and toleration during the coming Bakrid in order to avoid all quarrels and disturbances. In the course of an article discussing Islamic problems the *Medina* says:—We would like to emphasize that it is useless for Indian Muslims to oppose the present Hindu mentality. Bravery can be met by bravery but cowardice, deceit and mischievous zeal cannot be countered. Indian Muslims have two important tasks before them, viz., a strenuous war against western capitalists and the establishment of Islamic brotherhood. The former includes the freedom of India and of other Islamic countries. Non-cooperation with the necessary changes in methods will be our real guide.

Agricultural development.

Referring to the Viceroy's speech at the Conference of Ministers and Directors of Agriculture, the *Leader* writes:—India may look forward to an active policy of agricultural development during Lord Irwin's viceroyalty. His speech also showed that he is keen on ameliorating the lot of the villager. In this common object of helping the helpless masses and of bringing sunshine to them all political parties and classes of people can co-operate with the Government. The vastness of the problem and its vital connexion with national progress demands such co-operation and all policies and programmes which stand in its way should be discarded on patriotic grounds . . . If the Government is sufficiently in earnest about the matter and adopts prompt measures for spreading the light of education, developing communications and enlisting popular support and providing resources needed for embarking upon a comprehensive policy of rural reconstruction then certainly a new era will dawn and the people will come to appreciate better than they do the beneficent purpose of British rule. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—From the din of communalism and the despair of politics the speech and its subject make a refreshing change. An agricultural commission is any day more welcome than a futile Reform commission which will do more harm than good in the present impossible state of things. If the reforms are withdrawn, there will be less trouble because the mischief of communal representation is at

the bottom of it. The seeds of mischief were sown in what is known as the Jahangirabad amendment which was the precursor of the Congress-League Pact which has been a veritable harbinger of feuds the like of which India did not witness in recent years.

Punjab Jails Committee.

The *Pratap* remarks that the entire credit for the appointment of the Jail Inquiry Committee, the publication of its report and the readiness of the Punjab Government to introduce reforms in jails is due to the *Bande Mataram*. But for its courageous exposure of the atrocities practised in the jails there would have been no reforms to-day. The condition of the jails in other provinces is no better than that of the Punjab jails. Will the United Provinces Government also introduce reforms in this direction? A number of other Hindi papers write in a similar strain. The *Abhyudaya* says that the condition of the jails in the United Provinces is equally bad if not worse than that of the Punjab jails. The *Surya* says:—It is indeed a matter for regret, shame and disgrace to the Government that such inhuman and monstrous practices should be possible under its civilized rule in the twentieth century. The *Aj* urges that even in the administration of jails due regard should be paid to considerations of humanity, civilization and social well-being.

United Provinces Cooperative Committee's report.

The *Leader* is of opinion that the report of the cooperative committee appointed by the Local Government contains a comprehensive and able survey of the existing conditions and a large number of valuable suggestions. The report is in fact a strong indictment of the lines on which the movement has been so far conducted and Government cannot escape responsibility for the state of things. Better results could certainly have been achieved if the department had not been starved for funds and greater attention had been paid to the needs of proper organization, efficient supervision and cooperative education.

Indian States.

Referring to the recent interview of the Resident of Hyderabad with the Viceroy at Simla the *Najat* remarks:—The moral courage displayed by the Nizam in the matter of Berar has displeased the official gods; yet it is plain enough that he cannot be treated like the Maharaja of Indore as he is much esteemed and respected not only by his subjects but by the whole of Islamic India. Referring to the news published by the *Riyasat* of Delhi regarding the proposed appointment of a commission against the Nizam the *Aziz Hind* says:—We do not for a moment believe that the Government of India will take such a serious action on scandalous and trivial complaints against the Nizam. If such trivialities form the basis of the appointment of commissions all the ruling chiefs will soon be dethroned and their states will perish. The paper urges the Viceroy to issue a *communiqué* to remove the existing general unrest concerning Hyderabad and to check the suspicions prevailing regarding himself. The *Naiyar Azam*, warns the Government of India that Indians in general and Muslims in particular entertain a deep devotion for the Nizam and any action taken against him is likely to cause sensation all over the country.

Indians in the colonies.

Referring to the report of the select committee of the South African Legislature on the Class Areas Bill the *Leader* writes:—"It appears from the report that the members of the Paddison deputation stood their ground well and put up a valiant fight on behalf of the Indian settlers." The paper specially commends the firm attitude displayed by Mr. Bajpai and says:—"Mr. Bajpai must have acted in accordance with the instructions of the Government of India which deserves the warm thanks of the people for its opposition, root and branch, to the Bill."

Mr. Gandhi's visit to Mahabaleshwar.

The *Aj* says that Mahatma Gandhi has humiliated the national cause by his visit to the Governor. The cause of self-respect, soul-force and self-confidence has received a rude shock by the Mahatma's visit to Mahabaleshwar. If this visit was inspired by the desire to make the bureaucracy an instrument of propagating charkha then the Mahatma has disregarded a principle to secure a slight gain. This example of his can never serve as an ideal to non-cooperators.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
June 12, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 24 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 19, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Muslim papers strongly protest against the alleged interference of the British Government with Egyptian elections. The *Medina* says that the name of Zaghlul Pasha is absent from the list of distinguished ministers of Egypt in the same way in which fairness and justice are absent from British politics. It is true that by means of its warship Britain has succeeded in depriving the Egyptian Cabinet of the services of its worthiest son, but this very fact will dig the grave of British domination in the East. The patriotic spirit of Egyptians cannot be stifled by such threats and demonstrations of force. The *Haqiqat* remarks :—The brilliant success of Zaghlul Pasha's party has upset the official and semi-official circles in England. But the British statesmen would be well advised not to trample the wishes of the Egyptians regarding the Suez canal and Sudan and in order to make Egypt a trusted friend of England they should settle the matters in dispute by compromise. The *Najat* says :—Had Egypt been really free Britain would not have dared to send a warship to exert pressure on her. To save his country Zaghlul Pasha has withdrawn his lawful claim to Premiership but this is not likely to end the difficulties of Britain in that country because the Zaghlulists are in a majority and they will surely insist on their old demands. The *Haqiqat* welcomes the Anglo-Turkish settlement and says that it is equally honourable to both the parties. It is hoped that Persia will also join the alliance in order to ensure peace in the Near East. The *Najat* says that the Turks have after all compelled Britain to concede their demands and in this way they have achieved another great victory over her. The *Pratap* is of opinion that in the Anglo-Turkish agreement the British have had to yield more than the Turks. The agreement has enhanced the international importance of Turkey. The *Haqiqat* says :—Arabic papers received from Egypt and Syria have been providing some details of the black deeds of the hard-hearted Frenchmen in the latter country. Although the reports are being rigidly censored, it is clear that the brave soldiers of Syria are fighting their cruel self-constituted masters with redoubled vigour and bravery. France has been most contemptuously trampling upon their just and legitimate rights with the support of the League of Nations. The brilliant feats of the brave soldiers of Syria are expected to encourage other subject nations. Referring to Abdel Krim's surrender the *Sadaqat* says :—The defeat of Ghazi Abdel Krim will be mourned not only by the Islamic world but by the whole of Asia. The heroic resistance offered by the Riffs with a small and helpless army to two great powers of Europe is in fact a matter for shame for Europeans. The defeat of the Riffs is no defeat. The *Haqiqat* says that no good can be expected from the Islamic Congress at Mecca. The most important question before it should be how to put a stop to the Nejdian atrocities which have agitated the entire Muslim world. Indian Muslims should devise some speedy means of saving the sacred Mecca from the cruel and impure hands of Nejdis; otherwise they should be prepared to hear one day that the Holy Mausoleum of the Prophet has also been demolished. Referring to the alleged demolition of holy places at Mecca the *Sarfaraz* remarks :—We cannot expect a gentlemanly treatment at the hands of Ibn Saud whose activities have already been revealed to the world. The consecration of the Hedjaz will only be possible when his unholy feet are removed. The *Hamdam* eulogizes His Majesty the Amir of Kabul for granting reforms to his subjects and says that like the Montford reforms they are not a sham but are real and substantial. The inauguration of reforms in a country notorious for its backwardness shows the tendency of Islam towards democracy. Europe

should feel ashamed that at a time when imperialism is getting the upper hand in European countries Muslim countries are advancing towards republicanism.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of a letter to the *Pioneer* Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru replies at length to the criticism which has appeared in the press of his suggestion regarding the disenfranchisement of areas within which communal riots take place. He says:—I feel that once my suggestion is accepted, the intriguing and the evilly-disposed who thrive politically by playing upon popular fanaticism and also the rank and file will think not twice but several times before they play with public peace. The *Aj* agrees more with Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru regarding the genesis of communal disturbances and argues that disenfranchisement as suggested by Dr. Sapru cannot touch non-official wire-pullers in these disturbances. Proceeding it says:—Political ambition is to be found not only in non-officials; officials too are greatly obsessed by it. Many officials find a sort of pleasure in our troubles. It is from the Indian officials that an incentive comes and that is how they know when trouble is brewing. They proceed in so skilful a manner that while they get titles and promotion the masses suffer loss in life and property. Those who should preserve law and order strike a fatal blow at them and are patted on the back. We support the views of Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta. We have not the least doubt that if measures are taken to inflict suitable punishment on Government officials the communal trouble will vanish in no time. In that event (subordinate) Government officials too will get no opportunity to fulfil their ambition, for it is on the support of (higher) officials that they hatch their conspiracy. We want that Government officials without exception should be adequately punished on the outbreak of the disturbance. If they wish there can be no disturbance. This suggestion is offered in case it is thought desirable to stop riots but if riots are held to be desirable there is no need either for us or for the Government to consider the remedies. The *Hindi Kesari* says:—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's suggestion may or may not succeed in achieving its object but it will certainly help the bureaucracy to withdraw the rights which it was forced to concede. The suggestion is altogether impracticable and can have no effect on the *goondas* who disturb public peace. The *Hamdam* writes:—The suggestions of Dr. Sapru and Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta involve drastic remedies. We believe that the administration of a strong dose to cure the prevailing disease in India is likely to do more harm than good. Babu Shiva Prasad holds that communal representation is at the root of all dissensions. The fact, however, is that during the one hundred and fifty years after the fall of Delhi the Muslims remained sunk in heavy sleep, while the Hindus, being alive to the needs of the time, got an opportunity of securing a majority in all Government departments and for a long timg availed themselves of it in trampling the Muslim rights. When the Muslims awoke from their torpor and asked for their just rights the Hindus were annoyed and became perturbed. If the least regard had been paid to Muslim rights in joint elections they would never have demanded separate representation. Where the Muslim rights are not secured by legislation, Muslims, in spite of their possessing the requisite qualifications, do not succeed in securing posts of distinction. The *Jatvir* publishes an article communicated to it by Swami Satyadeva in the course of which he remarks:—The entire energy of Muslim organization is being concentrated on fighting with the Hindus because it cannot fight with the British. By trying to secure Government posts for the Muslims their leaders want to perpetuate their serfdom. The vaunted claim of the Muslims that they conquered India is quite baseless. Those who invaded India from the north were the Turks and the Tartars. Their descendants form only a microscopic section of the Muslim population of India. The Muslim inhabitants of India were first shoe-beaten by the Turks, then they were cudgled by the Hindus and now they are fighting among themselves for the crumbs from the tables of the British. The only means of their emancipation is that they should assimilate Hindu civilization and be ready to sacrifice themselves for Mother India. Thus alone can their sins be expiated. The bigotry of Muslims is probably necessary for bringing to the field of action those young men who are ready to sacrifice themselves for Hindu civilization. *Al Burid* pleads for mutual tolerance with regard to music and cow sacrifice and remarks:—If national leaders are honestly determined to stop quarrels they are sure to succeed in doing so. The *Jadu* says:—The anxiety and uneasiness shown by the British Government during the days of the non-cooperation movement were worth seeing. It was a time when union and friendship prevailed in India and Hindus were working shoulder to

shoulder with the Muslims for achieving liberty but British diplomacy succeeded in winning over the so-called leaders to its side. *Shuddhi*, *Sangathan*, *Mahabir Dals* and *Ali Ghols* were started. These movements offered such a death-blow to Hindu-Muslim unity that the dream of *swaraj* has vanished. Communal differences have been accentuated and the political structure so arduously raised has fallen to pieces. In these circumstances it is no wonder if the Britishers rejoice in their triumph. The *Haqiqat* says that the United Provinces Government encouraged the formation of *Aman Sabhas* to combat the non-cooperation movement. But now that the communal questions have endangered the public peace of the country and riots have actually occurred at several places no *Aman Sabha* is ever being heard of. Perhaps there is no need for establishing peace or in the eyes of the Government breach of peace means only struggle for the freedom of the country and inter-communal riots are not included in this term.

Music before mosques.

Referring to the opposition of Calcutta Muslims to the decision of the Bengal Government on the question of music before mosques the *Leader* writes :—The fact is that fairness and charity do not form part of the moral and intellectual equipment of those who have girded up their loins to wage a communal war. If there is any community which should feel aggrieved against that decision, it is the Hindus of Calcutta. Concessions to those who are apt to take law into their hands is construed as weakness and leads to more trouble. From this point of view the Bengal Government's decision is a mistake. It has not mollified those who threatened trouble. It has only whetted their appetite for more. The duty of the Government is to uphold the just rights of every community and not to countenance unreasonable communal demands which involve the sacrifice of the legal rights of other communities. If it fails to do so it will increase its own troubles. The *Pratap* writes :—The decision was not unexpected as the Bengal Government was bent upon favouring the Muslims in this matter. By fulfilling their cherished desire the Bengal Government has betrayed its weakness. The desire of the Government to make the Muslims dance to its tune and revive dyarchy in Bengal and to some extent its fear of the Muslims are at the root of this decision. We regard this decision of the Government as devoid of any principle. The Hindu public must on no account obey this order. We request the *Maha Sabha* to hold at once a special session at Calcutta and enjoin the Hindu population of Bengal to violate this order. To submit to it quietly would be to display cowardice. The *Gorakshan* remarks :—The Bengal Government's decision is one-sided and therefore unacceptable. It lays the axe at the root of the social as well as the religious rights of the Hindus, constitutes an insult to them and is a source of danger to all the provinces of India. It is the outcome of the Government's fear of the Muslims and its knowledge of the weakness of the Hindus. The *Vartman* says :—It will be better if Government makes over the public roads in front of mosques to Muslims and orders that no Hindus should use them. Its policy had already trampled the hearts of Hindus in cities and now hear of villages. Which is the village in East Bengal where idols have not been broken ? Which is the day when we do not hear of a temple being burnt, an idol being broken and beef being thrown ? . . . Where is the wonder if on seeing the miserable plight of Hindus in villages, and cases of theft, dacoities, kidnapping of women and boys and the daily evil incidents in temples one is led to imagine that instead of British *Raj* Aurangzebi is rampant there. Hindus ! open your eyes. If you rely for your protection solely on Government then it is all over. In another article the paper strongly criticizes the decision of the Bengal Government and says :—No rights can be achieved through cowardice. By firm determination and organization the Government were forced to cancel the partition of Bengal and to repeal the Rowlatt Act. It is a great mistake to think that the Bengal Government's order is irrevocable. Nadirshahi, Dyerism, Aurangzebi and Czardom were not permanent. How can then this order remain in force for ever ? Such autocratic interference as has been shown in the matter of stopping music has not been seen in any other civilized country. The Hindus should organize themselves and wait for the instructions of the *Maha Sabha*. The *Anand* remarks :— By this decision the Bengal Government has trampled upon the rights of the Hindus which they have been enjoying for the last several centuries. The decision is marked by partiality and constitutes an interference on the part of the Government with the religious rights of the Hindus. It is unjust and improper and is calculated to create a sensation in the country. The

Hindus should not take it lying down and should become prepared to sacrifice their all for the protection of their religion. The *Sevak* says:—The demon of music has at present possessed the Muslims and they are determined to deprive the Hindus of their religious rights and for this have raised the standard of *jehad* especially in Bengal. Government is taking advantage of the communal situation prevailing in the country. The internecine quarrels are only strengthening its hands. The paper exhorts Hindus to gird up their loins for self-defence and to be ready to sacrifice their lives for their religion. They will then be able to secure the liberty not only of playing music but also of every other kind. The *Medina* acknowledges that the Governor of Bengal did his utmost to reconcile the two communities on the question of music before mosques but says that in order to please Hindus he has deprived Muslims of their rights. Does this not show that the Government is afraid of mischievous persons? By leaving the mofussil places at the mercy of magistrates and police officers, who will generally be Hindus, the door of mischief and disturbance has been left open. The *Najat* regards the decision as praiseworthy from every point of view and says that it would have been much better if it had not been confined to Calcutta. It is desirable that other provincial Governments should also take similar action and issue *communiqués* upholding the old custom and practice. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that if the decision is strictly enforced it is likely to lessen the present communal tension to a great extent. It is just possible that there may be some among Muslims who may not like the playing of music before mosques at any time, still we would consider it a good luck for the country if the Hindus and Muslims agree to abide by this decision. It is hoped that the educated classes in both the communities would appreciate the decision and would do their best to improve the relations between the sister communities. Discussing the question of music before mosques the *Signal* suggests the complete stoppage of music not only in close proximity of the mosques but at all places and on all occasions such as marriages and even in Hindu homes. It says:—There is no alternative open to us than to yield to the Muslim *zid*. By doing so we Hindus shall practically lose nothing while the unexpected and unthought-of victory of the Muslims will stimulate their nerves as they are a part and parcel of the great Indian nation. It is the desire of all true Hindus that that limb of ours should get sufficient nourishment to keep pace with us. It is time for us to mourn and not to play music. Like Rana Pratap Singh of Chittore we should take the vow of not taking out any musical procession so long as *swaraj* is not achieved through the combined efforts of Hindus and Muslims. If this stoppage of music during Hindu religious and social observances be effected throughout the length and breadth of the country even for a short while, it will set athinking, even those who never heard of the word *swaraj*, of their real condition.

Muslim affairs.

In the course of an article discussing a line of action for the Muslims the *Medina* says:—Every community and religion has different guiding principles of life. For instance the secret of the present success and imperialism of Europe is its irreligiousness, apostasy, atheism, tyranny, covetousness, land-hunger, deceitfulness and narrow patriotism. The emancipation of Hindus, according to their present day leaders, lies in communal strife and kissing the feet of Government. The Muslims, however, should seek their safety behind the sacred walls of their religion. The economic and political laws and regulations in vogue cannot serve as their guide. The Quran alone can guide them. If we want that both in peace and war Muslims should remain safe from the high-handedness of our fellow-countrymen and Government, we should seek the economic freedom and progress of the followers of Islam. What the bricks from the kiln of Malaviyajee, the pistols from the loins of *gopis* and the *lathis* and shots of sangathanists cannot accomplish is achieved by blessed money in courts. We have no danger from pistols and bombs dropped secretly. We are Muslims and the life and body of Muslims are meant only for bearing hardships. But we have to save our community from those silent, innocent-looking wolves who sitting in their shops suck the economic blood of Muslims. The *Ittihad* exhorts responsible officials to adopt such measures during the Bakr-id as may render communal tension impossible and enable the Muslims to perform their religious rites peacefully. The *Haqiqat* calls attention to the apprehension of disturbances during the coming religious festivals and exhorts Hindus and Muslims to exercise patience and forbearence. The *Rozana Akhbar* suggests that committees consisting of Hindus and Muslims should be formed in every district

which shall be responsible for maintaining peace. The *Najat* expresses surprise at the action of the Hindus of Delhi in asking the authorities to change the route of Pahari Dhiraj and ironically remarks that this shows the eagerness of the Hindus for compromise. Certainly the Hindus are in a majority. But this never means that they alone are the sole masters of India and that the non-Hindus have no alternative but to bow down their heads before them. Muslims came to this country as conquerors and have got rights and privileges similar to those of the Hindus. There appears no reason why they should forego their right to sacrifice cows. The route of Pahari Dhiraj is already fixed and the Hindus have got no right to object to cows being taken through that route. The *Hamdam* expresses wonder at the queer attitude of the sangathanists who on the one hand are anxious to secure the full right of using the public thoroughfare for playing music in their processions and on the other hand are trying to stop the old route of Pahari Dhiraj.

The Hindu *Maha Sabha*.

The *Sainik* vehemently criticizes those leaders of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* who advise the Hindus to secure their rights by co-operating with the Government and winning its favour. It says :—This would mean that they would compete with Muslims for kissing the feet of the Government. We should remember that the Government will never allow the Hindus to become powerful enough to crush the Muslims and thus to endanger its own existence. Government will never side with the Hindus in Hindu-Muslim quarrels. Its policy with regard to the Raj Rajeshwari procession, the Pahari Dhiraj route and the question of music before mosques furnishes fresh instances of this. The *Aj* disapproves of the decision of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* to set up its candidates against the Congress nominees in the next elections and attributes the alienation of the Hindu *Sabha* from the Congress to the Lucknow and the Bengal pacts. It apprehends that in the event of the Hindu *Sabha* contesting the elections there is the danger of a few *ji huzurs* posing as orthodox Hindus getting access to legislatures and thereby helping in tightening the bonds of India's slavery and exposing her to world-wide ridicule by practising slavery in the form of co-operation. Another result of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* putting forward communalist Hindus in place of nationalist Hindus will be that the Hindus themselves will become divided into innumerable groups. In these internecine dissensions each sect and community will try to enlist the support of the bureaucracy and monopolize all offices from ministerships to the posts of peons Such a bankruptcy of intellect has never before been seen in the history of India. Referring to the decision of the Punjab Hindu *Sabha* to nominate its candidates for election to the legislatures the *Najat* says :—This shows that Hindu mentality has altogether changed and the Hindus want to keep the fire of communal tension burning. The action of the Hindu *Sabha* is sure to damage the prestige of the Congress and it is apprehended that this great national body will be smashed to pieces by the reprehensible communal feelings of the Hindus.

The Bengal Pact.

The *Aj* writes :—The Bengal Pact has been saved but it has caused a serious split in Congress ranks. We cannot congratulate the Bengal Congress Committee on this state of affairs. The supporters of the pact have upheld it with a view to ensure success in the coming elections but is it possible for the swarajists to secure success by wounding Hindu susceptibilities? Instead of bringing peace and amity to the country the Bengal Pact has sown seeds of discord and hatred between Hindus and Muslims. The sooner this pact is drowned in the Bay of Bengal the better for the country. The *Hamdam* expresses satisfaction at the defeat of the resolution opposing the Bengal Pact and is gratified to learn that Mr. Sen Gupta kept up the tradition of his distinguished predecessor.

The Agra Tenancy Bill.

Commenting on the report of the select committee on the Agra Tenancy Bill the *Leader* writes :—We find that the Bill after the modifications it has undergone at the hands of the select committee is more defective than it was originally. It increases the disabilities of the occupancy tenant and empowers the landlord to acquire his holding for agricultural development. Not only has the position of occupancy tenants been rendered precarious but the select committee has modified certain provisions in the original Bill the effect of which will be virtually to nullify the provisions relating to life tenures. The *Sainik* writes :—The Bill was sufficiently bad but the select committee has made it worse so much so that it will not be improper to characterize it as the Black Bill of Kisans. Its very

object has been defeated. Mountains of troubles will fall on the cultivators if the Bill is passed. The cultivators and their well-wishers should abandon all other work and inaugurate a furious agitation over the Bill.

Agricultural development.

The *Hindi Kesari* writes :—The Viceroy's speech before provincial ministers of agriculture at Simla indicates that the show of the agricultural commission and the cry for agricultural development are only intended to make India an agency for producing raw material. This speech will open the eyes of those people who had built high expectations on the commission. If the commission succeeds in the object mentioned by His Excellency it may well benefit the Manchester manufacturers and other foreigners but it cannot improve the lot of the poor Indian cultivators. The *Aj* insinuates that the " Bureaucracy " has started the movement for agricultural development in order to discredit the national movement. It says :—Were agricultural development at all possible under the terrible subjection we would have withdrawn from the political movement and concentrated our energies on it. But this is far from being the case. On the other hand the alien rule is at the very root of the misery of the *kisans* for its interests lie in the increased export of Indian corn to foreign countries and the waste of crores of rupees in England every year in the name of the good of India. The *Hamdam* remarks :—The Government's kind attitude towards peasantry is not intended to improve their condition, but only to wean them from the influence of political leaders and to bring them under that of the Government. While discussing India's position in the world market the Viceroy laid much stress on the production of cotton, jute, wheat and oilseeds, etc., but he made no mention of the production of coarse grain which is the only means of subsistence of the rural public. The new agricultural policy of the Government is intended for the good of the British manufacturers and to check the political awakening in the peasantry, otherwise the Viceroy would have cared more for the coarse grain than for the world market.

United Provinces Government's communication regarding communal tension.

Commenting on the communication addressed by the United Provinces Government in connexion with the growth of communal tension the *Leader* refers to the intention of Government to use freely all the powers vested in them by law and says :—These powers should be used with thorough impartiality and uninfluenced by threats of disturbances held out by any section of the people. They should not as a rule be used to the detriment of those whose legal rights are threatened. If this is not done communal tension will continue to grow. The paper suggests that the burden of punitive police whenever necessary should be imposed on the aggressive community.

Indianization of services.

Referring to the speech of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the Indian Civil Service dinner the *Leader* writes :—We regard the speech as a regrettable utterance although we do not hold His Royal Highness responsible for the views expressed in the speech. The Prince should not have been advised to make a reference to the Lee recommendations. Royalty ought not to be dragged into controversial politics. Is His Royal Highness aware that Indian opinion demands that British recruitment for the services should be completely abandoned ?

Tibbi college.

The *Haqiqat* disfavours the idea of opening any new Tibbi college at Lucknow as private institutions will suffer thereby and poor students will be deprived of their present facilities. The most desirable step in this direction would be to give financial aid to the existing institutions instead of wasting public money on new ventures.

Indian States.

The *Farishta* complains against the action of the Maharaja of Bharatpur in removing the Muslim element from the various services of the State and urges that Muslims should have proportionate representation in them.

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ALLAHABAD :

June 19, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 25 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 26, 1926.

Foreign Affairs.

The Muslim Press continues to pay warm tributes to the heroic resistance of Abdel Krim. Referring to the Anglo-Turkish agreement regarding Mosul the *Hamdam* deplores that the Turks have sold their sovereign rights for a sum of 5 lakh pounds and says that the entire Muslim world will be shocked to hear this sad news. The *Bedar* regrets that the mighty British Empire has exercised undue pressure on Turkey regarding Mosul. The paper is gratified to note that the Islamic Conference at Mecca was fully representative and hopes that it will realize the dreams of Islamic unity and devise means to frustrate the intentions of Christendom to annihilate Islam. The *Sarfaraz* says that the people of the Hedjaz are sick of Ibn Saud's atrocities and are determined to uproot tyranny and coercion from the holy land. It hopes that Ibn Saud will be punished by God for his atrocities. The paper reminds Britain of the unswerving loyalty of the Shia Muslims, protests against the support given by the British Government to Ibn Saud and exhorts Muslims to organize volunteers who may be ready to sacrifice their lives in their attempt to destroy the enemy of the faith (Ibn Saud). The *Najat* writes :—The Russian paper *Provda* has prophesied that "the action of the black heart of Britain has stopped. The decline of British Government is as certain as the sinking of the Titanic." The prophecy seems to be significant in the light of the arrangements which the Third International has sanctioned for carrying on anti-British propaganda in British colonies and possessions. The prophecy may possibly be based on real facts.

United Provinces Government's *communiqué* regarding communal tension.

The United Provinces Government's *communiqué* regarding communal tension has received wide attention in the Press. Almost all papers acknowledge the necessity for strong measures, but urge that the innocent should not be punished along with the guilty and that the burden of punitive police should be imposed on the party which is found to be aggressive. While welcoming the *communiqué* the *Indian Daily Telegraph* regrets that there is no indication in it of a policy of drastic suppression and repression without delay, a policy of putting in prison the leaders of the communal movement whose actions, according to the Government diagnosis, have invariably led to communal tension. The paper says that the anxiety caused to Government by every festival and local ceremony is of Government's own making because "it is rooted in a policy of illegal leniency withdrawing prosecutions against perpetrators of crime, arson, loot and even murder at the alleged request of both the communities." The *Anand* remarks :—The Government ought to have followed the policy indicated in the *communiqué* as soon as communal tension began in these provinces. If the Government still acts impartially and justly peace will be restored and the people will be reassured. The *Aj* says :—Why should the burden of the cost of the additional armed police fall on the transferred subjects and not on the departments which are responsible for the maintenance of peace but fail in the discharge of their duty? How is it that these departments are praised if there is no disturbance; but if there is one, the people alone are blamed and punished? We cannot help pointing out that it is the Government itself which has encouraged communal feeling through its policy of separate representation and separate electorates. Whenever a disturbance occurs a joint committee of officials, Hindus and Muslims, should be formed to inquire into it. Those who are held by the committee to be aggressors or fomenters should be got severely punished by law courts. If the committee finds that the local officials were guilty of dereliction

of duty or were inspired by a partisan spirit, they too should be severely punished. The *Pratap* remarks:—The *communiqué* is evasive on the point of music before mosques. The statement of the Government that it is for civil courts to adjudicate on the rights of communities may well expound a legal principle, but involves injustice. The decision of the Government to take legal action even where a settlement has been arrived at between the warring Hindus and the Muslims will instead of improving matters make them worse. It seems that whatever opportunity still remains for compromise and reconciliation is going to be lost. Will Hindus and Muslims realize their fallen condition? The *Surya* remarks:—We are glad that the United Provinces Government has decided to deal with the rioters very severely. There is no doubt that all thoughtful persons will support this decision. The *Vartman* says:—Proper measures should certainly be adopted for establishing peace, but care should be taken that the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh is not repeated in the name of peace. The *Hindi Kesari* writes:—If the authorities give up propitiating one particular community by conceding its unjust demands they will contribute very materially towards the extinction of the internecine feuds. If a riot occurs through the carelessness and inaction of a Government official the severest penalty should be inflicted upon him. The *Bharat Dharma* urges all sections of the people to cooperate with the Government in preserving peace and suggests that district authorities also should instruct their subordinate officials not to allow injustice to be done to any community. The *Haqiqat* writes:—It is a mercy that the Government has after all become alive to the dangers that have imperilled the peace and security of the province. The deliberate indifference of the Government was surely deplorable. When the communal movements were inflaming feelings was it not the duty of Government to stop those inflammatory speeches which were feeding the fire of communal hatred? Has Government prosecuted any communal firebrand for speeches likely to inflame popular feeling? Government must be aware of the general complaint that it itself is perpetuating communal tension to serve its own political ends. But has it ever taken any practical steps to repudiate this accusation? The penal law invests the authorities with ample powers for dealing with mischief-mongers and no far-sighted patriot would ever object to strong official action to stop communal disturbances. The Government should soon convene at Lucknow a committee of the leaders of both the communities so that if Government is compelled to adopt strong measures in future it may not be held solely responsible for them. The *Hamdam* congratulates Government on the *communiqué* and opines that the authorities can best improve communal relations by holding the scales even between the two communities in all administrative matters and not giving any opportunity to their subordinate officials, who are unfortunately not free from communal prejudice, to injure the individual or collective interests of the other community. The paper fears that the Government's advice to have communal rights adjudicated by civil courts would give a fresh impetus to litigation in the country and would lead to worse results. It thinks that it would be better if Government advised people to compose their differences by referring them to the political organizations of the country or to arbitration courts. The *Oudh Akhbar* appreciates the instructions which have been issued to Commissioners and District Officers and says:—We consider our province to be extremely fortunate in that it is under a kind-hearted and just Governor like Sir William Marris. The *communiqué* shows that the Chief Secretary is also anxious for our welfare. The *Sada-i-Muslim* also welcomes the *communiqué* and says that differences and disorders can be stopped only if Government exerts its full force just as it did to suppress the non-cooperation movement. The present atmosphere can be cleared if *Aman Sabhas* are again organized to combat communalism. The *Khurshed* advises Government to put a stop to communal trouble by bringing to book leaders responsible for disturbances and by forbidding lecturers to use abusive language regarding religious personalities. The paper suggests that the *Shuddhi* and *Tabligh* movements should be abandoned and that Government should have some unalterable compromise effected as regards music and cow-sacrifice.

The Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Arya Mitra* publishes a manifesto issued by "Mahatma" Narayan Swami on behalf of the *Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha*, in the course of which he says:—The threats of Muslims or of any other body cannot deter the Arya Samajists from the propagation of their religion. The Arya Samajists regard Swami Dayanand with the same veneration as the Muslims do Prophet Muhammad.

Nagarkirtan with music has always formed part of the annual celebrations of Arya Samajists and this has been recognized by Government and other bodies. The *Sarvadeshik Sabha* warns the Muslims that no threats of theirs can deter the Arya Samajists from the exercise of their legitimate religious rights. The said *sabha* informs Government that if its officers interfere with *Nagarkirtan* processions at the instance of Maulanas as has been done at Dehra Dun, Meerut and Rohtak, the Arya Samajists will undergo sacrifices and will welcome troubles for upholding their birth-right of propagating their religion. The paper strongly supports the manifesto and remarks :— We appeal to Government to change its policy towards the Arya Samaj and not to interfere in its functions at the instance of Muslims. How is it that Government becomes ready to crush the religious rights of Hindus? In conclusion the paper says that it will be a blessed day when every Arya child will gladly and peacefully give up his life for the protection of his religion. The *Abhyudaya* remarks :—No condemnation of the policy followed by the Government in respect of communal matters can be too strong. It is the Hindus who have been pressed down both at Delhi and Calcutta. We want to know why the authorities are following such an unjust policy. What is the explanation for the disparity between the order of the Bengal Government regarding the *Raj Rajeshwari* procession and that of the Delhi Government regarding the *Bakr-Id* procession? If the decision of the Bengal Government was influenced by the Muslim threats, then the Calcutta authorities are quite unfit to carry on the administration and the reins of administration should no longer remain in their hands. A Government which cannot protect its peace-loving subjects from rioters and is unable to safeguard their civic rights has no right to rule. To punish peaceful citizens for fear of a disturbance instead of punishing rioters is to murder justice and betray cowardice. The *Anand* says that the bulk of Hindus hold that the Muslims are depriving them of their rights unjustifiably and that the Government in disregard of the dictates of justice is siding with the Muslims and pressing down the Hindus all the more. The *Bharat Dharma* says that it has become a very easy affair for the Muslims to trample upon the rights of Hindus and the Government finds it difficult to bring the former to the right path. The official *communiqués* published in Bengal and Delhi and other places clearly show that the Muslims are steadily making the Government yield. If the Hindus organize themselves properly both Muslims and Government will begin to respect their rights. The *Aj* emphasizes that the official decisions regarding the *Raj Rajeshwari* procession, the Pahari Dhiraj route and music before the Nakhuda mosque at Calcutta are opposed to the principle rightly enunciated by the Governor of the United Provinces that the disputes regarding civil rights can only be settled by law courts. It makes no difference, says the paper, that the principle has been enunciated by the United Provinces Government only for there ought to be only one uniform policy of Government for the whole of the country. The Government should protect the law-abiding individuals and communities. So long as this is not done, it will be largely held responsible for the disturbances. We do not say that Government deliberately incites disturbances, but if it wants to prove its good faith it should carefully and impartially scrutinize its policy and the acts of its officials and introduce necessary changes in them. The continuance of riots and the inability of Government to stop them show that it is incapable of discharging its natural functions and is unfit to hold the reins of administration for a long time. In the course of a leading article the *Vartman* remarks :—The religious training of the Muslims has taught them to regard the worship of God as consisting in oppressing the followers of other creeds, demolishing temples, breaking idols, throwing filth and excrement into wells and tanks, kidnapping Hindu boys and girls, and converting them to Islam either surreptitiously or by force. Having been soundly thrashed and thwarted at Calcutta the Muslims have again started demolishing temples and idols, throwing beef into houses, placing the heads of cows in temples and such other cowardly acts. If to-day the Muslim leaders do not think it proper to condemn such actions of the Muslim hooligans, the irritated Hindus may to-morrow indulge in similar objectionable activities the result of which will not prove comfortable to the Muslims. All that we have to say to the Hindus is that they should be vigilant in the protection of their temples and religious places and should not encourage the Muslim goondas by becoming overtolerant. The *Medina* writes :—The Hindu papers and the Hindu leaders are now openly saying that they should rely only on their own population of 24 crores and preparing their field of action should secure the freedom

of India. They think that the help of the Muslims or of the Government is no longer required and suggest that the Congress should be abolished and all the Hindu leaders should sit together and strive for freedom. Let the Muslim unionists and true sons of India think over this. What a good lesson this avenging spirit is teaching. We also say to our Muslim friends that they all believe in the same God, the same Prophet, the same *Quran* and the eight crores of Muslims should therefore unite and enter into treaties with Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, China, Turkistan, Russia, Java and Morocco, and giving up the idea of Indian nationality, and acting upon the Divine precept "convey that what we have conveyed to you" should lay the foundation of a pure Islamic rule in India. This effort will remove all evils. They should convey, under the rain of fire and iron, the message of God to ignorant persons, should oppose infidelity, idolatry and mischief and once again revive the memory of Mahmud Ghazni and Shahabuddin Gori in the land of the Ganges. Well Mr. Tej (Swami Shraddhanand's paper), would you like this? You may create Sivaji with your 24 crores and let us make efforts to create Khalid, Sultan Muhammad Ghori and Alauddin with our eight crores and then of course India will be completely liberated. *Al Bashir* deprecates the idea entertained by a large body of Muslims that their co-religionists will be destroyed by the Hindus if Englishmen leave India. It says:—Government has utterly failed to protect the Muslims who have suffered most in every respect in the recent riots, especially at Calcutta. The present administration of Government is mostly responsible for all the disturbances. The suffering undergone by Muslims in the disturbances which have taken place during the last three years proves the absurdity of the idea that the British Government is our protector and helper. Muslims should, therefore, try to stand on their own legs and work out their own salvation. Moreover, according to their religion it is heresy to depend on any one except God. The *Najat* says that emboldened by their achievements the Sangathanists have now put forward the curious demand for the stoppage of *azan* (the call for Muslim prayers). This shows that Hindus stand firmly by their unjust demands. Muslims should, therefore, be vigilant regarding the protection of their religious obligations. In the course of a lengthy article holding the Government to be solely responsible for the present Hindu-Muslim disturbances the *Desh Bhagat* writes:—The fact cannot now be concealed that the present Hindu-Muslim disturbances have been created by Government and that the gulf between the two communities is being widened by its agents. Apparently the Government pretends to prevent and to quell these disturbances, but those who know the truth are well acquainted with this policy. We think this fire is the result of the non-cooperation movement, for we have heard from a reliable source that a responsible officer of Government told one of his special agents that if the Hindus could, by winning over the friendship and sympathy of Muslims, make preparations for putting an end to the British Government, why should not the Government, by winning over Muslims, put an end for ever to the political efforts of Hindus. What he said was all right and this has happened and will happen. At present disturbances are rife all over the country especially in Bengal, where the *swaraj* party is still powerful. The Government considers it humiliating and impossible to concede the demands of that party. Therefore Lord Lytton, the Governor of Bengal, in consultation with Lord Reading prepared a clear and straight road for Bengal, that is, it was decided that Hindu-Muslim dissensions should be bred and open fights should be caused there. Sir Abdur Rahim was made a tool for this purpose. We think that it is not impossible that so long as this Government exists in the country events more terrible than the Hindu-Muslim disturbances may take place in the country. The remedy seems to be going out of the hands of the present generation. It is possible that the next generation may be powerful enough to put an end to the dissension-breeding tactics of this Government and, after disabling it completely, to compel it to leave the country. It is our mature opinion that we should on no account give up our aspirations for *swaraj* through fear of Hindu-Muslim disturbances, for so long as this Government exists in India, not one but thousands of disturbances will occur in the country. We should leave no stone unturned to defeat this scheme of the Government.

Music before mosques.

Commenting on the order of the Bengal Government regarding music before mosques the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—We are not surprised at the illegal order of the Bengal Government because it is in keeping with the attitude adopted by it on the Hindu-Muslim question. We wish to assert in unambiguous terms that by this order the

Bengal Government has not only wronged the Hindus but it has also throttled British laws. There is no doubt that this order is a repudiation of the Queen's Proclamation. To submit to it would be to encourage both the Muslims and the Government to perpetrate greater injustice. The *Aj* writes :—We are not satisfied with the Bengal Government's decision regarding music before mosques. The Government of India should appoint a joint committee of officials and non-officials to inquire into the question whether music was or was not played before mosques formerly. It should also take the evidence of old and pensioned European officials whether or not any objection to music before mosques was taken ten years back. It will be possible to decide this question satisfactorily on the basis of such evidence. The demand for the stoppage of music before mosques at all hours of the day on the basis of *shariat* is dangerous and reprehensible, for non-Muslims cannot be compelled to obey *shariat*. This extraordinary demand of Muslims should be sufficient to open the eyes of the bureaucracy. The *Bedar* congratulates the Bengal Government on its decision, and hopes that other local Governments will show similar farsightedness and put a stop to communal disturbances by issuing similar orders.

The Rawalpindi riot.

The *Aj* charges the authorities with dereliction of duty in that they could not suppress the Rawalpindi riot before serious loss of life and property had occurred and says : —The reprisals inflicted for the Rawalpindi riot compel us to ask the authorities if the protection of the life and property of unfortunate Indians has been left only to the tender mercies of *goondas* and *badmashes*. The *Hamdam* says :—The Rawalpindi riots furnish fresh evidence of the regular and organized conspiracy which is being carried on against Muslims in India. The cause has been the usual one, namely, disturbance of prayers by music followed by brutal attacks on Muslims in reply to their protests. The result has been that Muslims have lost more heavily in men and will also suffer more in the police and magisterial proceedings. The *Medina* writes :—It is certain that now the Sikhs have also taken to *Sangathan* work and a band has come forward to oppose Muslims. Had the disturbances produced any good or bad but permanent result we would have urged the Muslims to oppose these Sikhs also and to show that if Hindu conspiracy is bent upon annihilating (Muslims), the seven crores of Muslims will die after annihilating at least ten crores of *kafirs*; but these disturbances do not assume the form of war, nor do they lead to any decisive results They are a pestilence of deceit, hatred, bigotry, conspiracy and stubbornness which has come over Hindus. The Sikhs were never friendly towards Muslims; on the other hand their barbarous sirdars advocated war against them. It was thought that having received some education the Sikhs would keep aloof from communal strife, but the Rawalpindi disturbances have dispelled this belief. We would again urge the Muslims to be ready for self-defence. It is better to be wiped out than to live in humiliation.

Agra Tenancy Bill.

In the course of a series of articles on the report of the Select Committee on the Agra Tenancy Bill the *Leader* writes :—It escapes our understanding why in the revision of tenancy legislation undertaken with the ostensible object of improving the position of unsecured tenants provision should have been introduced which will prejudicially affect the tenants who have by hard labour acquired rights of occupancy. Is it to be assumed that the Government is opposed to the existence and acquisition of occupancy rights and wants to extinguish them gradually? We are afraid that the cumulative effect of all these provisions will be rapid diminution in the area of occupancy holdings. We ask if the Bill, especially as it has emerged from the Select Committee, is likely to promote peace or class war? The representatives of the landed interests in the province of Agra ought to look ahead and remember that if they want to retain their natural leadership and influence they cannot do so by pursuing a shortsighted policy. We would strongly urge upon the Government seriously to consider the advisability of supporting those in the Council who may stand up for the rights of occupancy tenants and may seek to insert provisions for the accrual of occupancy rights. The *Pratap* remarks :—The Bill as passed by the Select Committee is so blood-sucking and injurious that the difficulties of the *kisans* of the province of Agra will be considerably increased. They are now being deprived of a right which had never been interfered with during the last seventy years of British administration. The provisions made in the Bill regarding *sir* are fatal to the *kisans*. The whole Bill is so wicked that no condemnation of it can be too strong. On the one hand Lord Irwin is dreaming of improving the condition of the *kisans* by appointing a

Royal Commission and on the other the United Provinces Government is coming forward with this deadly legislation. In the course of an article under the heading "The great grandfather of the Rowlatt Bill" vehemently criticizing the report of the Select Committee, the *Sainik* writes:—There is no limit to the evils of the Tenancy Bill. If this thunderbolt falls on the rights of the tenants of our provinces, then there will be complete ruin. This Bill is a messenger of death for occupancy tenants and will ruin crores of cultivators. The Government will of course benefit in every way. By befooling the zamindars, setting them and the tenants by the ears and thereby making litigation rife it will carry on its administration quietly and milk both the zamindars and the tenants and retrieve its lost prestige. But this will be for a few days only, for if the Bill is passed there will be such an outcry in a few years that the seat of not only this Government but even of God will be moved. To pass the Bill will be to invite to the United Provinces Bolshevism a thousand times worse than the Russian Bolshevism. An agitation stronger than that carried on against the Rowlatt Bill should be inaugurated to oppose it and a *kisan* week should be observed and meetings should be held everywhere.

Bakr-Id.

The *Leader* writes:—It is regrettable that there was some trouble at Jhusi in the Allahabad district where, according to our information, the Hindus unjustifiably took the law into their hands. We unhesitatingly and emphatically condemn the action of those Hindus of the place who committed deeds of violence resulting in the loss of one valuable human life and the wounding of a number of persons and who showed such criminal lack of self-restraint. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Jhusi indicates that all is not well with the province still. Peace on the surface cannot conceal everywhere the panic below. Unless drastic remedies are applied, murders are punished and not given immunity by withdrawing prosecution, riots will flourish like a green bay tree. The *Medina* says that the restrictions imposed by the Magistrate of Delhi regarding cow-sacrifice are not only provoking but also oppressive. The order that no more than seven men should accompany an animal is an open invitation to the Hindus to attack the Muslims wherever they like. We know that the authorities are afraid of Hindu majority and are less prepared to do justice to Muslims on account of their weakness. It would, therefore, not be surprising if the Magistrate imposed these strange restrictions in order to please Hindus. We would urge Muslims to watch these events with patience and peacefulness, to pray to God and to take action unanimously. If you give proof of your life, then God will recompense you.

Election Campaign.

The *Hridaya* remarks:—The sin committed by the liberals in their love of the reforms deserves a severer expiation than the sin of drinking. The misery of India and its retrogression are attributable to the policy of the liberals. Their mantle has now fallen over the shoulder of the Responsive Co-operation party. It is the misfortune of Indians that their own brethren are causing injury to the country and are cutting the throats of their own poor countrymen in the name of the emancipation of the country. In this process of amputation they have outdone the foreigners who suck the blood of Indians.

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ALLAHABAD:
June 26, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 26 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 3, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Haqiqat* says that the Nejdian campaign of vandalism has exasperated the Muslim world in general and Indian Muslims in particular. The accounts of vandalism are simply intolerable. The situation calls for immediate measures. Mere protests and lamentations would not avail. Referring to reports of British threats to Egypt the *Hamdam* writes :—Egyptians and their leader Zaghlul Pasha are already aware that British pacts and promises cannot be relied upon, for what the British Parliament can give with one hand she can also take away with another. The time is near when the curtain of the juggleries of these British statesmen will be removed. Indians who are anxious to achieve liberty through constitutional reforms should take a lesson from Egypt. The problem to be considered is whether liberty which may be snatched away at any time deserves acceptance or not. We submit that imprisonment and subordination are far better than such liberty as has been experienced by Egyptians. If Indians cannot take a lesson from other nations, they will themselves learn it in the near future. In another article the paper says :—Spain is demanding the head of Amir Abdel Krim, and in spite of the assurance given by the French papers the news is shocking to the Islamic world. We wish to warn the statesmen of France and Spain that any tyrannical action against the Amir will ultimately prove disastrous to their countries and that after taking the Amir's head they will have to give up for ever all hopes of ruling the Riff territories. *Al Adl* says that the Muslim world is looking forward to the decision of the conference which is going to be held on the occasion of the Haj, and hopes that it will be able to discover some remedy for the fatal disease which is prevailing in the Islamic countries.

United Provinces Government's *communiqué* regarding communal tension.

Commenting on the United Provinces Government's *communiqué* on the communal tension the *Gyan Shakti* asks the Government to make arrangements to restore perfect peace and safety and to publish its decision in clear terms regarding processions accompanied by music. This will greatly abate the communal trouble. The *Garhwali* remarks that the *communiqué* should have been issued long ago. If the trouble had been dealt with at the very outset the communal tension would not have assumed such proportions. Ill-feeling has been fanned by the fulfilment of the unjustifiable demands of one community and by ignoring even the just ones of the other. The *Medina* writes :—After much evil had been done, the United Provinces Government has come to realize the need for restoring peace and the head of the Government has awakened after three years of disturbances and bloodshed. We knew that the authorities would one day suddenly start from sleep and raising the standard of law and order would come forward with their frightful powers, but only then when the communal estrangement would have reached the extreme limit and no hope of reconciliation would be left. Read the *communiqué* of the United Provinces Government and judge for yourself if it contains anything beyond self-complacence and the praise of its police. Is there any evidence of real burning anxiety for a reconciliation between the two communities? Instead of announcing the adoption of preventive measures, threats of punishing the guilty and imposing punitive police are held out. You are welcome not to adopt mild measures, but for God's sake also discharge your duty of preventing riots. The duty of the Government is not only that of an executioner but also of a statesman. The authorities do not know in what mischievous activities the *Sangathanists* are engaged against the Muslim minority in these provinces.

Is it not the duty of the Government to check them? The *Mashriq* remarks:—We were surprised to see that the United Provinces Government which successfully combated the non-cooperation movement with the aid of Aman Sabhas did not call for their services to check the Hindu-Muslim riots. Thank God we have to-day received a *communiqué* from the Chief Secretary to Government which shows that His Excellency the Governor fully realizes our troubles. Both communities should act upon this *communiqué*. The *communiqué* is opportune and completely accords with our views and policy and consequently we thank Government for it. The *Haqiqat* remarks:—Communal riots cannot successfully be stopped without the co-operation of Government. The Delhi Unity Conference failed in its object because there was no third party, namely, the Government, which could enforce its decisions. Government itself cannot win popularity by adopting a policy of non-intervention for the old charge of "divide and rule" will then gain strength. To refute the charge drastic measures are not necessary. They will only create general hatred against the Government. Government should act as a peace-loving arbitrator first, and if this policy fails, then it may maintain peace by repressive measures. The communal tension in these provinces cannot be removed by merely issuing minatory *communiqués*. The better course is that Government should invite a representative conference of Hindu and Muslim leaders either at Lucknow or at Allahabad, and in consultation with them it should devise a scheme which might effectively suppress the daily quarrels. The proposed conference should be held under the chairmanship of His Excellency Sir William Marris and the Hon'ble Nawab of Chhatari should be its convener in his capacity as Home Member. The *Hind-i-Jadid* remarks:—It will be better if the task of adjudicating upon national and communal rights is entrusted to arbitration boards and national and political institutions instead of civil courts. We welcome the Government's wish that leaders of the two communities should help the district authorities in preventing riots. The *Najat* says:—During the height of the non-cooperation movement Government formed committees in every district and town to ensure peace. These committees tried to serve Government by every means, fair or foul, and above all they succeeded in putting obstacles in the work of the Congress and Khilafat Associations; but now when peace and the lives and property of the people are threatened there are no Aman Sabhas to be found anywhere. This is a living proof of the fact that the Government does not regard the Hindu-Muslim quarrels as a menace to peace and order, and that from its point of view patriotism is the only unpardonable offence. In these circumstances we have not much faith in the *communiqué* issued by the United Provinces Government. The *Agra Akhbar* says:—We are glad to learn that our Government is fully aware of the growing communal tension and is trying its best to remove it by every possible means. The *communiqué* is well-reasoned and suitable.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Aj* says that the resignation of the Muslim members of the Calcutta Corporation was prompted by their excessive communal spirit. Such spirit has poisoned not only the public life of the country but all the Government departments and local bodies also. Muslims should ponder whether they will be able to do any good to themselves if a similar venomous feeling is developed by other communities also. The paper urges that the Lucknow and the Bengal pacts should be cancelled as they stand in the way of unity between Hindus and Muslims by encouraging the latter to increase their demands day by day. The abolition of the system of separate electorates cannot but lead to the restoration of harmonious relations between the two communities. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that attempts to maintain the Bengal pact and the demand for separate electorates are calculated to aggravate the communal tension. The *Anand* also holds a similar view and says that the time has come when all thoughtful persons should combine and strive for the abolition of separate electorates. The *Pratap* strongly protests against the proposal of the Sindh Khilafat Committee regarding the celebration of the coronation day of Aurangzeb and the victory day of Muhammad Qasim in Sindh, as in its opinion it will aggravate the communal tension. The *Hridaya* remarks that any agreement regarding the communal questions if it is to be effective must be concluded by the masses themselves. The *Medina* deplores that Muslims were deprived of their sovereignty by Englishmen and of their worldly possessions and arts and industries by Hindus, and now a mischievous section of Hindus wants to deprive them of the religious and educational facilities which are offered by mosques. It is now being urged that the existence of mosques is dangerous, and therefore, no

gathering should be allowed in them except for the purpose of *namaz*. It is to be seen if Government has also become so foolish as to consider such silly suggestions as worthy of attention. Be it remembered that although Muslims have become disorganized and backward, they still retain their zeal for the protection of mosques and no power can impose restrictions on them. The only reply that Muslims can give to these Arya Samajist nonsensical talks is that if the time comes they will exhibit to the world the spectacle of the Cawnpore incident. The *Najat* remarks: —In our opinion Government, and only the Government, is responsible for the communal tension because during the hundred and fifty years of its rule it did not impart such education to Indians as would have made them realize that communal strifes mean country's ruin. Even to-day India is as illiterate as she was before the establishment of the British rule, and the Government's administrative machine is as slow and useless as it was in the beginning. The only way of putting an end to these communal strifes is to grant self-government to India as soon as possible. It will then be possible to impart such education to the people as will lead to right thinking and put an end to communal tension.

Bakr Id.

The *Leader* appreciates the preventive action taken by the District Magistrate of Allahabad in connexion with the recent disturbances and says:—Nothing but the fear of the law can have a restraining influence on the few irresponsible and evil-disposed persons who dislocate the business of the entire city. It has to be seriously considered whether a special law is needed for controlling the *goonda* elements in the towns who, taking advantage of the communal feeling, try to establish a reign of terror. Is the present law sufficient for dealing with them in cases of emergencies? The *Abhyudaya* remarks that had the kotwal of Allahabad acted with wisdom and arrested the hooligans who attacked Lala Sanwal Das the quarrel would have ended then and there, but he did not do so and the result was that the fire of disturbance was kindled. The disturbance was started by the Muslims. From the manner in which it spread in the city it appears that the Muslims were prepared for it while the Hindus had no apprehension whatsoever of it. The *Jatvir* gives the credit for the peaceful celebration of the *Bakr Id* festival to the Government and the police, and expresses the hope that similar arrangements will be made on the occasion of the *Muharram* also. The *Aj* congratulates the Muslims on the peaceful passing off of the *Bakr Id* and commends the Hindus for their forbearing attitude on the occasion. It remarks that if public opinion and Government machinery continue to function properly, the communal excitement will subside in course of time. Government can prevent riots if it wishes to do so. The *Medina* says that the fact that the *Id* in the larger cities was peacefully celebrated under the protection of the military ought to furnish a lesson to both Hindus and Muslims. They ought to know that they are under a foreign Government which, in accordance with the needs of expediency, can either hold the unruly elements under restraint or set them at liberty. Is it not better for us to learn to respect each other's sentiments and instead of strengthening the hands of the Government, to strengthen the ties of friendship and love between the two communities? The *Haqiqat* writes:—The events that followed the *Bakr Id* indicate that Muslim expectations have not been fulfilled and at several places sacrifice was interfered with. This shows that the epidemic of religious bigotry prevailing in the country calls for a speedy and effective cure. Among educated and sensible persons the idea is gaining strength that Government does not fully realize its responsibilities regarding communal affairs and that no efforts have so far been made to ensure peace. With the co-operation of Hindu and Muslim leaders Government should devise some means to improve the unwholesome atmosphere of the country.

Agra Tenancy Bill.

Commenting further on the report of the Select Committee on the Agra Tenancy Bill the *Sainik* writes:—If the Bill is passed there will be wailing in the houses of lakhs of *kisans*. The indifference of the leaders, the ignorance and helplessness of the peasants, the disorganized condition of good zamindars and the inexorable policy of the foreign Government will inevitably lead to the cutting of the throats of poor peasants. A foreign Government is obliged to take the help of those (zamindars) who incur the ill-will of most of their countrymen and have consequently to remain as its slaves. Such a Government can never do full justice to the people. The existence of Governments depends on the mutual strifes

of the subjects. The *Pratap* remarks :-- A careful perusal of the various notes appended to the report by the zamindar members of the Select Committee leads us to the conclusion that even if there has been a casual provision in the proposed legislation which is likely to benefit the tenants, it has been strenuously opposed by zamindar members. Does not this mentality sow seeds of party strifes? We request the *kisans* of the United Provinces and those Hindu and Muslim members of the Provincial Legislative Council who are Independents, to support the Swarajists in the next Council session. The present condition is only temporary. The *kisans* will sooner or later wake up and look after their interests. Therefore, let all those beware who are taking an undue advantage of the present slumbering condition of the *kisans*. The *Aj* remarks that it will not be too much to say that the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee does not now deserve even to be considered by the Council. The provisions of the Bill are so deleterious that they leave no room for a compromise. The *Haqiqat* remarks :—One can very well realize from even a cursory perusal of the new Tenancy Bill that while maintaining its own demands intact, the Government wishes to give something to the tenants out of the rights of zamindars as if Government is in sympathy with the tenants only so far as it can secure something for them from the zamindars without having to give anything itself.

The Rawalpindi riot.

The *Bharat Jiwan* strongly condemns the inability of the authorities to prevent the Rawalpindi riots and says:—In the existing state of affairs the people will be compelled to come to the conclusion that they cannot leave the protection of their life and property to the police and the authorities alone. The *Anand* says that the Muslims receive an encouragement from the present policy of the Government. The troubles created by them have increased with every concession made to their obstinacy. If the Bengal Government had ignored their unjustifiable demands regarding music before mosques the present situation would not have arisen. But the Government humoured the wrong-doer, with the result that there is trouble throughout the country. So long as it does not change this policy there can be no peace in the country and the prestige of the Government will also suffer. The *Hamdam* takes the office-bearers of the Hindu *Mahasabha* to task for their audacity in blaming Muslims for the Rawalpindi riots and says :—Had the Muslims been keen on fighting they would not have been murdered and wounded in such a way in spite of their majority. Muslims had no *lathis* even, while the Sikhs and Hindus used guns and pistols. The *Haqiqat* says:—Instead of sympathizing with the murdered and wounded Muslims the orthodox Arya Samajist papers of Lahore are throwing the whole blame on the Maulvis and are trying to establish the innocence of the fiery Arya Samajist speakers who tour from one city to another to provoke Hindus against Muslims. The *Krishna* says that in view of the Pathan attacks in Rawalpindi and the Frontier districts the need is being felt of the birth of a Hari Singh Nalwa to bring the successors of Nadir Shah to their senses. This need can be met only by the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee of Amritsar. Several bands of Akalis should be permanently posted at the Frontier districts and with the hearty and zealous co-operation of the Hindus the robber Pathans should not only be prevented from committing raids, but should also occasionally be punished in their own districts. A nation which by its bold sacrifice and organization has defeated the British Government through peaceful *Satyagrah* can also produce a Hari Singh Nalwa in time of need.

Political propaganda.

In the course of a leading article on civilization the *Aj* writes :—Civilization commonly means the power to kill human beings. Japan was acknowledged to be a civilized country only when in the Russian war she gave proof of her power for legalized human slaughter on an organized scale. It is in this scramble for augmenting man-slaying power that Britain is increasing her naval power in the East. It has now become an indispensable element of civilization to rob weak nations, occupy their country and make them slaves. Another phase of civilization is to raise the standard of life, and for this purpose it has become inevitable to usurp the wealth of other countries. The paper notes with satisfaction that British journals, too, have begun to condemn the action of Lord Lytton in staying on at Darjeeling while the disturbances were rife at Calcutta. It says that not only Lord Lytton, but other Governors too, have been guilty of such indifference. This is so because the administration of this country has become a heartless machinery which implicitly trusts the man on the spot and is a slave to

rules and regulations. Another reason for the absence of Governors from the scenes of riots is the multiplicity of capitals. If this system of summer capitals is abolished as a result of the attention paid by the British Press, Lord Lytton's fault will prove beneficial to the country. In the course of an article in the *Desh Bhagat* "Swami" Manglanand writes from Arabia that the British Government has to spend 5½ crores of rupees to maintain its prestige in that country. An English company like the East India Company (which subjugated India) has been established. It has brought a suit against the Iraq Government. This case will show how cleverly Britain is trying to swallow Arabia. The possession of Iraq will, moreover, shorten the journey from India to England. In order to keep the inhabitants, of the countries, including India, from Singapore to London under perpetual slavery, Britain is spending 5½ crores of rupees a year on Mesopotamia.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* regrets that the Indian arts and industries in which Muslims played an important part in the past are now gradually being taken out of their hands. As an instance it quotes the case of the leather industry and says that this industry which was formerly avoided by the Hindus on religious grounds has now been wrested from the hands of the Muslims. In the last examination of the Government School of Dyeing and Printing, Cawnpore, out of 31 successful candidates there are only two Muslims. And the wonder is that in the tanning class there is not a single Muslim. The paper hopes that the Principal of the Cawnpore Dyeing School will encourage Muslims and offer facilities in their admission. The *Haqiqat* publishes a contributed article in which Muhammad Idris Khan, Secretary, Islamia Anjuman, Budaun, takes strong exception to the proposed publication of the Urdu edition of the "Vichitra Jiwan" which has already caused agitation among Hindi-knowing Muslims and appeals to Government to forbid its publication, otherwise Muslims will be excited and public peace will be disturbed.

Indians in the colonies.

Referring to a report that the Government of Brazil is desirous of importing labourers from India and Japan the *Leader* writes :— Whatever the present attractions for an Indian labourer in Brazil may be, the Government of India should not lend their support to any scheme of labour emigration until they are assured of an honourable status. The *Aj* traces the history of the emigration of Indian labourers to Natal and points out that it was on the repeated request of the Natal whites that the Indian labourers were allowed by the Government of India to go and settle there. It expresses the hope that the representatives of the Government of India will strongly press this point at the forthcoming Round Table Conference in South Africa. To make efforts to starve out the descendants of these labourers and thereby to compel them to go back to India is against civilization and Indians will not put up with such an injustice.

Military training for Indians.

Referring to the speech made by the Amir of Afghanistan on the question of military training and national defence the *Leader* writes :—What steps are the Government of India taking to enable Indians to defend their country themselves? How many King's commissions have been granted to Indians during the last 150 years of British rule in India? Which progressive national Government would have been satisfied with this progress of the country in the art of self-defence? The British Government should learn something from what other and much smaller Governments are doing to prepare the people for their country's defence and do the same in respect of India too.

The Bengal Pact.

Referring to the opposition offered in the Bengal Congress Committee to the Bengal Pact the *Medina* regrets that the *Sangathanist* Hindus are trying to convert the Pact, which was calculated to promote peace and amity, into an instrument for creating mischief. These men, says the paper, now want to utilize the Congress Committee for furthering the aims of the Hindu *Sabha*. Muslims have no fear of these Congress Committees. Let the thin veil of nationalism that still remains over the face of some Hindus be removed. It would be better if the Congress went completely into the hands of Hindus so that it might not serve as a screen for the promotion of Hindu designs.

Election campaign.

Under the heading the "Doings of Traitors" the *Najat* writes :—The simple-minded inhabitants of India and other British possessions are seriously mistaken in their estimate of the promises of the British Government and its gift of liberty. The real fact

is that Britain's promises are only meant for the time being. The truth regarding the liberty of Egypt is before us and the impressions of Government's childish proceedings in Indian matters are engraved on our hearts. The Government gets hold of a party through which it keeps the public under delusion and these traitors side with the Government when it takes severe steps against their brethren. The time of elections to the Indian Legislative Assembly is drawing near, hence we should make a proper use of our votes and should not encourage the traitors who in any capacity may be connected with Government.

The Swaraj Party.

The *Aj* writes:—The Swaraj Party has been torn to pieces by internal dissensions. If it had striven to follow the obstructionist policy within the Councils and to fulfil the constructive programme of the Congress in the country, always keeping civil disobedience in view, it would not have been reduced to such a plight. The most serious defect in the programme of this party is that it does not want to prepare the people for mass civil disobedience.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
July 3, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 27 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 10, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Hamdam* denounces the atrocities perpetrated by the international police upon the people of Tangier and says that if Muslims want to maintain their existence they should combat the conspiracy of European nations by establishing a league of Muslim nationalities and by striving to make the Asiatic federation an important factor in the politics of the world. Referring to Spain's "demand for the head of Amir Abdel Krim," the *Haqiqat* says:—We do not know what opinion civilized Europe and America will entertain regarding this disgraceful act of Spain. If France, disregarding her sense of honour, accepts Spain's demands and sends the Amir's head to the savage people of Madrid, France and Spain shall have to suffer for this brutal deed. In the course of an article on Egyptian affairs the *Haqiqat* remarks:—The personality of Zaghlul Pasha is not an ordinary one and any attempts to lay hands on him will revive the evils which have temporarily subsided. The experience of Lord Lloyd's governorship of Bombay and the oppression practised by him will not be able to uphold the dwindling power of Britain in the valley of the Nile. The *Hamdam* doubts if having once got hold of Iraq, the British Government will ever liberate its people, and says that the latest events in Egypt furnish striking evidence of Britain's land-hunger.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The root of the riots in these days is representation through separate electorates. The Lucknow Pact must be modified in the new light of experience gathered. If this is done, we shall have removed an insuperable obstacle in the way of national unity and solved a knotty problem for the next reform commission. The paper suggests that the Maharajah Saheb of Mahmudabad and Pandit Motilal Nehru should take the lead in settling the communal differences. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks:—It is necessary to find out who is responsible for the prevailing communal tension in the country. It is the bureaucracy and not the Hindus or the Muslims which is actually benefited by communal disturbances. The *Times* and the Bengal Government are of the opinion that communal disturbances prove the unfitness of India for Swaraj and urge the postponement of the next instalment of Reforms. In these circumstances the presumption that the bureaucracy has a secret hand in the communal riots is not unwarranted. For the last forty or fifty years the bureaucracy has been striving to sow seeds of discord among the Indians by fomenting religious quarrels. Commenting on the order of the Delhi Government prohibiting the taking out of the Ved Bhagwan procession the *Vartman* remarks:—Can this action of the Government, which is inspired by fear of breach of peace, be said to be just? Could not arrangements for maintaining peace similar to those made on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id*, when cows were taken for slaughter through Pahari Dhiraj against the wishes of the Hindus, be made on the present occasion also? This method of the authorities to facilitate the celebration of the festivals of one community and to interfere with those of the other is calculated to cause further affliction to discontented hearts. Hindus should adopt every legitimate means for the protection of their just rights. The *Anand* remarks that it has now dawned upon the Hindus of all classes that it is not wise to sacrifice their rights for pleasing the Muslims. The policy of granting concessions to them has accentuated the dissensions and if it is continued in future Hinduism will disappear from India. It will be beneficial to the interests of the Hindus to strive resolutely for the protection of their rights until the Muslims change their attitude. It is the duty of the authorities

to decide communal disputes impartially and in the light of local customs and usages. The *Pratap* depicts a gloomy picture of the present political situation in the country and remarks that there is no doubt that a very large number of Muslims entertain hopes of the re-establishment of Muslim rule at least in Northern India. They are fools, but their folly makes them dangerous. On the other hand, there is a growing desire among the Hindus to win the favour of the authorities with a view to getting Muslim hooligans punished and to protecting Hindu interests. What a delusion! How can we strengthen ourselves by flattering the authorities? The Sikhs do not flatter the authorities, but a few lakhs of them had terrified even Afghanistan. Even now Pathans, Afghans, Afridis and other tribes cannot stand against them. Concluding the paper remarks that the remedies proposed are even deadlier than the malady itself and suggests that the Congress should take no part in the elections to the Councils and municipal and district boards and that it should not try to remove the estrangement between the Hindus and the Muslims, but should let them fight between themselves to their heart's content. The *Vartman* attributes the present communal tension in the country to Khwaja Hasan Nizami's book entitled "Dai-i-Islam" which, it is alleged, suggests a number of secret methods like the employment of the services of fakirs, fortune-tellers, astrologers, amulet-givers, patwaris, male and female beggars, vegetable-sellers and Muslim employees of Hindus for the conversion of one crore of Hindus to Islam. Proceeding the paper says:—It is not known what steps have been taken by the Government to arrest the poison of this scheme and to establish peace. No useful measure is being adopted by the bureaucracy to allay this communal tension. The paper quotes a few "inflammatory" extracts from certain Muslim papers, viz., the *Light* of Lahore, the *Medina* of Bijnor and the *Sada-i-Muslim* of Cawnpore and remarks that when Muslim journals are hurting the feelings of the Hindus in this manner, what is there to be wondered at if Hindu journals warn the Hindus against the secret blows of the Muslims. What is the Government doing to suppress this fanaticism? The agents of the Government who are busy devising means of prolonging British rule in India may not support bloodshed or disturbances, but it is very probable that the estrangement between the Hindus and the Muslims is most beneficial to their interests. The criticism of Lord Lytton by the Indian Press of Bengal makes it easy to believe that not only the Indian bureaucracy but also the Secretary of State for India in England consider their future burdens to be lightened by the prevailing communal tension. What advantages Englishmen wish to derive from the present situation is obvious from the sweet and circumlocutory speech of the Secretary of State. In spite of his continuing to swear a thousand times we cannot believe that the British Government cannot stop this communal tension. In another article the paper says that disturbances will completely stop if firm and indefatigable workers like Mussolini come forward. It is essential that Hindus should give up their cowardice and Muslims should learn to love India. Other communities also should come forward and make up their mind to make India free. India is ours and we shall live and die for her. In the course of two articles discussing the causes of the present communal tension, the *Medina* gives a list of the charges levelled against Muslims by Hindus and asks all fair-minded persons to say if there is any truth in them. It says that the communal tension is due to the bigotry, narrow-mindedness and cowardice of Hindus. If they dream of Indian democracy they should refrain from preferring the list of charges against Muslims. Proceeding it says:—Be serious in your talks, give up your demands and the question of untouchability, join us in our joys and sorrows, do not seek to serve political ends in the name of religion and give up Hindu Sabha, Mahavir Dal and other dangerous movements. Muslims are ready to abandon their demands and to take the first step towards union. Then see how vastly India is transformed in a few days. The paper publishes a statement showing the number of times the words *goonda*, *badmash*, "kidnapper," "blood-thirsty," "oppressor," *mleccha* and "unbeliever" were used by the *Tej* (Delhi), *Hindu*, *Milap*, *Bande Matram* and *Partab* of Lahore, *Shankar* (Moradabad), *Aj* (Benares) and *Hindustan Times* (Delhi) with reference to Muslims. According to the statement the total number of times these words were used by the papers is 120,900. This shows, says the paper, what foul words are used by Hindus against Muslims. The readers should mourn over such manners and politeness. The *Najat* contends that the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements have perverted the mentality of Hindu leaders and deprived them of the sense of truthfulness, toleration and patriotism. If they teach the Hindus to be just and tolerant to others, the Hindu-Muslim tension

will subside in a day, but the difficulty is that if they do so they run the risk of becoming unpopular. Deploring the losses which the Muslims have to undergo in communal conflicts the *Mashriq* cites the case of Jhusi as an instance of the defective organization of Muslims and urges them to shake off their lethargy and establish their equality of rights by fighting or at any rate waging a political war with the Hindus.

Bakr-Id.

The *Anand* refers to the reports that in order to hurt the feelings of the Hindus arrangements were made for the slaughter of cows on a public road at Sihali in the Bara Banki district on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* and that fire was opened upon the Hindus who had assembled to protest against this action and urges that an inquiry should be held with a view to ascertain facts. It is alleged that all the authorities in Bara Banki are Muslims, and this is why such an improper treatment was accorded to the Hindus. In another article the paper remarks that from a perusal of the reports of the communal riots which occurred at Allahabad and Darbhanga on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* it appears that the Muslims perpetrated great atrocities upon the Hindus and that the responsibility for the riots falls on them. It is therefore the duty of the authorities of both these places to inflict the severest punishment upon the rioters which may frighten the hooligans in other places also and render disturbances in the future impossible. Referring to the riot at Allahabad the *Abhyudaya* remarks :—It is at present a matter of the greatest importance to devise means of preventing the repetition of a riot like the one which occurred at Allahabad during the *Bakr-Id*. In our opinion the most important thing which should be done is that the administration of the city should in the meantime be entrusted to a high official. The Kotwal should be removed and an impartial inquiry should be instituted. The public has many complaints against the Kotwal. His management is unsatisfactory and according to public opinion he has proved a complete failure in his administration of the city. Proceeding the paper remarks :—Let the authorities open their eyes and find out how many riots have occurred at Allahabad since the present Kotwal took charge of this city. We want to ask both Hindus and Muslims how far they are prepared to submit to the *raj* of the *goondas*. If respectable Hindu merchants can be openly assaulted to-day, then to-morrow respectable Muslims can also be similarly beaten. If the local Hindu *goondas* are not bold enough, others can be called from outside. But what will be the result of this? The *Mashriq* thanks the Government for the satisfactory arrangements made on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* without which the festival could not have passed off peacefully and says :—When everything has got to be done by the Government we are constrained to say that the Hindus and Muslims cannot manage their domestic affairs and that the Government have committed a great blunder in inaugurating the reforms prematurely. The *Hind-i-Jadid* regrets that the masses are still possessed with the spirit of the founders of *Sangathan* and supporters of *Tanzim* and that they are under the spell of the leaders who involve them in communal difficulties. The *Medina* says that the riots that took place during the *Bakr-Id* at Muzaffarpore, Delhi, Allahabad, Jhusi, Calcutta and other places demonstrate the helplessness of the military and the police and the aggressiveness of the Hindus. At nearly every place Muslims were unexpectedly attacked, at a time when relying on the arrangements made by the Government they were engaged in the performance of their religious duties. They had therefore to suffer greater losses. Will the Government not concede even now that the Hindus were the aggressors? The *Aiena* says that in spite of the stringent precautionary measures adopted by Government the mischief-makers did not refrain from creating disturbances. If Government had not made proper arrangements God knows what would have happened and how many Hindus and Muslims would have been killed and wounded and how many of them would have been sent to jails. The leaders who loudly press the demand for *Swaraj* could not stop these communal dissensions and they will not be able to carry on other administrative measures if they are granted liberty. The continuance of these communal differences will render unworkable even the reforms already inaugurated.

Music before mosques.

The *Leader* writes :—We need not hesitate to express our approval of the resolutions of the Hindu public meeting held in Calcutta to protest against the attitude of the Government of Bengal on the question of music before mosques, except, we may say incidentally, of the tribute paid therein to the Government of the United Provinces. We cannot agree to new injustices, to new invasions of the time-honoured

rights of the Hindus, and on this question of music before mosques we cannot at all bring ourselves to sympathize with the recent impossible Muslim claim. It is a question for the Hindus of the whole of India to take up in conjunction with their compatriots of Calcutta and Bengal. The *Aj* refers to one Rahim Ali's opinion, based on Ibn Saud's action in taking his subjects to task for opposing music accompanying the Egyptian Mahmel to Mecca, that the Muslim opposition to music before mosques in India is altogether unjustified and remarks that this opposition is not only improper but ridiculous inasmuch as nobody can prove from the Islamic law that their religion has given the right to Muslims to enforce dead silence on all sides at their prayer time. One Devanandan Dixit writing to the *Pratap* remarks that the *communiqué* issued by the Bengal Government regarding music before mosques has converted this question between Hindus and Muslims into one between Hindus and Government. Hindus should resort to *Satyagraha* for the protection of their rights. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges the Government to concede the demands of the mass meeting of the Hindus of Calcutta held under the chairmanship of Mr. J. N. Basu to protest against the decision of the Bengal Government regarding the question of music before mosques and says :— The simplest course for the Bengal Government is to follow the time-honoured traditions of the country, because if it goes on sanctioning every innovation neither the public nor the Government can rest in peace.

Agra Tenancy Bill.

The *Pioneer* writes :—Although it is to be regretted that the United Provinces Legislative Council has given way to the reactionary tendencies of the landholders on one important point in the Agra Tenancy Bill, the Government are on the whole to be congratulated on the success which has attended their conduct of the debates on the Bill so far. The *Aj* notes with satisfaction that officials too are opposed to the amendments of zamindars in the Agra Tenancy Bill relating to the enlargement of their rights in regard to the acquisition of *sir* land and urges that public protests should be made against the efforts of zamindars in this connexion. The *Vartman* takes the peasants to task for not agitating against the Tenancy Bill which, in its opinion, increases the powers of the zamindars and restricts the rights of the tenants and is calculated to aggravate their misery. Proceeding it says :—Will the peasants be able to secure their rights through such indifference? They should be bold and alert. Those who like agitation among peasants should rouse them. The country cannot progress nor can she attain *Swaraj* unless the tenants wake up. The *Anand* says that the Swarajists should try to secure greater rights for the *kisans* and if the liberal-minded zamindars will follow suit, the narrow-minded among them will be compelled to follow the right path. The *Haqiqat* says :—The Bill has many defects not only from the point of view of the tenant but also of the zamindars. Government is increasing its demands every day, while the zamindars are sucking the very blood of their tenants. Government has no sympathy with the zamindars, nor does it advocate the cause of the tenants, but keeping its own gains in view it takes with one hand what it gives with the other. Government treats both the zamindars and the tenants alike. The *Najat* refers to the "unsympathetic" attitude of the official members of the Select Committee on the Agra Tenancy Bill towards the zamindars which has led the latter to seek the assistance of the Swarajists and advises the Swarajists to avail of the opportunity and to devise means for maintaining the time-honoured relations between the zamindars and tenants. It says that the object of all that the Government is doing in this connexion is to fill its own pockets and not to do good to either of the parties. The attitude of the official members has, however, furnished the zamindars with a fresh proof of the indifference of Government towards them, and it is to be seen what lesson they will derive from it.

Political propaganda.

In the course of a leading article the *Hitaishi* writes :—At a time when the country is entangled in the net of slavery, when more than half of its population has to go without a sufficient meal despite incessant toil, when obstacles are being placed in our progress at every step, when we can be brutally slaughtered like goats on any pretext and our birth-rights are being throttled . . . it is incumbent on us to sacrifice our differences at the altar of liberty. The *Sainik* publishes an article by Pandit Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal in which he relates the experiences which he acquired while helping plague patients at Agra. He says that the first thing that he saw in the affected quarters was that the people had a terrible fear of officials and their methods. "The foreign Government and the methods of the bureaucracy have so frightened the people that they do not fear plague so much as they fear officials . . . Owing to the tyranny of the bureaucracy the people begin to

tremble with fear whenever any official talks to them." The paper publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in which he gives a brief account of his visit to Tibet and says that he wants to establish cordial relations among Tibet, Nepal and Afghanistan. In a footnote the editor says:—We might well differ regarding the methods which the Raja Saheb is employing for securing the independence of India, but there is no doubt that his work is commendable. It is possible that India, which is a subject nation, may not be able to realize the value and importance of his services, but the future historian will refer to him with respect. India will be grateful to Japan, China, Kabul, Tibet and other Asiatic countries which are helping him. The paper publishes a report of the debate in the United Provinces Legislative Council on Pandit Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal's resolution regarding bribery and says:—Bribery is a living proof of the failure of the British Government in India and of our immorality due to slavery. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks that the British rulers were not so irresponsible and did not sacrifice justice at the altar of national pride in the time of the East India Company as they do at present. At present only an ordinary fine is imposed upon a white murderer and whites charged with rape, etc., are let off. If any one of them happens to be convicted and is sentenced to be flogged he considers it to be an insult to be flogged by a "brown" sweeper. White prisoners are provided with *khas tattis* and fans in the jails during the hot weather. The change that has taken place within the last fifty or sixty years proves that the British rulers are not now so God-fearing as before. The *Bharat* publishes an article on the next elections from Satyabhakta in the course of which he says:—For those who want to secure *Swaraj* and to liberate the country from the clutches of foreign rule it is quite useless and against their principles to go to the Councils. Their battlefield is not in the Councils but in the villages and the cities of India. It is their duty to go to every village and city and carry to the people the message of freedom and to organize the masses into such a strong body as may frighten the Government and compel it to leave this country bag and baggage.

Election campaign.

The *Aj* concludes from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's speech on responsive cooperation at the University Institute Hall, Calcutta, that the forthcoming elections will be fought on the basis of local, individual and communal dissensions, that money will play a very important part in them, and that communal animosities will be fully exploited. Many wholly incompetent candidates or members of the *ji hazoor* party will this time get entry into the Legislative bodies as fanatical Hindus and Muslims. In another article the paper contends that the Hindus cannot strengthen their position in the administration without the cooperation of the bureaucracy, and that for this cooperation they will have to pay a price involving the sacrifice of their national and patriotic feeling. Moreover, it is impossible for them to secure the cooperation of Government as against the Muslims who have ever been favoured by it to serve its own ends. *Al Adl* strongly criticizes the proposal of some Hindu Swarajist members that in communal matters those members of the *Swaraj* party who are Hindus should be permitted to act upon the instructions of the Hindu *Maha Sabha*. It thinks that if this proposal is accepted the *Swaraj* party which hitherto considered Hindu and Muslim aims from a national point will look at them with the spectacles of the *Maha Sabha* or the League. In that case only two bodies with conflicting aims, namely, the League and the *Maha Sabha*, will be left in the political arena and they will find no time from mutual dissensions.

The Honours List.

The *Aj* writes:—In hankering after titles many persons have been completely ruined, while others have bidden goodbye to humanity itself. Honours are no new institutions in India, but never were they so abused before as now. Most of the recipients of titles are undeserving of them. The bestowal of the distinction of Rao Bahadur on Mr. Natesan is an insult not only to him but also to the Indian journalists. The *Haqiqat* deplores that higher titles were not conferred on Indians. The *Hamdam* acknowledges that the list of Indian titles contains many names which will please the people, but regrets that among Rao Sahebs and Rao Bahadurs there are no Muslim names and that the United Provinces have received the least share of titles of high order.

Indian States.

The *Pratap* publishes an article under the heading "Our Indian States and British Government" communicated to it by Laxmipat Sharma, B.A., in which he discusses the past and

present policies of the British Government towards the Indian States and remarks:—For the attainment of its selfish ends the Government sometimes plundered the States and spurned at them, at others patronized and wooed them. At the present time the British Government seems determined to set the Indian States against the Indian patriots and the people of British India. The future policy of the British Government towards the States will depend upon the political situation in British India, but there is no doubt that the British Government will throw several obstacles in the path of the freedom of India in the name of the Indian States. The British Government by cultivating intimate relations with the Indian States is antagonizing them against Indian aspirations and wants to grasp capable and independent-minded princes and frontier chiefs in its clutches.

India's representation at the Imperial Conference.

The *Leader* criticizes the selection of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan and Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdul Qadir to represent India at the forthcoming meetings of the Imperial Conference and the Assembly of the League of Nations and says:—We have this unedifying spectacle of a Burdwan and an Abdul Qadir being selected as the successors of such men as Lord Sinha, Mr. Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir Ali Imam and Hasan Imam . . . It has been descent all along the line. Let any one make a list in parallel columns of past and present Indian members of governments in India, beginning with Lord Sinha and the year 1909. How startling would be the contrast!

The proposed Indian academy in the United Provinces.

The *Hamdam* is gratified to learn that the Hon'ble Minister of Education, who is a great patron of art and literature, has directed his attention towards the establishment of an Indian academy in the United Provinces and hopes that it will lead to the intellectual and mental progress of the masses and popularize Hindi and Urdu languages. It will gradually annihilate dirty and harmful literature which has dealt a death-blow to the traditional friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims. The academy will enable the learned authors to render better literary services to the country, for they will be free from the anxiety of earning their livelihood. We hope that this academy will in future achieve an exalted position like that of the French Academy.

The Congress.

The *Hamdam* urges the election of some Muslim as president of the coming Congress and says that this would restore confidence among Muslims and show that the Congress is a really national organization in which, in spite of there being a Hindu majority, the claims of capable Muslims are not ignored.

Jail reforms.

The *Haqiqat* commends the action taken by the Punjab Government on the report of the Jail Inquiry Committee and regrets that the Maharajah Saheb of Mahmudabad paid no attention to the grievances of the prisoners in these provinces, nor is his successor, the Nawab of Chhatari, likely to be able to draft any scheme for the alleviation of their miseries and troubles.

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ALLAHABAD:
July 10, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS & MAIL
10 AUG. 1926
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 28 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 17, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Bharat* attributes the miseries of the Chinese to the greed of the foreigners and remarks that the robber states of Europe are cutting the moribund country into slices and devouring them like vultures. The land of China like that of India is very fertile for the production of traitors. How can that country prosper which abounds in dogs who are prepared to tighten the bonds of their country for the sake of crumbs? Brother Chinese, do not think that India and Korea are happier than China. The *Aj* says:—The Riffs and Druses have shown that nobody can withstand true nationalism. They have awakened a new spirit of nationalism among the non-white nations of the world. The diffusion of this spirit will mean the extinction of white domination. Referring to the remark "you are all murderers" made by a labour member during the third reading of the Coal Mines Bill the *Medina* says:—The progress of Bolshevism, the tyranny of Conservatives, the decrease in revenue and increase in unemployment, the sympathy of all the labourers of the world with British workers and the decrease in the output of coal are all signs of the decline of the British nation. If the Bolsheviks succeed in winning the sympathy and love of the unemployed and the strikers in Britain, then it is certain that the revolution in England will take an unexpected turn. The remark "you are all murderers" is in fact the voice of the helpless Indians, Africans and Egyptians inspired by revengeful nature. The *Hindustani* holds the extremely imperialistic nature of the British Government to be responsible for the present labour unrest in Britain and says that as the feeling against capitalism is getting stronger day by day every country is sooner or later sure to witness a big revolution which will ultimately enable the poor to live like men. *Al Adl* entertains grave doubts about the success of the Islamic conference and deplores that Ibn Saud far from fulfilling his promises, has spurned the feelings of great Muslim countries. *Al Burid* says that the demolition of Jannat-ul-Baqi has caused universal consternation among Muslims. If Ibn Saud follows the policy of ignoring the sentiments of other Islamic sects he will have to pay dearly for his mistake. Referring to the recent speech of the Director of Public Information at Calcutta the *Najat* foreshadows a war between the Bolsheviks and the British on the Frontier and says that in this war Afghanistan will also take part in some capacity or another.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Leader* writes:—The situation in the interior of Pabna appears to be bordering on anarchy . , . . The only right policy in the circumstances is for the Government to deal severely with the law-breakers and not to lend any sort of countenance to unreasonable communal claims. The growth of violent communalism will affect the very stability of the state and make Government impossible. The *Bharat* publishes an article in the course of which the writer, Bhai Parmanand, remarks:—The inner spirit of the Hindu *Sangathan* is that if in Peshawar a villain kills a Hindu boy or in Sindh a miscreant kidnaps a Hindu girl or in Bhagalpore or Mymensingh a widow is assaulted, all the Hindus from the Himalayas to Ceylon should feel pain and grief. In the course of an article on the decisions of the meeting of the working committee of the Congress at Calcutta the *Aj* says that "our foreign rulers" will not allow Hindus and Muslims to fight among themselves to a finish, but will allow fighting at the utmost only to such an extent that the issue may remain indecisive and the two contending parties may remain eager for fighting a second time. The *Arya Mitra* urges the need for putting

down inflammatory literature published both by Hindus and Muslims. The paper publishes an article contributed by Thakur Udaivir Singh, Bar.-at-Law, in which he recounts the various atrocities committed by Muslims in past centuries for the conversion of Hindus to Islam and wonders why Muslims should complain when following their example Hindus have begun to reclaim their own brethren. Proceeding he remarks:—If Hindus do not want to be degraded still more, they should do their best to crown the *Shuddhi* movement with success. The Hindus by not reclaiming their outcasted brethren are helping in the slaughter of cows. The *Garhwali* says that if the officials of the British Government had acted impartially and far-sightedly the Hindu-Muslim question would not have assumed the present complicated aspect. They have helped in creating the communal feeling. They have committed a serious blunder in introducing the system of separate communal representation, which has widened the gulf between the two communities. It is owing to the policy of these officials that riots and dissensions have been increasing of late. Khwaja Hasan Nizami is said to have had an interview with Lord Reading and thereafter he engaged in activities calculated to create ill-feeling among Indians. It is our firm conviction that the district officers are largely responsible for the communal disputes. The *Manorama* publishes an article in which the writer, Chand Karan Sharda, B.A., LL.B., complains that Indian Muslim leaders are spending all their energies in inciting their co-religionists against the Hindus and says:—Indian Muslims are those people who were scolded by Turkey and afterwards beaten by Hindus and are now quarrelling among themselves for crumbs thrown from the table of the aliens. Dr. Moonje has rightly stated that ordinary Muslims are the descendants of abducted women or have been converted to Islam by deceit. They should remember that this is the age of *Sangathan*. Now there can be no organization in the name of religion or the Qoran or Muhammad Sahib. The Hindu-Muslim riots will only benefit the Hindus. If fanatical Muslims had not created disturbances, the Hindu community would not have been awakened. If Hindus want to stop communal disturbances they should carry on the *Shuddhi* movement in an organized manner. If Muslims assimilate Hindu culture the communal disturbances will cease of themselves. When the Muslims cease to exist, the question of cow-protection will be solved of itself. Every Hindu should therefore make it his duty to revive the ancient *Shuddhi* system. . . . The Hindus of Calcutta exhibited a good specimen of *Sangathan* and made the Muslims taste the fruit of their *goondaism*. Now through the efforts of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Maha Sabha devourers of cows are becoming protectors of cows. Muslims should undergo *Shuddhi* and come under the banner of the Hindu *Sangathan*. Commenting on the disturbances at Pabna the *Pratap* remarks:—The Pabna tragedy has made it clear that the Muslims initiated the riot without any cause and that the provocation given by them added fuel to the fire. There is *goonda raj* at Pabna and the surrounding villages. What is the Government doing? It has arrested Hindus in larger numbers than the Muslims. What a justice it is that Hindus should be arrested when it is the Muslims who initiated the riot? The *Haqiqat* attributes the Hindu-Muslim dissensions to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and says:—The present constitution awards greater share in Government to the community which forms the majority. In truth the solution of these Hindu-Muslim dissensions rests in the hands of Government and till such changes are introduced in the constitution as may grant Muslims equal share with Hindus in Swaraj, communal union will be impossible even if a hundred conferences are held or arbitration boards are established. A true and lasting union between Hindus and Muslims can only be effected by some compromise like the Bengal Pact; otherwise the policy of "divide and rule" will continue for ever to ruin the country. Commenting on Lord Olivier's statement that there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in India in favour of the Muslim community the *Hamdam* says:—Far from evincing any such bias the British officials are restricting the rights of Muslims under the excuse of abiding by the opinion of the majority. This statement has been made at a time when signs of peace between the leaders of the two communities were visible and its object is to set the Hindus and Muslims against each other. Would that even now the bigoted communal leaders of India saw through these political moves and realized how they are dancing to the tune of an alien bureaucracy. The interest which the bureaucrats take in promoting Hindu-Muslim antipathy needs no proof. The *Hindustani* urges the Viceroy to conduct a thorough and impartial inquiry into the question of

music before mosques and then to enunciate his policy. *Al Khalil* says that the communal riots have also begun to affect Government servants and any increase of communal spirit among them will render the administrative machinery useless. The failure of Government to establish peace is becoming evident and its helplessness is encouraging the mischief-makers. The days of a Government which is not able to suppress riots and maintain peace are numbered. Government is so weak, its power is so scattered and its policy is so hopelessly inconsistent that it cannot protect the established rights of its subjects. The policy of "Might is right" is being followed everywhere. The majority community gains victory over the Government by secret ways. The decisions of the Government are not acted upon, with the result that its power is gradually being crushed while it is labouring under the delusion that it is acting as an arbitrator. The *Medina* vehemently attacks Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for his activities in connexion with the *Sangathan* movement, especially for his speeches in Bengal. It says: Every corner of the country is now bewailing the rebellious activities of this magician of Benares. We see that this greatest enemy of the country is doing his utmost to fan the flame of hatred and bigotry. He is bewitching Bengal by displaying the feats of *Sangathan*. At a meeting in Calcutta he exhorted the darwans to answer swords by swords, guns by guns and *lathis* by *lathis*. Will the Government say if the advice given in this speech is not calculated to incite the people to render the law useless and to usurp the functions of the courts and the police? Has the Bengal Government entrusted these duties to jamadars and darwans? Are these speeches of Malaviya which are fiery and calculated to spread hatred and enmity his satanic instigations and his exhortations to the Hindus to take the law into their own hands not actionable? Did Mahatma Gandhi deserve jail for six years for preaching real peace and order? But this pious wine-vendor of Benares does not deserve even a warning! We emphatically urge the Government of Bengal to remove under the Goonda Act this source of mischief and disturbances. Otherwise we fear that this fire will reach the citadels of Government. In reply to a remark of the *Milap* (Lahore) that if Muslims consider India to be inauspicious they should leave the country, the paper says :—India is ours and will continue to be ours. Why should we go from India now? On the other hand, the day is near when another Aurangzeb will be seen on the throne of Delhi. Then India will become the same paradise whose gifts are feeding to satiety the hungry people of the world. The *Rasalat* denounces the *Sangathan* activities as detrimental not only to the interests of Muslims, but also of the Government, and says that if local authorities impose strict restrictions on the playing of all music except in connexion with marriages and inflict severe punishment on the defaulters, the trickeries and moves of the *Sangathan* workers will disappear and no one will talk of Swaraj or patriotism. Hindus should be obedient and should not interfere in the religious affairs of others. Urging Muslims to combat the *Sangathan* activities *Al Bashir* says:--Muslims can be organized only by means of congregational prayers in mosques and lectures delivered from their pulpits. They can become brave if they can shake off the burden of loans taken from strangers and give up debauchery and other bad habits. The introduction of the Boy Scout movement is essential. They should train themselves in the use of *lathi* all the year round and not restrict the training to Muharram only and should buy guns, obtain licences and go on shooting excursions once a week at least. They should also take to trade. Internal reform is indispensable for the educational and economic advancement of the Muslims.

Agra Tenancy Bill.

The *Leader* criticizes the attitude adopted by the swarajists with regard to the amendment to clause 40 of the Agra Tenancy Bill moved by Khan Bahadur Mr. Muhammad Ismail and says :—We are surprised that the swarajists should have entered into a compromise the effect of which would be vitally to impair the security of tenure which the Bill sought to give. It is indeed very regrettable that in this vital matter the swarajists should have shown themselves less mindful of the interests of the tenants than of the expediency of an understanding with the landholders. In another article the paper asks the swarajists if the scales have not been heavily weighted on the side of zamindars. "Should the Swaraj party have yielded a vital point which affects the central feature of the Bill? Will the Bill make for 'a bold and contented peasantry' which the Swarajist members of the Select Committee declared in their note was 'a country's pride'? Will not the concession of compulsory power of acquisition of statutory holdings to the landlords make life-tenures precarious and statutory tenants live in dread of the landlord?" Under the heading "Fatuous Legislation" the *Indian*

Daily Telegraph writes :—We do not believe in settling the tenant-zamindar question by a legislative enactment. These legislative enactments hedged in with limitations and restrictions do not cure the disease, but only make it worse. The Agra Tenancy Bill will either create more trouble for the tenant and the zamindar or it will become a dead letter. We do not believe in premature legislation imposed from above without sanction. The *Sainik* says :—The amendments which have been made in the Agra Tenancy Bill by the Council have rendered it more harmful than it was on emerging from the Select Committee. A prescription for ruining crores of tenants is being dispensed in the cool climate of Naini Tal. No one is paying any attention to the knife which is being sharpened in order to cut the throats of tenants. After calling attention to the amendments for securing more rights for zamindars the paper says:—Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's amendment debars Hindu widows from inheritance. Thus it is sought to encourage immorality among them and to throw them into the grip of badmashes. Those who claim to be the champions of Hindu rights should pay attention to this amendment which is full of mischief. The *Haqiqat* remarks that antagonism between zamindars and tenants will injure both and that if the zamindars treat their tenants generously they will easily win public sympathy, but if they persist in satisfying Government demands by sucking the blood of their tenants they are bound to suffer one day. The *Medina* says:—The report of the Select Committee will put an end to whatever power still remains in the hands of the zamindars. After the Bill is passed their status will be that of a mere broker between the Government and the tenants. Whatever concessions have been accorded to the zamindars in this Bill will be completely withdrawn in future. This is, however, a suitable recompense for the unflinching loyalty of the weak-hearted and servile zamindars. Unrelenting nature is having its revenge in the shape of this Bill for all that the zamindars have, in the name of law and order, done against the nation and the country. We have deep sympathy with them and we hope they will be wiser in future. *Al Khalil* says that the Government which during non-cooperation days used to hold Darbars to rehabilitate the authority of the zamindars is now itself bent on ruining them. In passing this Bill it has trampled upon the principles of legislation in a way which is unprecedented in the annals of any other Government in the world and has spurned the most reasonable objections of the zamindar members. The *Aziz*-i-*Hind* exhorts the zamindars to strengthen their party as Government is so much possessed with democratic ideas that it neither cares for its own safety nor for the safety of others. As a result of this policy every second or third year a new Act is passed to annihilate the existence of zamindars. We do not mean to say that sympathy should not be shown to the tenantry; our contention is that it is unjust to curtail the rights of the zamindars as this will have a bad effect on the stability of Government. It is these things which spread socialistic and Bolshevik ideas in the country and dishearten the real well-wishers of the Government.

Music before mosques.

In a lengthy article the *Leader* strongly criticises the policy of the authorities relating to Hindu processions and says:—In a word the Hindus lose, but the Government also sustain a bad moral defeat. If confidence cannot be reposed in their sense of impartiality, they have truly lost half their strength in the country, whatever may be the number of their military and police officers and men. To all appearances it has not been realized by the Government and their officers that there is another and a better way of dealing with the communal situation than for them virtually to identify themselves with one party to the controversy. That is for them to take up a strictly just and impartial attitude, and if either party disobeys orders informed by such unexceptionable and wholly commendable a spirit, to employ the Government's organized strength to vindicate these orders. . . . . We have been watching with grave concern the course of events in Bengal. On a minor scale we have been following with regret and disquiet the orders of the Magistrate of Allahabad on nearly every occasion of a Hindu religious procession beginning with the order which led the Hindus to abandon the Ramlila procession last year. . . . The present position cannot continue much longer. Let not excessive strain be imposed upon either community. Let neither of them be made to feel that it has not simply to be loyal to the Government by law established, but has perforce to live under the subordinate domination of the other community. In a letter to the paper the District Magistrate replies to its criticism of his action and says that the alternative to passing a restrictive order was a certain and bloody riot.

Political propaganda.

The *Signal* compares the character of British officers in the beginning of British rule in India with that of the present-day officers and says:—From the just and generous Englishman to the mail-fisted and iron-heeled despot is a sad change indeed. . . . It is not only the character of the British official that has changed for the worse, but also of the British ministers and statesmen who hold the reins of the Indian Government. The *Vartman* says that under foreign domination every institution leads to the moral degradation of the people. This applies to the Councils also. The moral downfall witnessed at present is unprecedented. It would be a political sin to say that through the Councils we have been able to exercise any influence over the administration. The voters should thoroughly consider these facts. It is true that the foreign Government has thrown a veil over their eyes, but it is their birth-right to act with discretion. Commenting on the Secretary of State's remarks that the British will not leave India because if they do so the country will be ruined the *Hamdam* says:—"Might is right" is the only argument on which the British can base their claim of ruling India, but in view of the changed political ideas of the present day it cannot be said how long a Government based on this principle can last. The *Bir Hindu* contains an article in the course of which the writer, Harbans Lal, says that the communists alone can do good to the country and that every child of India will soon become a communist.

Bakr-Id.

Commenting on the riot at Allahabad the *Shakti* strongly supports the view of the *Abhyudaya* that the Kotwal was mainly responsible for the riot and that he should be removed at once. Referring to the Sihali disturbances the *Pratap* says:—The treatment meted out by the district authorities to the Hindus of Sihali on the occasion of the Bakr-Id was despicable. It appears from the resolution passed at a meeting of the Hindus of the Bara Banki district that the local authorities acted in a partial manner. The Hindus of Bara Banki complain that the Local Government officials permitted the Muslims of Sihali to slaughter cows in an open place. Buck-shots and also a bullet were fired at the crowd of the Hindus. The United Provinces Government should institute another inquiry through an impartial committee. The Muslim officials of Sihali have prohibited the blowing of conches and ringing of bells in Hindu temples during the Muharram festival. This is a reprehensible abuse of section 144.

The Swaraj party.

Referring to the attitude of the United Provinces Swaraj party with regard to the Agra Tenancy Bill the *Surya* remarks:—The swarajists who are loud in their professions of "village organization", "*kisan* organization", "uplift of the masses" and the like have combined with the selfish zamindars in grinding down the tenantry! Nothing is impossible for the *khaddar* politicians and the Swaraj party blinded by selfishness. What is it if not the limit of shamelessness that the swarajists should have lent their support to the zamindars in their efforts to crush the tenants only in the hope of getting the help of zamindars in securing votes for the next elections. The *Aj* attributes the present highly deplorable condition of the Swaraj party to its lack of a definite policy in the Councils and points out that it is futile to try to put down discord dividing the swarajist ranks in almost all provinces. It urges swarajist leaders definitely to formulate their policy and to place it before a special session of the Congress for consideration.

Indianization of services.

Under the heading "an unwise utterance" the *Leader* again criticises the speech made by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the Indian Civil Service dinner held in London. It says:—The India Office, which must have supplied the material for the speech, may think that if British recruitment were to be stopped the services would be "starved," but we in India know that there are enough recruits available in India to feed the services. The India Office may be happy that India is a "good show" and a "fine field for British character", but Indian opinion demands that India should not be the happy hunting ground of the non-Indian, but must provide scope for her sons. We think that His Royal Highness should not have spoken with approval of the recommendations of the Lee Commission . . . . It was a very unwise speech which the Prince delivered. His Royal Highness was badly served by his advisers.

Indian candidates and Rockefeller Foundation.

Referring to the report that in response to the request of the managing committee of the Rockefeller Foundation of America to select six candidates on their behalf to specialize in

medicine the Government of India have selected only four men the *Leader* writes:—Could not two more men be found in the whole country to go abroad for specialist training in medicine? The Government ought to have made, and ought still to make, an effort to find out two more suitable men so that all the scholarships offered may be availed of.

India's representation at the Imperial Conference.

Referring to the selection of Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Chadwick and the Maharaja of Burdwan as India's representatives to the Imperial Conference the *Aj* remarks that if India were not at all represented on the International and Imperial Conferences Indians would not feel so much aggrieved as they do at the sort of the representatives selected by the Government of India.

Bribery.

In the course of an article on bribery the *Sainik* says:—Although Mr. Paliwal's resolution regarding bribery was passed in the local Council more than a year ago, the Government has done nothing to give effect to it. The Government pays no heed to any complaints against any officer about bribery. It is said that the higher officers would themselves take steps to reduce corruption. But these very officers do all in their power and move heaven and earth to shield any Government servant charged with bribery.

Unemployment.

The *Vartman* calls attention to the serious state of unemployment in the country which, it says, has led to increase in crime and has sometimes driven men to commit suicide. The paper refers to the measures adopted in western countries to reduce unemployment and says that the Indian Government is not giving adequate attention to this question possibly because it is foreign and the officers are well-to-do.

Indians in Colonies.

In a letter to the *Leader* Benarsidas Chaturvedi warns Indians in South Africa against emigrating to British Guiana as according to one of his correspondents the country is not fit for emigration.

Communal representation.

Writing in the *Agra Akhbar*, Hafiz Hidayat Husain while acknowledging that separate communal representation is a blot on democracy, urges its extension in view of the present state of communal affairs in the country.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
July 17, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
17 AUG 19
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 29 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 24, 1926.

Viceroy's speech.

The *Pioneer* welcomes the speech made by the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club dinner "for it not only states with admirable lucidity the attitude of the Government of India and the British Government towards this great menace to the development of national ideals, but it also gives a clear lead to responsible members of the two communities chiefly concerned." The *Leader* says that the speech was in admirable literary form unlike many another viceregal and gubernatorial utterance reminiscent of resolutions and reports. The paper criticizes the policy of the United Provinces Government and the Bengal Government regarding communal questions and says:—Lord Irwin appears to have thought that he had in his possession facts which justified him in giving a certificate of superlative merit of almost universal application to Governments and officers. But we do not think that it can be claimed for all the officers of the Government, as Lord Irwin has done with something like assurance, that they uniformly follow a policy of combined fairness and firmness which can be appreciated as being morally right, politically sound and administratively sensible. If they did, we should think that the result would be far more agreeable than it has been from almost any point of view. In a subsequent article the paper writes:—Lord Irwin being a new Viceroy who means well and hopes to do good to India as the head of the Government, it will, we respectfully suggest, be worth his while to study the question why British rule has gradually become less popular and why today, notwithstanding the acknowledged work of England in and for India the people are less appreciative than critical: why their attitude towards England is more of indifference than of gratitude or admiration or hope. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We must express our gratefulness to His Excellency for his denunciation of these communal riots, but we regret to observe that His Excellency was not quite right in describing the attitude of local Governments towards these unfortunate differences. While welcoming the sentiments expressed by the Viceroy the *Vartman* says that if communal representation is admitted to be an evil it should not be continued. To perpetuate an evil out of fear of the minority community would be to make the situation still more terrible. The *Aj* acknowledges that for some time past Government officials, particularly in the United Provinces, have been making efforts to stop communal dissensions, but points out that the orders issued by them cannot be said to be free from partiality. This is the most serious evil. Our charge is that the present policy of the Government has created an impression among Muslims in several places, specially in Bengal, that they can have their own way by means of threats or lawlessness. It is necessary that the Government should change its angle of vision. The question of music before mosques should be openly inquired into by an impartial commission and Government should frame its policy in the light of the results of this inquiry. The *Hamdam* regards the speech as wholly disappointing and says:—It is a living embodiment of bureaucratic traditions; it lacks in substance and has left the communal atmosphere of the country just as it was before. In trying to remove the "two misconceptions" regarding Government's policy His Excellency has only harped on the old tune of praising the Indian Civil Service officers and has expressed his helplessness in solving a petty problem. The *Oudh Akhbar* observes that the speech has disappointed the Hindus who expected the Viceroy to make an important announcement on the question of music before mosques and thus soothe their feelings. *Al Khalil* writes:—Though we do not agree with the Viceroy regarding the neutrality of

Government servants in communal matters, yet on the whole, we heartily endorse his appeal.

The Calcutta riots.

The *Leader* writes:—One lesson that can safely be derived from the lamentable occurrence is that it was a sad blunder on the part of the Government to have yielded to the untenable Muslim demand for the compulsory stopping of music before mosques. Concessions to injustice are a weakness which peoples and Governments have to avoid or they will have to pay dearly for it. We hope that authorities nearer home will profit by this latest warning of Calcutta. The self-restraint of the Hindus in the Raj Rajeshwari procession is highly to be commended. In another article the paper says:—The Muslims have absolutely and indisputably placed themselves in the wrong. What is the duty of Government after this latest outrage and challenge to its authority? It should declare that it will not allow the legal rights of any community to the use of the King's highway to be interfered with by force or show of force with impunity and that it will uphold them with all the might of Government. If it does so, it will command respect and confidence. Peace cannot be secured by temporizing with demands which are *ab initio* unjust and unreasonable. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* takes Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. Ghaznavi to task for not trying to prevent the riot and says:—Is it conceivable for a single moment that thousands of Muslims would conspire and yet these all-knowing leaders who have been rightly or wrongly described as the fomenters of communal strifes would be ignorant? In a subsequent article the paper writes:—Looking at the recent blood-thirsty outburst in Calcutta one cannot help asking the question whether the Government of Bengal has abdicated . . . . The Government can only defend itself by saying that it was not aware of this premeditated conspiracy. If this answer is to be accepted, then we say, in the name of all that is just and fair, disband your police and Criminal Investigation Department. Is the conduct of Government consistent with its professions of maintaining law and order impartially? Referring to Mr. A. K. Ghaznavi's message to Calcutta Muslims the *Aj* says that to describe the procession which was taken out in strict obedience to law and official orders as provocative and oppressive and yet to exhort the Muslims to keep quiet is an act which can be worthy of Haji Ghaznavi only. We want to invite the attention of the Calcutta authorities to the wording of this message. This action appears to be like that of a leader who while far away wants to put off a premeditated action at the eleventh hour for some special reasons. It adds:—The previous prohibition of the Raj Rajeshwari procession by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, went to create the impression among the Muslims that they could have their own way by holding out threats. By supporting the demand for stopping music before mosques Government officials are fostering terrible and widespread lawlessness. But the last riot in Calcutta should serve to open their eyes. If the officials of Calcutta have not become totally blind they will realize that their pets have now begun to be less afraid of their guns and to learn to flout even Government orders and arms. The *Surya* remarks:—There are now only two courses open to the Government. Either it should strain every nerve to stop injustice and should not tolerate any violation of its orders or it should hand over the administration of Calcutta to Muslim hooligans. The *Hamdam* condemns the activities of those who take part in communal conflicts and says that as these people are really jeopardizing the rights for which they are fighting a day will come when those who attack religious processions or disturb prayers will cease to be regarded as Hindus or Muslims and their action will be viewed as a moral crime. The paper, however, refuses to believe that Muslims were aggressors during the latest disturbance and complains that the Indian news agencies, which are controlled by Hindus, always try to lay the blame on the shoulders of Muslims. The *Haqiqat* takes the Bengal Government to task for its inability to restore peace and says that the occurrence of a terrible disturbance for the third time shows that the Calcutta police is evincing extreme negligence in the discharge of its duties. The paper next invites the attention of Muslims to the condemnation of the conduct of their co-religionists in Calcutta even by neutral journals and asks why they have developed such a hatred for music that in their excitement they are not only ruining their hearth and home, but are also lowering themselves in the estimation of others. The wrong lead of Mr. Ghaznavi may do some good to him personally, but is sure to be detrimental to the cause of the Muslims. Is there no other wise Muslim left in Calcutta to give the right lead to his co-religionists? *Al Khalil* says that the action of the *Statesman* and

the *Englishman* in fixing the responsibility for the riots on Muslims is a trick to justify the firing of the police on the unarmed crowd. It is in fact Muslims who have suffered most in these disturbances.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the stoppage of Rath Yatra at Allahabad is a clear proof of administrative inefficiency. It is the duty of the Hindus to stand up in defence of their rights. To suffer patiently is to encourage others to do injustice. In another article the paper remarks:—We congratulate the Hindus on their wise decision not to take out the Rath Yatra procession at Daragunj, Muthigunj and Kydgunj in view of the restrictive orders passed by the district magistrate. We have, however, nothing to say to the authorities. There is no doubt that they are murdering reason and law. It is apparent that by their weakness and diplomacy they are digging up the roots of British rule. The Hindus have come to know that the authorities are afraid of Muslim lawlessness and that they support only those who disregard law and take it in their own hands. The *Aj* writes:—Blood begins to boil on reading the news from the Pabna district. It appears as if all sorts of hellish feelings have taken possession of the *badmash* Muslims of the locality and cowardice has taken hold of the local Hindus. It is surprising that while *badmashes* dishonour women, men should not be ready to kill and be killed. Those who dishonour Hindu women today will not hesitate to dishonour the women of their community tomorrow. Have the guardians of peace of Pabna left the task of maintaining law and order to the tender mercies of the *badmashes* of the district? In the course of a lengthy article in the *Manorama* Chatursen Vaidya Shastri discusses the genesis of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* and the *Shuddhi* movement and criticizes Mr. Gandhi for his partiality for Muslims. He goes on to say:—The Hindu *Maha Sabha* and the *Shuddhi* movement were not liked by the Muslims. Those who had destroyed crores of people because they did not like to become Muslims could not bear to see the reconversion of those Hindus whom they had deprived of their religion through atrocities. They, therefore, began to have recourse to hooliganism. The Hindus were beaten at Kohat, Saharanpur, Malabar and Delhi. Even while their women were being dishonoured they were studying the lesson of non-violence and bearing all this meekly. At last at Calcutta the Arya Samajists took the lead and a terrible fright was produced in the Muslim community. The playing of music before mosques was considered to be a sin as the accursed soul of Aurangzeb had said so in the ears of the Muslims. The Hindus will surely be victorious as they are non-violent and are fighting in self-defence and have borne the oppressions of generations of Muslims. India belongs to the Hindus who are alone entitled to her ownership. The Indian civilization is ours and we have made India rich and fertile. We have performed several great deeds on her soil which bears the marks of the footsteps of our Rishis. The Muslims can lay no claim to this country. I can prove that the Muslims in the beginning carried on pillage, arson and bloodshed on a vast scale. At the zenith of their rule they were sunk in immorality, partiality, injustice and diabolical deeds and what are they doing now when all their poisonous teeth have been uprooted? The Muslims can live in India only under the subjection of the Hindus as their younger brothers, and not as their masters. We advise the *Aryas* to sacrifice their lives in the *Shuddhi* work. The *Kalwar Kshattriya Mitra* publishes an article under the heading "worship" communicated to it by one Onkar Nath Gupta, Allahabad, in the course of which he remarks:—O Lord we worshipped thee in the form of a deity in human form and in the form of a stone, but thou didst not feel any compassion for us—nay, thou even forgot thy promise to reincarnate thyself in order to establish righteousness when unrighteousness prevailed in India. Dost thou wish that the Hindu nation should be effaced from the world? Today its intellect has become so perverse that it is worshipping as friends the enemies of thy sacred Vedas. This is to be found in the worship of Ghazi Mian and the five *Pirs* whose ancestors put to the gallows several jewels of the Hindu nation, dyed walls with the blood of innocent children and slaughtered and devoured numberless cows. But the Hindus have no sense. It was to bring them to their senses that Maharana Pratap sacrificed his life, Prithwiraj got his own eyes put out, Guru Govind Singh had his two sons walled up, Shivaji spent all his life in the jungles, Swami Dayanand drank a cup of poison, and one of his disciples had a dagger thrust into his stomach, but the eyes of the Hindus did not open. *Al Khalil* says:—The Government is being overawed by the demonstrations of strength made in communal disturbances. It might be rejoicing to find that with the increasing frequency of these riots the

value of the British rises in the estimation of the people because those who suffer in these riots either seek the shelter of its hospitals or courts and police stations and demand that some Englishmen should decide their cases. The Government is, however, mistaken if it thinks so because those who flatter it on such occasions do so only to achieve their selfish ends and not because they really regard it as a goddess of power and justice. The *Hamdam* says :—The Muslims can have no objection to *Sangathan* if it is merely meant for the social reform of the Hindus. But, as it is, the movement is actuated by a spirit of opposition to the Muslims and the incitements, terrorism and oppression which are employed for *Shuddhi* are surely objectionable and mischievous. The *Haqiqat* extols the action of Dr. Ansari in announcing the severance of his connexion with all communal organizations and urges people to follow his lead and purge the country of the evil of Hindu-Muslim disturbances. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that Dr. Ansari's declaration is a clear proof of the utmost desire of Muslims for union. Had the same spirit been found among the Hindus India would have been rescued from the fatal course which she is pursuing at present. The declaration reveals the strength of the passion for freedom animating the hearts of Muslims. Islam openly inculcates freedom at every step. Referring to the comments of the *Leader* on the orders of the Collector of Allahabad regulating Hindu religious processions the *Hamdam* remarks that as the Hindu leaders could not agree to the amicable proposals of the Muslim leaders, the authorities had no alternative but to have recourse to their legal powers.

Lord Olivier's views on communal tension.

Referring to Lord Olivier's letter to the *Times* on the communal tension the *Pratap* remarks that Lord Olivier's statement has proved to the hilt the charge levelled by the Congress workers against the Government of India that it follows a policy of partiality and invidious distinction in connexion with the Hindu-Muslim disputes. Though the Anglo-Indian press of Calcutta has taken Lord Olivier to task for his frank statement, yet its own comments go to confirm the statement of the ex-Secretary of State for India that the Bengal Government sides with the Muslims in order to discomfit the nationalist party. Will not the eyes of the Hindus and the Muslims of India open even now? The *Aj* agrees with Lord Olivier's view that the "bureaucracy" in India favours the Muslims as a make-weight against Hindu nationalism and remarks that it is for this reason that the disastrous system of separate electorates has been introduced and any proposal to abolish it is met with strenuous opposition in London. The independent Muslim party has come into existence in Bengal as a result of official encouragement and with its help efforts are being made to degrade the Hindus from the pedestal of nationalism and make them work out the reforms. In view of the growing influence of Muslims the Hindus too appear to be eager to fall into the snare of the bureaucracy. What more fearful example of the success of the policy of divide and rule can be met with than this? It has to be admitted with regret and shame that the immoral policy of the bureaucracy is praiseworthy so far as its own interests are concerned. In the course of an editorial note the *Sainik* says :—Lord Olivier has truly said that by favouring the Muslims the Indian bureaucracy is accentuating Hindu-Muslim enmity. The strongest proof of this is the Punjab Money-lenders Bill which was introduced to set the Hindus and Muslims by the ears . . . We are not at all surprised at this policy of Government. We are not so much surprised even at the fact that Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. Ghaznavi are creating all these troubles at its beck and call. But what is most surprising and regrettable is that entangled in election tactics Pandit Malaviya is raising the cry of Hindu interests against nationalism and is thus helping in this bureaucratic policy. The *Medina* strongly criticizes Lord Olivier's remark that there is a predominant bias in British officialdom in India in favour of the Muslim community and says:—This remark is calculated to set the two communities against each other. To reply to this groundless and illogical statement it is necessary to examine the policy of Britain towards Muslims in India and the Muslim territories outside India. It can be shown that from Morocco to the walls of China the statesmen of Great Britain have left no stone unturned to acquire Muslim territories. Either they themselves usurped the territories or gave open permission to others to usurp them. The land-hunger of Britain has attacked and attacked successfully the property of Muslims. Although the Indian mutiny was begun by Hindus, the storm of revenge and oppression burst upon Muslims. Their estates were confiscated, their trade was wiped out, and every department of Government was dominated by Hindus. When in course of time

the passion for revenge grew weaker and the Government found itself besieged by Hindus it began to think of Muslims. But the special favours thereafter shown to Muslims proved poisonous for them for they not only created ill-will between them and Hindus, but also produced estrangement and differences among Muslims themselves. At present the Muslims are in every way the greatest sufferers from the riots. They are arrested and punished for murder and rapine in much larger numbers. In these circumstances can it justly be said that the authorities are biased in favour of Muslims? There are causes which have made the lives of Muslims full of perils. Hindus are actuated by the strongest passion for gaining political and economic ascendency over Muslims. The Government is afraid of the Hindu majority. The charge of Lord Olivier is, in these circumstances, unjust and deplorable. All the forces of the world are bent on ruining Muslims. They are, however, a living and a strong race. Your unjust and inopportune statement and charges are all futile.

Political propaganda.

The *Desh Bhagat* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Tibet regarding his activities in Afghanistan and Tibet and referring to the news of the expulsion of Englishmen and other Europeans from the latter, it says:—It appears that this is the result of the efforts of the Raja who is a jewel of India. Englishmen ask every country to surrender the Raja to them, but the Raja's influence and services are such that wherever he goes he is respected and a few days after Englishmen have to leave the country. Such has been the case in Afghanistan and Tibet. We are sure that the Raja will be successful in Nepal also where he is going. The *Vartman* prints a portrait of Kemal Pasha and an editorial article eulogizing his patriotism and commending his example and views to Indian Muslims. It says:—Kemal Pasha is the gate-keeper of Asia and is protecting us from the contaminated air of Europe. The spirit engendered by this angel has led Asiatic nations to hope for a union which will release the spirit of Asia from the satanic grip. Our Muslim brethren of India should ponder over the advice of this martyr. In Turkey too there are religious people. But these patriots realized the increasing danger from Europe and chalked out a path for themselves. Indian Muslims should also adopt that path. They should always have the portrait of Ghazi Kemal Pasha before them and should aspire after the freedom of their country.

Music before mosques.

The *Haqiqat* strongly condemns the demand of Muslims for stopping music before mosques and says:—It has already cost dozens of valuable lives and has caused loss of crores of rupees. We cannot for a moment support any demands of the Muslims that may make our religion the laughing-stock of others. Are Mr. Ghaznavi and those who think like him prepared to face obstructions that may be thrown in future by non-Muslims in the construction of mosques on public roads? If Muslims persist in their improper demand the inevitable result will be that it will not be possible to build mosques on public roads in big cities. *Al-Bashir* refers to the efforts made by the Governor of Bengal for a compromise between Muslims and Hindus on the question of music before mosques and says that it was the inevitable result of the obstinacy of the Hindu representatives that Muslim leaders insisted on music being stopped before mosques at all times. The paper approves the orders passed by the Governor of Bengal on the question and says that the Muslim leaders of Calcutta did not act wisely in holding protest meetings against the said order.

The Punjab Money-lenders Bill.

Commenting on the Money-lenders Bill passed by the Punjab Legislative Council the *Surya* remarks :—The Bill brings to light the divide and rule policy followed by the bureaucracy of the Punjab. Although it was moved by a Muslim non-official member of the Council, yet it cannot be denied that the Bill was inspired by the Government. Those who are aware of the relations which exist between the money-lenders and the borrowers do not require to be told that this Bill is detrimental to the interests of the former, eighty per cent. of whom in the Punjab are Hindus. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges Sir Malcolm Hailey to veto the Money-lenders Bill which, it says, has been passed in the face of the united opposition of the Hindus of the Punjab and observes :—Now those who are really needy will experience difficulty in getting money and those money-lenders who are really clever will make double profits. The object of this legislation is to transfer the business of money-lending to the hands of the landlords and thus enable them to squeeze out the blood of the tenantry still more.

Indians in colonies.

Referring to the deplorable condition in Calcutta of Indians returned from British Guiana the *Desh Bhagat* says:—The unjust and uncivil reply of the Government of India, Home Department, is reprehensible and shameful in every way. It is a political move of the British Government that at the time of its need it does not refrain from flattery, deceit and lies, but when questions of justice and humanity arise it turns a deaf ear to them. We are sorry to find that the Government of India which is responsible for the ruin of these poor Indians has now adopted an irresponsible attitude and is ignoring their request. What else can be expected of an alien Government? Has it the good of any Indian at heart? Does it sincerely feel sorry for the death of any Indian child? Not at all. This alien Government of India always remains anxious to keep us under subjection and to provide luxuries for itself at our expense. The *Hamdam* says that as these emigrants are British subjects it is the duty of the Government to arrange for their employment or to provide them with expenses and send them to the places whence they came.

Financial advisers to Ministers.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that the proposed creation of a body of financial advisers is really meant to usurp part of the prerogatives of the Ministers. "Knowing as we do of the working of bureaucratic policies in India we can clearly see that these financial advisers attached to Ministerial departments with authorities from the Executive Government will command the purse of the transferred subjects and thus defeat the very object of the Montford Reforms by taking away part of the prerogatives that they have conferred upon popular Ministers." The *Hamdam* views the proposal with concern and says:—Though the proposal is apparently innocuous and even useful, it is to be seen whether the financial advisers will not curtail the powers of the Ministers.

Muslim affairs.

The *Najat* denounces as an unwarranted interference in religious matters the Bengal Government's action in fixing the times of *namaz* and urges the Muslims to realize the difficulties which they may have to encounter in future if they encourage the Government by their silence. The *Dabir* deprecates the social and economic principles of Muslims and their conferences held at Cairo and Mecca which in its opinion are responsible for their spiritual degeneration and points out that according to the Quran the secret of Muslim success lies in following in the footsteps of Imam Husain.

Indian jails.

In the course of an article on Indian jails the *Republic* writes:—Though we are living in the twentieth century and though we call ourselves civilized, our prison system and the treatment accorded to our prisoners, political or otherwise, are absolutely barbarous. Besides our laws and Penal Code are very harsh and inhuman. Nowhere on the face of the earth is the punishment for sedition so harsh, unkind and unjust as in India of today. The human element is at a discount in British administration. Our Indian Penal Code and prison system should be rewritten and improved.

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ALLAHABAD:
July 24, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 30 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 31, 1926.

Viceroy's speech.

The *Republic* congratulates the Viceroy on his speech at the Chelmsford Club and writes:—The bureaucratic robe of prejudices and pretensions has, for once it would seem, been changed for the humbler tunic of the itinerant humanitarian, and the result has been anything but discouraging. Healthiest sentiments, welling up from the innermost recesses of a true Christian heart, are a great help to those who are prepared to listen and reason. The *Pratap* remarks:—Lord Irwin's defence of the Government of India in regard to the communal tension is untenable. Our experience and incidents occurring every day unmistakably prove that the policy of the Government of India and the provincial Governments in this matter has been one of partiality. It was in order to weaken the influence of the *Swaraj* party in Bengal that the Bengal Government allowed Calcutta to be consumed by the fire of communal hatred. In the course of his speech at the Aligarh University the Governor of our province gave expression to British sympathy for Muslim culture. The undue partiality displayed by the District Magistrates of Allahabad and Fatehpur for the Muslims is known to everybody. In view of all this the Viceroy's eulogy of the policy of the Government and the impartiality of the authorities is altogether inopportune and misleading. It is possible that he may not have been acquainted with the real situation, yet it is ludicrous for a responsible officer like him to make a misleading statement. The *Garhwali* is "constrained" to assert that the short-sightedness of Government servants has contributed in no small measure to Hindu-Muslim tension and asks why communal tension has assumed the shape of Hindu-Muslim estrangement at one place, Brahman, and non-Brahman question at another, and Brahman-Rajput question at yet a third place. The *Surya* remarks:—The speech was undoubtedly thoughtful and impartial but whitewashing has been resorted to in attempting a defence of the Government. The Central Government has laid down no fixed policy in respect of communal matters. The *Medina* acknowledges that the sentiments expressed by the Viceroy are genuine, but challenges the statement that in dealing with the riots the authorities have been impartial. It says:—The talk of the impartiality of the authorities is meaningless. The claim that the Government has done its best to stop the riots also appears to be unfounded. The Government may indulge in self-laudation, but an impartial historian will assuredly proclaim its helplessness. The praise of the police and the army is nothing more than a piece of administrative chicanery. Writing in the same strain, the *Haqiqat* observes that His Excellency has not enunciated any measures which may be regarded as effective. The sum and substance of the speech is that Government is prepared to suppress communal disturbances by violent means, even at the risk of its popularity, but does not want to adopt peaceful measures likely to remove the very cause of the communal tension. The *Desh Bhagat* writes:—If the Government is really earnest there cannot be the slightest disturbance anywhere. Mere speeches, even of Lord Irwin himself, cannot efface the record that the British statesmen have always acted upon the policy of divide and rule in India. We declare it openly that the British Government is still following the same policy. The disturbances cannot be stopped so long as the British statesmen continue their policy of favouring the Muslims. We all know that at present the Government is trying to put an end to the Bolshevik movement in the world by pleasing the Muslims. It also wants to crush the religious and political spirit of the Hindus to such an extent that for generations to come there may not be

one among them who may even mention the name of freedom. We hope that the self-respecting Indians will try to create an enthusiasm amongst themselves which will end their slavery and communal feelings for ever. The *Najat* remarks:—Lord Irwin has harped on the same old tune of which we have grown tired. It is astonishing that he has preferred silence to the adoption of some executive or constitutional measures for checking the riots. This indicates that Government will continue its old policy.

Calcutta riots.

Referring to the latest Calcutta riot, the *Leader* says:—Perhaps the grievance of the Muslims is that they did not get the better of the Hindus, who, against their expectations, not only held their own but showed here and there an aggressive spirit. They must realize that communalism breeds, and is apt to find an answering echo in communalism. They must face facts and instead of vainly trying to dominate over the Hindus, seek to act in friendly co-operation with them. If the forces behind the riots are not brought under control, they will cut the jugular vein of Bengal and of a large part of northern India. The growth of militant and aggressive communalism must be checked, as it is to-day the greatest and most sinister obstacle to the progress of the country. The *Surya* remarks:—The repetition of communal riots in quick succession demonstrates the hollowness of the assertion of Lord Irwin and the Earl of Winterton regarding the alertness of the authorities. The frequency of riots in Calcutta is undoubtedly attributable to the yielding of the Bengal Government to the Muslim demand regarding the stoppage of music before mosques. It is time that the Bengal Government set right the blunder committed by it. Referring to the attack upon the Raj Rajeshwari procession at Calcutta, the *Bharat Jiwan* urges the Muslims to think of the plight to which they will be reduced if 21 crores of the Hindus become completely alienated from them and become convinced of the need of adopting a policy of returning blow for blow. It adds:—The Muslims are at present perpetrating brutal outrages on women, killing children and innocent persons, and indulging in incendiarism and loot. If Hindus decide to adopt similar methods against them, then where will the Muslims be? At that time neither their supporter, the Government, nor their leaders who at present are serving their own ends by inciting them will come to their aid. It is yet time for the Muslims to beware and not to lay an axe at their own feet. In another article, referring to the repeated breaches of the peace at Calcutta, the paper says: Is it the rule of the British who boast of their culture and might or is it Nadirshahi? Are those detectives and officers of the Criminal Investigation Department of Bengal dead who come out like bugs at the smell of sedition and like vultures begin to hover over a poor patriot at the very sight of him? The *Medina* says:—The carnage which occurred at Calcutta on the occasion of the Hindu and the *Muharram* processions and the callousness with which the police fired at the Muslims cannot be a matter for pride to any Muslim or Hindu. The communal fire is being supplemented by the fire of police firearms. Cannot His Excellency the Viceroy do anything to stop this? The adoption of remedies that would please the soul of O'Dwyer and Dyer cannot be useful. Hindu friends may rejoice that the Muslims were fired at, but will not the time come when the pampered stomachs of the Hindus will also have to receive bullets? The *Krishna* holds the Muslims responsible for the outbreak of the riots and says:—In the Pabna district the Muslims gave a demonstration of Aurangzebi and Nadirshahi. The successors of Nadirshah indulged in outrages and oppression to the utmost. If such is the Muslim culture, God save India from it. This culture may be fit for the deserts of Arabia but India does not want that it should prosper here. The *Parivartan* says:—It is the firm belief of the public that Government does not want to stop the riots. But if this state of affairs is allowed to continue it may revive the martial spirit of the people and may at any time take the form of guerrilla warfare which may be the cause of anxiety to Government. *Al Khalil* says:—The recent Calcutta disturbances prove how the hands and feet of Government are being paralyzed. If the riots continue the day will soon come when the Muslim police will fire at Hindus and the Hindu police at Muslims against the instructions of their officers. Thus the Government will not only become unable to keep peace in India but its own arms will help to increase the disorder so much so that it will find itself like a disabled limb. While the police is preoccupied with these disturbances the anarchists will have a unique opportunity for subverting the Government. It is also possible that the party (Hindus) whose ambitions are being thwarted by Government may turn against it. The Government will then assuredly lose its ground, especially when the police and the army are thoroughly imbued with communal spirit.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* takes strong exception to the speeches made at the meeting of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* at Bombay and says:—Such flagrant provocation of hostilities deserves to be condemned unequivocally by every patriotic Indian and to be put down by the authorities. The *Chand* publishes an illustrated article showing how women may defend themselves if attacked. In the course of the introduction it is stated:—Almost every day reports are published of women being dishonoured. There are many cases which for various reasons remain unknown. Women will have to depend upon themselves for protection. In the course of an editorial article the *Paliwal Brahmodaya* remarks:—The atrocities perpetrated upon Hindu girls and women by "followers of other faiths" under British rule sound a note of warning to us that if Hindus do not cultivate the strength of undergoing self-sacrifice in the defence of their co-religionists the annihilation of Hinduism is very near. If need be the entire Hindu population of India should be ready to sacrifice itself in the defence of one Hindu. The *Garhwali* notes with satisfaction that Government has begun to realize its responsibility for checking communal dissensions and remarks:—It is our firm conviction that if the Government impartially exercises its great might to stop these strifes it can easily succeed and the thinking public also will co-operate with it in this. The *Aj* says that since Sir Abdur Rahim assumed the leadership of the Muslims the storm centre of Hindu-Muslim dissensions appears to have shifted from the Punjab to Calcutta and East Bengal. We do not assert that Sir Abdur Rahim is directing these activities but this must be admitted that they are the outcome of his policy of setting the Muslims against Hindus and forming a separate Muslim organization in Bengal. The *Gramvasi* refers to communal disturbances in the country and deplores that poor India is undergoing tribulations even under the mighty and civilized British rule such as it suffered during the invasions or the rule of tyrannical kings like Nadirshah. The present-day ruler is as much to blame for her present sufferings as the former rulers were for past atrocities. Hindus should develop the communal spirit like the Muslims and purge their community of its existing social evils if they are to exist in the world. Referring to Muslim atrocities on Hindus in Bengal, the *Bharat* says that one of the most serious problems confronting the Hindus at the present time is how to bring to the right path the bureaucracy which favours the Muslims. Proceeding, it remarks:—We see from the columns of the *Forward* (Calcutta) that Muslims have perpetrated such unjustifiable and inhuman atrocities on Hindus in several places in Bengal as put to the blush. Shame herself, but no trace of shame, grief or regret is to be found on the face of the bureaucracy. On the contrary, filled with arrogance, it proclaims its bravery from its own mouth. We want to know whether all the members of the bureaucracy are heartless asses from top to bottom or it includes human beings also. If there is a human being he is foolishly and blindly getting all this done or committing an unpardonable crime for which the bureaucracy or, for the matter of that, Great Britain is going to be punished by nature. In the course of an article in the *Kshattriya Mittra* Ram Chandra Singh Kaushik says that the Muslims are mad and in their madness they are lowering still more the sanctity of Islam. The world is making a fun of their bigotry and narrowmindedness. Can there be a more beastly and inhuman act than that of the unfaithful Muslim drivers who deserted their Hindu masters in an evil plight where they even lost their lives? Still the Muslim public is dancing in the garb of innocence. Have they got no heart? They may have, but it is cruel. Have they got no mothers and sisters? They may have, but we do not know what value they attach to their honour. Are there no gentlemen among them? There may be, but they are stained with partiality. What is the evil spirit which possesses them and blinds their eyes? Such oppression is to be found nowhere else. The *Pratap* insinuates that the permission accorded by the Bihar Government to the Hindus of Phulwari Sharif to take out their procession accompanied by music before mosques despite a previous agreement to the contrary is a move on the part of the Government to weaken the influence of Congressmen in Bihar, which is one of their strongholds, in the same way in which Bengal, another Congress stronghold, has been crushed by the guns of Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. Ghaznavi. The paper adds that a few persons who are inciting the Hindus of Phulwari may be Government spies acting as *agents provocateur* and warns the people of Bihar to beware of those false champions of Hindu cause. The *Arya Mitra* regrets that a few officials of the Government continue to depart from its settled policy of religious neutrality and interfere in religious matters and throw obstacles in the way

of *Nagarkirtans*. If the Government of India fails to take necessary action in the matter the only course left for the Arya Samajists will be to sacrifice their lives in defence of their religion. The Samajists will not allow their religion to die while they are alive. In the course of its editorial article the *Bharat Dharma* deplores that Hindu princes spend their money in the construction of *tazias* and says:—The desire of the Muslims to establish Muslim rule in India has become deep-rooted as a result of which they perpetrate atrocities with impunity. Hindus lack this longing for freedom and religious zeal. At least they should be satisfied with their own gods and should refrain from participation in the worship of gods of other religions. They should not expose the Hindu religion to ridicule by participating in the festivals of other religions. How can there be any religious unity between those whose religious beliefs are poles apart? The *Maithil Prabha* vehemently protests against the "height of aggression and meanness" of Muslims in demanding the stoppage of music before mosques and the fulfilment of their demand by Government. It says:—Muslims violate the chastity of hundreds of women every day, but no action is taken against them. The Hindus want justice. They should learn to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their rights. We are confident that our brethren will not obey the unjust orders regarding the stoppage of music but will organize an all-India agitation against it. It is now necessary that we should pay back the Muslims in their own coin. The session of the *Khilafat* conference held at Delhi has proved that educated Muslims are at the bottom of the communal tension. In this connexion our duties are to get a resolution passed by the Assembly prohibiting the construction of mosques along public roads and removing those already existing to sequestered places or Muslim localities, to strive for the stoppage of the jarring sound of drums during the *Muharram* before Hindu temples and to endeavour to stop the display of fireworks on the occasion of the *Shaberat*. The *Melina* says:—The loss of life and property of Indian Muslims and the bad name which their community has incurred are due to the hostility of Hindus and our intolerance. If the demands which are springing up among Hindus and Muslims were likely to lead to some good results we could have said: Let the Muslims be slaughtered and imprisoned; let their children become orphans and their wives widows and let them gain ascendancy and communal distinction. But for God's sake, O leaders of miserable and helpless Muslims! Say, what glorious future for Islam lies hidden in the frames of *tazias*, the sound of drums and flags that you become the targets of guns and inmates of prisons? Are all these tribulations, ignominies and servilities of yours, this selfishness of your place-hunting leaders and the sowing of seeds of troubles for your descendants meant simply for the sound of the drum and a few paper biers which are suggestive of idolatry? No, Islam is above these trifles and the object of its teachings is much higher. The *Hamdam* says:—The Basti and Sihali disturbances show that there is an organization among the Hindus of this province who are bent upon turning the Muslims out of India and with a view to discredit Muslim officials this organization engineers a riot in places where the district magistrates are Muslims. The *Krishna* says:—This country neither belongs to Englishmen nor to the Muslims; it belongs to the Hindus. With the help of their organization the Hindus should let the Government know that if it continues to spurn the sentiments and demands of the majority community it would undermine its own interests and would realize its mistake some day. There is, therefore, still time for it to change its policy and to govern this country with the co-operation of the Hindus who have always been and are still ready to co-operate with it on honourable terms.

Lord Winterton's speech.

The *Leader* writes:—Lord Winterton's oration in the House of Commons does not call for elaborate notice. It was the familiar string of platitudes, here and there in new language. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the speech is a challenge to Indian leadership, Indian statesmanship and Indian capacity to manage their own affairs. The paper does not accept the view that the Government of India are doing their best to stop the riots and says:—If the Government were to give no quarter to the communal hooligan, the riot atmosphere would disappear in one month. If the Government had dealt with the communal hate-monger with half the seriousness with which they put down the non-violent non-co-operation the riots would have become a thing of the past. But the Government have not seriously tackled the communal problem and they will not do so, as one can easily conclude from

Earl Winterton's confession. The *Aj* says that it is but natural that Earl Winterton should express satisfaction at the progress in India for the last four years when the nationalist party has become disintegrated and every other party is ready to co-operate with the Government. The eulogy of Lord Reading by Earl Winterton shows what conflict of interests exists between the rulers and the ruled. If the *Swaraj* party had carried out its pledge of persistent obstruction and prepared the people for mass civil disobedience, Earl Winterton would not have got this opportunity of expressing gratification at its approaching end. The Under-Secretary of State's remark regarding the need for the presence of the British to prevent communal hatred from assuming the form of a bloody massacre goes to show that the British are not dissatisfied at the communal dissensions. It is certain that the sword of the third party will not stop these disturbances. The *Hamdam* regards the speech as merely an echo of Lord Irwin's speech in Simla and says:—Apart from the verbose and smooth-tongued speeches of Lord Irwin and Earl Winterton not a finger has been raised to remove what the latter characterized as "the most formidable menace." Earl Winterton says that as in the next elections appeals will be made on communal lines a strong new party will come into being which will co-operate with the Government. This is the naked picture of the joy and composure which the Imperial Government feels on seeing the houses of Indians being sacked during the disturbances. Does not this frank statement show that this party which regards the union of the two communities as baneful to its interests is at the bottom of the present Hindu-Muslim disturbances in the country?

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* complains of Reuter's niggardliness in sending news of the World Islamic Conference but is glad to learn from Arabic papers that the proceedings of the Conference are most encouraging. It is hoped that this grand and unique gathering of Muslims will turn out to be a divine guide in the cause of Muslim brotherhood. The honour which is being shown to our Indian representatives is a matter for pride for us. The *Mashriq* complains that Muslim pilgrims to Mecca were ill-treated by Ibn Saud's men. Those who went to see the demolished domes without permission were beaten. The calamity which has overtaken the holy places in the beginning of the Muslim year shows that the heart-rending incidents which took place at Karbala 120 years ago are still continuing. The *Mansur* says:—The statements of Hajis indicate that there was no mismanagement on the occasion of *Haj* this year, for at each stage the Najdi soldiers deputed to look after the general requirements and safety of the caravans discharged their duties honestly and arduously. One Maulana Saiyid Ibne Hasan Rizwi of Sindh, writing in the *Sarfaraz*, deplores the demolition of Jannatul Bakia and fervently appeals to Britain either to compel Ibn Saud to allow the reconstruction of the holy buildings in the Hedjaz and to abstain from committing such mischiefs in future or to permit Muslims to form a band of mourners to proceed to Mecca and Medina to sacrifice their lives in protecting them. It is confident that a just Government will respond to the call of an oppressed community. The *Sada-i-Muslim* complains that though educated and hardworking Muslims are available, their number in Government offices is much less in proportion to their population than that of the Hindus. It adds:—It is the foremost duty of the United Provinces Government to appoint Muslims in accordance with their rights. If it does not do so it would create an unrest which it would never be able to suppress. *Al Bashir* complains of the arbitrary powers exercised by district magistrates in disallowing all new cow-sacrifices on the occasion of *Bakr Id* and says that the United Provinces Government's *communique* instead of checking the irregularities committed by district magistrates has increased them. We want to know what rights we have got within British territories as British subjects and whether we have the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by lakhs of Muslims in the Hindu states.

Lord Olivier's views on communal tension.

The *Desh Bhagat* says that Lord Olivier has thoroughly laid bare Lord Reading's policy of favouritism to the Muslims. Everyone knows that Government is at the bottom of the Hindu-Muslim tension in India and all the bloodshed and disturbances are due to its policy of favouritism. A Liberal writing in the *Haqiqat* says:—Lord Olivier is mistaken in thinking that Government accords preferential treatment to a particular community. The British Government is discharging its duties with great integrity and impartiality. *Al Barid* observes:—Either Lord Olivier is labouring under a serious delusion or he wishes to befool others. It is the Muslims who have been the sufferers everywhere in the recent riots

as they neither possess wealth nor power of organization and propaganda. Is Lord Olivier's statement intended to accentuate the ignorance and bigotry which have taken hold of the Hindus and Muslims these days?

Indians in the colonies.

In the course of a lengthy letter to the *Leader* on the problem of the returned Indian emigrants in Calcutta from Fiji Benarsi Das Chaturvedi writes:—There are at present in Fiji about 30,000 Indians who will lose their right to get a free passage if they do not exercise their right till December 31, 1930. The repatriation of these people to India will cost the Fiji Government something like £450,000 and the Fiji Government do not want to lose this sum. It is lawful for these immigrants to commute their rights of passage on such terms as may be offered by the Fiji Government as an equivalent to such passages. But it appears that the Fiji Government are trying to evade their responsibility in this matter and this is certainly discreditable on their part. . . . I invite the attention of the Government of India to this matter and hope that they will take it up immediately. The *Hamdam* is glad to note that the official deputation to South Africa has really done a great service in inducing among the politicians of that country a spirit of reasonableness and conciliatoriness. It says that Mahatma Gandhi will be the most suitable president of the proposed round table conference to be held at Cape Town and that if he does not accept the presidentship it should be offered to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The *Azad* deplores the miserable condition of returned emigrants from the colonies now scattered all over Calcutta and says:—If for some inexplicable reason the Government of India cannot help these unfortunate persons it should ask the Governments of different colonies to make arrangements for their free return.

Amended Devolution Rules.

The *Leader* writes:—We hasten to express our dissatisfaction with the amended Devolution Rules which, in effect, do no more, according to our understanding of them, than to give to Ministers, if and when they want, a financial adviser in the place of a joint finance secretary as provided in the original rules. The new rules providing for joint deliberation between the two halves of the Government when there may be important proposals of new expenditure are an improvement. But the sum total of the amendments effects no improvement worthy of mention in the position of Ministers. If diarchy must be kept alive for a few years more, we think that at the least the position of Ministers should be strengthened, and out of the major subjects which are still reserved, not only Forests but Irrigation also should be made over to Ministers. But in conditions that exist there can be little hope of any forward step being taken by a Government so strongly entrenched in power as is the Indian Civil Service Government of India.

Indian States.

In the course of its editorial article the *Rais* remarks:—Reports which are being received from the various parts of the country lead to the conclusion that the Government is unfavourably disposed towards the Indian States and *raises*. The abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha and the Holkar of Indore, and the Udaipur and Hyderabad incidents have made the position of the *raises* and the States critical. The commission appointed to modify the treaties has aggravated the situation. It is our duty to frustrate all attempts at destroying the existence of the Indian chiefs. It is the duty of every well-wisher of the country to direct his attention to the means adopted by the Government and a few thoughtless people to weaken and render critical the position of the rajas and the *raises*.

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ALLAHABAD:
July 31, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

31 AUG 1926
INDIA

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 31 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 7, 1926.

Foreign Affairs.

The *Sainik* warmly supports the aims of the Pan-Asiatic Society and the Great Federation of the Asiatic Races and says that their success will greatly benefit the world and will prevent the apprehended colour war. Commenting on Lord Birkenhead's reference to Afghanistan in his speech in the House of Lords the *Hamdam* thinks that the Afghan Government is in every way justified in constructing roads and increasing its air force for purposes of self-defence and says :—The present Amir is too wise to court hostility with a mighty power like Britain or to afford the Bolsheviks any opportunity for making mischief. Lord Birkenhead's remarks can be construed as a threat and as such had better been avoided. The *Medina* criticises the remarks recently made by the Director of Military Intelligence about the danger from Russo-Afghan relations and says that Afghanistan can never dream of ruling over India or any portion of it. These remarks are intended either to put an end to the movement for Indian independence or to incite Hindus against Muslims. In former times India had intimate relations with Afghanistan but the selfishness of Western civilization and the deceitfulness of politics have severed these relations in a trice and made Afghanistan a stranger to India. The propagandist historical literature of the West has inflamed the majority population of India against Muslims and has represented the neighbouring Muslim countries as a bogey. The defensive policy has, moreover, compelled the present rulers to provide themselves with means, other than military, which can be used with the help of Hindus in emergencies.

Viceroy's speeches.

Referring to the Viceroy's speech in reply to an address of welcome from the Muslims of the Bombay Presidency, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—Lord Irwin seems to think that the leaders must take the first step towards the restoration of peace and order. We have not heard of a more futile or perilous policy enunciated by the responsible head of a Government. What can the leaders do if the Government follows a policy of sitting on the fence and watching the fun? The Government stands thoroughly discredited in the eye of the public for having allowed riots to take place on such an extensive scale. Commenting on the Viceroy's speech at the Chelmsford Club the *Shakti* says :—It is surprising that the Viceroy should not find any need for abolishing the system of communal representation although he holds it to be disastrous. The Government may not encourage communal riots but our dissensions can, and do, prove beneficial to it and that is why it does not display that alertness in stopping the riots which it shows in the suppression of peace-loving patriots. The *Sadaqat* writes :—We do not say that Government incites Hindus against Muslims, but past experience shows that it has not taken adequate interest in suppressing communal riots, otherwise the evil would have been removed long ago. The *Hamdam* thinks that the address of welcome presented to the Viceroy in the name of the Muslims of Bombay was in fact presented only by a certain class of Muslims who have access to officials and the Muslims of Bombay in general had nothing to do with it. As the circumstances under which non-cooperation was resorted to have not altered, the Muslims consider it necessary to act according to the *fatwas* of their theologians so long as the wrong done to the sacred places of Islam is not rectified and the situation in the Jaziratul Arab does not improve.

The Secretary of State's speech.

Commenting on the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Lords, the *Leader* writes :—We will repeat what we said before, that the Hindus have no reason to be satisfied and

are not in fact contented with the manner in which at more places than one, in more provinces than one, on more occasions than one, they have been treated on the question of music before mosques. At least to this extent we cannot endorse the superlative encomiums of officials uttered by Lords Birkenhead, Reading and Irwin. Recent administrative acts have left much to be desired, and we suggest that the Government may save a little time from the composing of stately passages in praise of themselves and their officers for the not less important object of examining the acts of some of their officers and revising them where necessary in order to fulfil the claim of the equal and impartial treatment of both communities. The leaders of the communities may easily be blamed for the failure of their efforts to induce a friendlier state of inter-communal relations. But no non-official efforts are likely to succeed for as long as either of the communities can feel that it need make no concession to the other as it can rely upon the support of authority to its extravagant demands. We particularly wish Lord Irwin will bear in mind this important consideration. The *Aj* finds no commendable feature in Lord Birkenhead's speech and says that it only goes to disappoint the advocates of the attainment of full responsible government within the Empire by means of constitutional agitation. Continuing its comments on the subject in another issue, the paper remarks:—Indeed, there has not been such a novel and courageous experiment in any empire as has been made by the British in India in granting reforms. Surely the rulers of other empires were not so expert as the British Imperialists are in the art of giving without giving anything in reality. Former Imperialists were cruel as well as wicked but were not so well versed in crooked diplomacy as the British. In spite of the reactionary character of the Reforms, Lord Birkenhead is surprised that some people want to render them futile and ridiculous. We wonder at such an expression of his surprise and pity those who hope to work them successfully and to secure further reforms. The *Hamdam* prefers Lord Birkenhead's speech in the House of Lords to that of Earl Winterton and says Lord Birkenhead has held communal leaders responsible for the present communal disturbances in India. In view of the presence of prominent leaders like Dr. Moonje, Bhai Parmanand, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya our (Hindu) countrymen cannot refute this charge but, so far as Muslims are concerned, we very strongly repudiate it.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an editorial article the *Sudharak* remarks:—There is no room for doubt that the Government has not only an indirect hand in the communal tension but that it also derives satisfaction from it. The *Abhyudaya* publishes in its editorial columns an article communicated to it by Pandit Laxman Narain Garde, in the course of which he remarks:—No impartial person will deny that the communal disturbances at present rampant in India prove the unfitness of the British Imperialists for the good administration of India. It is equally indisputable that the more the *Swaraj* movement becomes vigorous the more is the impetus given to communal tension. If the Reforms Act had not introduced the disastrous system of separate electorates the country would not have witnessed the communal riots for the last three or four years. The *Aj*, while admitting that the "bureaucracy" is in earnest about putting down communal disturbances, holds that it is not equally anxious to remove the causes of communal tension. If it disapproves of communal disputes it should make a clear pronouncement that it will not encourage communal feelings in administration. It should make appointments to public services on the basis of merit and not on communal considerations. It should also abolish separate communal electorates and decide the questions of music before mosques and cow-sacrifice in the light of the recommendations of a commission which should be appointed to inquire into them. The *Bharat* remarks:—The incidents which are taking place these days are strengthening the impression of the Hindus that the Government cannot protect them, rather it strives to suppress them by siding with the Muslims. This has led them to the conclusion that if they do not retaliate upon the Muslims there is the danger of their being blotted out of existence. In another article the paper remarks that the *Swaraj* party of Bengal, its founder, its chief paper *Forward* and its present leader will ever be held responsible for all the crimes, wickedness, oppressions, meanness, and barbarism committed to-day against the Hindus in Bengal. With the exception of half-blooded Indian Muslim converts, there is none in the world who denies his ancestry. But these Muslim converts abuse the members of their own family and oppress them and are proud of Arabian blood. The swarajists cannot remove this ignorance by purchasing

votes in Councils and by selling their religion to them. The Hindu world doubts if those Hindus are true Hindus who are opposed to *sangathan*, are afraid of becoming members of the *Hindu sabha*, do not like to die for the protection of Hindu honour and wish to carry on a futile fight in the Councils. If Britain does not wish to annihilate the Hindus through non-Hindus, she should change her policy and act upon Queen Victoria's Proclamation and impartially and adequately punish the officials responsible for each irregularity because this is the only means of restoring peace. If Government wishes that India should be cleared of Hindus, all Hindus should leave the Councils and protect their home by standing on their own legs. We are, however, sure that the public of Great Britain is not so mean as the bureaucracy and its British directors. The *Sri Darpan* publishes an article under the heading "Indian Women and *Goondas*" communicated to it by Shrimati Urmila Devi, in the course of which she writes:—At the present time the wealth and the honour and everything else of the Indian women are in danger. The *goondas* are determined to dishonour them. Heart-rending reports of the abduction of Hindu women are received every day. It is a common thing for the *goondas* to violate their chastity. The Hindus cannot do anything to prevent this. Perhaps they will rely on the Government of India. But have they not yet realized from the attitude of the Government that it takes no action whatsoever in such matters? Hindus should, therefore, stand on their own legs. The *Bharat Jiwan* complains of atrocities perpetrated upon the Hindus by the Muslims at Calcutta on the occasion of the *Muharram*, of encourgement given to the *goondas* by the police and of non-interference of the authorities with the Muslim procession armed with *lathis* and weapons in defiance of the orders of the Police Commissioner and remarks:—We inquire of Lord Irwin whether this is impartiality. Does he dare to refute the charge of official bias in favour of the Muslims in the face of such behaviour of the authorities? The *Bhumihar Brahman* remarks:—How regrettable and shameful it is for the Hindu community that, in spite of its 33 crores of deities its members should worship the tombs of other religions? At present hundreds of thousands of such blind devotees are found among the Hindus as have greater devotion for *Pir*, *Shahid*, *Ghazi* and *Imam Saheb* than for the Hindu deities. Hindu religious leaders should realize that until the blind devotion of the illiterate Hindu public is destroyed, the call for the propagation of Hindu religion will prove a mere cry in the wilderness. The *Bharat Dharma* reproduces extracts from the speeches delivered at the anniversary of the provincial Jamait-ul-Ulema at Bombay to show how the Muslim speakers tried to incite their co-religionists against the Hindus and remarks:—This shows that they have forgotten the existence of British rule in India. Muslims are ready to follow the example of Aurangzeb and are throwing out a challenge to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, but they forget that along with Aurangzeb Shivaji is also born. We want to warn the Muslims that they will have to taste the bitter fruit of making such incitements. The *Abhyudaya* expresses its sympathy with the protest meetings held by the Arya Samajists all over the country on July 25, and remarks that by imposing restrictions upon Hindu processions accompanied by music as a result of Muslim threats or through fear of a disturbance the authorities are not only murdering Hindu rights but they are also proving themselves to be incapable of protecting the civic rights. The protest of the Arya Samaj constitutes a warning to the Government. If the authorities do not even now take a lesson they should not be surprised if the Hindus take recourse to such means for the protection of their rights as may not commend themselves to the authorities. In the course of a lengthy article discussing the attitude which the Muslims should adopt in view of the communal tension and disturbances the *Medina* writes:—Having acquired wealth and education and having organized their community the Hindus want to establish their political supremacy and with this end in view have thrown out a challenge to Muslims who are poor, uneducated, resourceless and disorganized. It is in order to overawe the Muslims that the Hindus have raised the questions relating to music, cows, language, representation, and government service. Hindus hope that these questions will lead to disintegration, poverty and cowardice among the Muslims and will help in the establishment of Hindu predominance, which means that the Muslims should remain in the country as Shudras. In these circumstances we exhort our co-religionists that instead of fighting over the question of music, breaking heads during *Muharram*, indulging in fights and bloodshed during festivals, creating disturbances during processions, wasting

money in the law courts and rotting in jails and dying through gun-fire, they should act with patience and forbearance and devote themselves to the improvement of their internal condition. They should promote education, trade and industry and organization in their community. If this is done, the time will be near when Hindus and other Indian communities will seek Muslim sympathy and help and will consider themselves lucky in having a pact with Muslims. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* vehemently condemns the murder, arson, rapine, desecration of mosques and temples, and other detestable crimes perpetrated by Hindus and Muslims in the name of religion. It says that by the commission of these crimes they have given proof of their inhumanity and have secured titles and *jagirs* from the enemies of the freedom of India and the opponents of the national union. Lord Olivier's letter confirms the opinion held by our leaders. Had it not been so, the Muslims would never have fought for trifles against the teachings of their religion. Islam does not enjoin the wounding of the hearts of one's neighbours and the desecration of the places of worship of other religions. The *Hind-i-Jadid* says:—There are many instances of the interest which the bureaucrats take in setting Hindus and Muslims by the ears. Our conviction is that if a spirit of real unity, fellowship, true toleration, and patriotic enthusiasm is fostered between these two communities, the bureaucracy will not find it so easy to have its own way and to use its autocratic powers. It is the fruit of the policy of "divide and rule" that at the slightest hint the two communities begin to dance like puppets. Apparently the bureaucrats preach friendship and union as if they were the angels of peace. But in reality their diplomacy and dissension-breeding tactics have razed to the ground the structure of communal unity and the country has been left miles behind the path of liberty. Will not the eyes of bigoted Indian leaders open even now and will not they realize that by fighting among themselves at the instigation of England they only strengthen the power of bureaucrats? Referring to the *communiqué* issued by the Government of Bengal on the question of music before mosques and to the protest meetings held by Hindus at Calcutta in that connexion, the *Najat* asks liberal Bengalis and other Indians to say if the only way to attain independence for India is to foster hatred between the two big communities and to force Government to impose restrictions on the freedom of their respective religions. It says that the foolish persons who assert that India cannot be free till Hindu *raj* is established are responsible for the mischief and riots occurring in India. Instead of establishing Hindu *raj* this movement will strengthen the fetters of the slavery of India; for it is possible that being compelled by the mischiefs created by wily Hindus, Muslims may dissociate themselves from the movement for liberty and, going over to the side of Government, may enable it to trample the organized strength of the Hindus which it considers fatal to the proper administration of India. *Al Bashir* remarks that there has been an astonishing increase in the number of new processions of the Hindus during the last fifty years. All of them are accompanied by music, but no restriction is placed on them while passing by mosques, even at the time of prayer. On the other hand Muslims are not allowed to perform cow-sacrifices even in their homes. There is no law which prohibits Muslims from performing cow-sacrifices without the permission of district magistrates. It is unjust that one community should be free to take out new processions on roads and the other should not be allowed to perform cow-sacrifices even in its homes. As it is a question of principle, the Muslims should unite in requesting the Government to settle it. Commenting on the Hindu-Muslim dissensions and specially the recent Calcutta riots, the *Rahnuma* remarks:—Government has failed to establish peace and in the present circumstances no one can assert that life and property are safe. No action has yet been taken on the suggestions made in the Viceroy's speech. It is high time that prominent leaders formed a conciliation board and with impartiality and justice tried to remove the causes of communal tension. *Aman Sabhas* should be established in each district under the patronage of district officers. It may be hoped that if *Aman Sabhas* and conciliation boards are established the recurring communal riots will cease. The *Hamdam* opposes Mr. Amar Nath Datta's resolution regarding the abolition of communal representation, as it thinks that this will not remove communal tension. It says:—The communal disturbances have been going on in India for about three or four years, whereas separate representation has been in existence for the last twenty years. The responsibility for the communal disturbances therefore does not lie with communal representation but with the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. Commenting on the demand of the Hindus that appointments to Government posts

should be made on considerations of merit alone and that no preferential treatment should be accorded to Muslims, the *Medina* calls attention to the difficulties which Muslims have to face even in competitive examinations and in cases where merit is declared to be the only passport to service. It says:—A Muslim, however able he may be, cannot get a post in an office the head-clerk of which is a Hindu. Similarly, so long as the examiners are mostly Hindus, a Muslim candidate cannot get through a competitive examination. If a Muslim gets an appointment through the impartiality of some Englishman, he is so overwhelmed with fear that he proves a failure. Referring to the case of Asghari Begum of Delhi who was converted to Hinduism under the name of Shanti Devi, the paper says:—If Hindu widows unable to control their passions elope with Muslims, then the whole Muslim community is branded. But if Arya Samajists establish kidnapping centres under the guise of widows' homes, then this action is regarded not only as legal but also as a service to the cause of womanhood. It is now well-known that these widows' homes are a menace to the honour of Muslims. The case of Shanti Devi proclaims by the beat of drum that organized raids are being made on the honour of Islam. It is to be regretted that in this civilized kidnapping method big mahatmas, sanyasis, doctors, and professors are also taking part. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that the object of the orphanages and homes for the widows controlled by the Arya Samajists is not merely to afford shelter to Hindu widows and children but also to shut up stray women and children of Muslims. It therefore urges the Government to keep an eye on these orphanages and homes for the widows so that the Arya Samajists may not get an opportunity to convert Muslim women and children. Commenting on Dr. Moonje's speech the *Haqiqat* says:—Dr. Moonje and the mischievous leaders of his calibre should realize that they are responsible for spreading communal fire in the country. The innocent blood of Hindu and Muslim victims to riots and disturbances will also lie on their heads. Dr. Moonje may escape punishment in this world for his misdeeds but he and his followers will surely be brought to book in the next world. *Al Burid* says that at such a critical time when one community is ready to break the head of another, provocative advice like that given by Dr. Moonje can produce no good result.

Political propaganda.

The *Bharat* says that perhaps in no free and civilized Government is justice being dragged to the mire as is being done in India at present. At times the Indian law courts present the scene of *Andher Nagari* (the city of injustices). Justice and truth have absolutely no value in the present administration of the law. In the course of an editorial note the *Vivek* says:—Indians only demand that the provincial administration and the central Government should be made responsible to the provincial Councils and the Assembly. We are told that we are wholly unfit even for this much and that it is only after many hundred years of training under the British that we can probably be fit for it. The reason is that we do not possess arms as other nations of the world do. In politics weakness means folly.

Ban on Malaviya and Dr. Moonje.

In the course of a lengthy editorial article on the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta forbidding Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to enter or remain in the city, the *Leader* writes:—The order will be read with feelings of surprise and indignation because it was such an order and also because it was promulgated against such a man. That Mr. Malaviya's presence in Calcutta was likely to lead to a disturbance of public tranquillity is an astounding proposition, as everyone will say who knows Pandit Malaviya and who also knows what is likely to and what will not, produce a riot. The effects of the order will be deplorable. The Hindu community all over India will feel themselves gravely wronged. It will not draw the two communities nearer; it will not bring the Hindus nearer the Government. We protest against it with all our might. In the circumstances of the case we approve of Pandit Malaviya's decision, opposed generally as we are and as he himself is, to disobedience of the orders of lawful authority. The *Pioneer* writes:—The Government of Bengal have rightly decided to defer for two months the pleasure of permitting their capital to afford hospitality to the two doughty partisans who might now ponder over the possibility of ensuring communal peace in their own sphere of influence.

The Indian National Union.

Referring to the manifesto issued by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad regarding the proposed Indian National Union, the *Pioneer* writes:—We give the

scheme a warm welcome and wish its promoters the completest success which they desire and deserve. It represents a real attempt to give a lead for the two communities to set their houses in order, responsive to the impressive appeal made by Lord Irwin at Simla. The *Leader*, while pessimistic regarding the success of the Union, remarks:—We shall watch the work and the growth of the Union with the greatest sympathy and shall wish that the best success may attend its laudable efforts. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The manifesto reveals as by a flash of light what any Indian Government would have done if India were self-governing. Our sincere congratulations must go to Pandit Motilal Nehru, who has laid the foundation of a new and great movement. Ay, the Pandit has brought together forces which will shortly be at work driving the people from various points of the compass to a common fold, animating them with a common purpose and preparing the minds of the public to think and act nationally with a view to bring about the early deliverance of our common motherland. The *Aj* notes with satisfaction that these leaders have recognized the fact that the mixing up of religion with politics has rendered the communal situation worse and urges that in order to wean politics from religion and communalism, it is absolutely necessary that the Congress leaders should declare separate communal electorates to be serious obstacles to national progress and strive to get the Lucknow Pact cancelled. The paper welcomes the idea of the establishment of the Indian National Union with the object of combatting communalism and urges that no delay should be allowed in giving effect to the scheme.

Music before mosques.

The question of music before mosques continues to be widely discussed on communal lines with a good deal of bitterness. In the course of its editorial article the *Hridaya* remarks:—The Government can if it chooses easily solve the question of music before mosques. If justice is done everything will be set right but 150 years (of British rule) have passed away in the hope of justice and yet we have not even heard its name. The Government had not the least hesitation in stopping the Nagar-kirtan and marriage processions of the Hindus accompanied by music at various places which encourages the ferocious *mullahs* and *maulvis* to plunder Hindus, burn their houses, and insult their women. The Hindus should now wake up and realize that forbearance, loyalty, and sacrifice are proving injurious to them and that if the existing situation continues they will soon be blotted out of existence. If our religion is as dear to us as our lives, if the glory of the memories of brave Banda, Maharana Pratap and Shivaji is still to be found in us let us declare unanimously that if the Government persists in its policy of partiality we will give up our love of life and enter the battle-field for sacrificing our lives at the altar of freedom. We will be prepared to face the severest repression, *lathis*, daggers, spears, and swords but will never allow our religious freedom to be usurped so long as there is any life left in our bodies.

Report of Currency Commission.

Referring to the "far-reaching" recommendations made in the report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance regarding the creation of a central bank, the *Pioneer* writes:—It is to be hoped that the significance of these changes will be generally recognized, for they involve in certain respects legislation which must be undertaken forthwith and it would be greatly to be regretted if so beneficial a measure were impaired or even destroyed by a lack of appreciation both of its reality and its wisdom.

Bribery.

In the course of the third instalment of a series of articles on bribery the *Sainik* says:—Of what use is the Government which cannot remove the corruption of its own servants? The most important cause of bribery is the present system of administration which is bad and vicious. How can bribery be stopped when the Government itself is bad? Government will do nothing to stop bribery. The people should, therefore, themselves take up the task of removing the evil by creating strong public opinion against those who offer and receive bribes.

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ALLAHABAD:
August 7, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

INDIA OFFICE
CLASS 2

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 32 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 14, 1926.

Currency Commission's Report.

Commenting on the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency the *Leader* writes:—We are not at all free from doubt, in spite of the arguments advanced by the Commission, if the stabilization of the exchange value of the rupee at 1*s.* 6*d.* will be advantageous to India. The arguments advanced by Sir Purshotamdas in favour of the 1*s.* 4*d.* rate are weighty and will appeal more to Indian public opinion than those of the majority. The recommendation for the issue of new notes to which no obligation for conversion into silver rupees should be attached, if accepted, is calculated to give rise to considerable misgiving among the people. Whatever practical and economic advantages there may be in this scheme, we have no doubt that its acceptance will shake the confidence of the public in the currency system. There will be neither gold currency nor silver currency, but virtually only paper currency. Silver will be only available for small change. We regard the recommendation about the establishment of a central bank as essentially sound. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The report of the Commission is as dull as the proverbial ditch water and will probably stagnate in some pit as has been the lot of the Fowler, Chamberlain, Smith and other currency commissions. Commissions and committees come and go, but India cannot get a sympathetic hearing for her apparently inarticulate voices and plaints either in Simla or in Downing Street. Quixotic schemes are hatched but no chickens come out of them. Now that the economic effects of the strike are beginning to be felt, there is a natural suspicion in India that the Currency Commission Report gives preponderant advantage to British interests. The *Aj* remarks that although the report is a thoughtful production it is disappointing for Indians. It has shown greater regard for the interests of Britain and Europe than those of India. On the whole, India would have benefited through the introduction of gold currency. The arrangements recommended by the Commission will result only in paper money being left in the country in critical times. It is doubtful whether the exchange rate of the rupee proposed by the Commission can be maintained in such times. The paper currency can be a sound currency only when the Government is national and is responsible to popular representatives, which is by no means the case in this country. In these circumstances we can never support the new policy which will only increase our helplessness and we trust that representatives of the people will vigorously oppose it in the Legislative Assembly. In another article the paper says: The public will lose faith in Government if the recommendations regarding the currency system are accepted. The best way to retain the confidence of the Indian public is to open a public mint either for gold or silver in this country. The *Anand* remarks: The increase in the exchange value of the rupee will hamper the development of the country's trade and commerce and multiply the difficulties of the public. It is, therefore, natural for the Indian public to share the view of Sir Purshotamdas that the Currency Commission has increased the exchange value of the rupee in the interests of Lancashire.

Ban on Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje.

The order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moonje has evoked strong and bitter protests in the entire Hindu press. The papers call attention to the pacific disposition of Pandit Malaviya and refuse to believe that his presence or speeches could ever lead to breach of peace. A number of papers also regard the order as a fresh proof

of Government's partiality towards Muslims in that no similar action has been taken against Muslim leaders like Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. Ghaznavi. The *Aj* says: The Hindus cannot but interpret the order as partiality. It is a grave injustice to ban the Pandit's entry into a place where anti-Hindu Muslim leaders like Sir Abdur Rahim and Haji Ghaznavi incessantly embitter Muslim feeling against the Hindus. We hope that the whole of India with one voice will protest against this glaring partiality and terrible injustice. In another issue the paper writes: The attempt to interdict Pandit Malaviya's entry into Calcutta under the pretext of preventing the spread of communal hatred is an abuse of law, an insult to India, an attack on liberty of speech and an indisputable proof of the perplexity of the authorities. The *Pratap* remarks: This is the limit of petty-mindedness aud partiality. It is no wonder if the Bengal authorities who are partners of secondary rank in Abdur Rahim, Ghaznavi and Co. should see the possibility of Hindu-Muslim estrangement in the visit to Calcutta of a leader of a peaceful disposition like Pandit Malaviya. The *Vartman* congratulates Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on violating section 144 and remarks that the laurels won by him represent the victory of the whole country. The *Abhyudaya* writes: The action of the Government shows that its madness is increasing day by day. Every thoughtful person will be of opinion that the imposition of a ban on Pandit Malaviya constitutes a blunder on the part of the Government. Not only every Hindu but every Indian considers the order to be insulting. We have no doubt that the Government will meet with discomfiture in this matter. The enforcement of section 144 in this manner amounts to the murder of law and justice. The *Anand* says that several Maulvis toured the whole of Bengal and incited the Muslim population and Muslim leaders too made venomous speeches against Hindus in Calcutta, but the Government did not raise its voice against them. On the other hand, it has interdicted the entry of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and of Dr. Moonje into Calcutta. Is this justice? Is this impartiality? The *Bharat* remarks: Those who are acquainted with Pandit Malaviya's political views and his peaceful disposition will declare that either the Government has gone mad or its bias in favour of the Muslims has reached the limit. If the Government suppresses the Hindus in this manner the responsibility for the terrible consequences of this action will be on the bureaucracy. The *Garhwali* remarks that the action of the Bengal Government supports the views expressed by Lord Olivier in the *Times* and will not lead to peace. There is no doubt that it betrays the partiality of the Bengal Government and proclaims the bankruptcy of its statesmanship. The *Surya* says: This action of the Bengal Government is absolutely foolish and furnishes a glaring example of partiality. The warning given to Pandit Malaviya not to disobey the order amounts to murder of courtesy and good manners.—So far very few Muslim papers have commented on the subject. While deploring the ban the *Hamdam* exhorts Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje to refrain from making such speeches as they recently delivered in Calcutta and which are sure to incite Hindus against Muslims. Some of Pandit Malaviya's recent speeches evince a spirit of peacefulness and tolerance, but it is a pity that whenever Dr. Moonje opens his lips he always incites the Hindus against Muslims. In another article the paper says:—If the Chief Presidency Magistrate exercises his legal powers against Pandit Malaviya excitement among the Hindus is bound to increase and the situation will grow worse. The *Sada-i-Muslim* deplores Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's action in refusing to obey the order forbidding his entry into Calcutta and says that the Government can itself judge the extent to which this action will lower its prestige in the eyes of Indians. If the Government of Bengal passed this order after deep deliberation it is its duty to punish adequately those who break it, otherwise the peace of the country will be endangered for ever. The *Oudh Akhbar* thinks that the Bengal Government's action will hinder the restoration of peace and order in the country, and says:—Pandit Malaviya's peaceful nature and speeches have been admired even by Muslims and the people of Calcutta have always welcomed him in these disturbed days as an apostle of peace. Dr. Moonje too only urged the Hindus and Muslims to organize themselves. Surely Government cannot take exception to this. The *Krishna* says that the application of section 144 against Pandit Malaviya really means the gagging of the entire Hindu community. The *Haqiqat* says:—By infringing the Government order Panditji has not only lowered the prestige of Government but displayed moral courage which has shed lustre on his popularity and reputation. Has not the Government realized its folly even after Panditji's visit to Calcutta and his bold speech there?

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Bharat Jiwan* writes:—If a Hindu speaker or writer says anything to instil life into his lifeless brethren the Government forthwith gags him. But a Muslim leader or anybody else can say anything he likes with impunity. The other day a Muslim fakir stated at the meeting of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* in Bombay that Muslims were prepared to cross swords with Hindus, that if Malaviyaji wished he might ask five hundred Hindus to fight with five hundred Muslims and then see who left the field. We want to know what this means. Is this not likely to create racial hatred and blood-thirsty excitement? Is it because the speaker is a Muslim that he is not arrested? If this is not the "policy of partiality" of the Government what else is it? Commenting on the manifesto issued over the signatures of Mr. Zahur Ahmad and Maulana Vilayat Husain the *Abhyudyaya* remarks:—This manifesto can have only one object, namely, that the Collector of Allahabad may get frightened by the idle threat of the Muslims and may take it that if the Hindus play music before mosques the Muslims will oppose it at the risk of their lives. Let us see where Mr. Crosthwaite hides himself through fear of this threat. The *Arya Mitra* refers to the reports of the abduction, murder and the violation of the chastity of Hindu women by *goondas* and regrets that nothing is being done by the Hindus to counteract these atrocities. It exhorts Hindu women themselves to take steps in their self-defence and remarks:—If any *goonda* looks at you with an evil eye take his eyes out and if he extends his hand towards you cut it. In another article the paper remarks that the resolutions passed by the Arya Samajists at their meetings held on July 25, ought to have made it plain to the Government that its violation of the pledge of religious neutrality and impartiality by stopping *nagarkirtan* processions has caused grief to the Arya Samajists and to bring home to it that if justice is not done they will be prepared to undergo all kinds of sacrifices. Proceeding the paper says:—The entire Hindu population is with the Arya Samajists. However, passing of resolutions is not enough. They should even now devise means for the success of a non-violent movement if it is ever launched out. The Arya Samajists should be ready to translate into action every word of the resolutions passed by them and to sacrifice even their lives in the defence of their religion. The *Arya Musafir* says that the Government of India has furnished an indubitable proof of its partiality for Muslims by imposing restrictions on the Arya Samajist *nagarkirtans* and the playing of music before mosques. The *Arya Samaj* is a living community and so long as a single child of it is alive the Arya Samajist *nagarkirtans* cannot possibly be stopped while Muslims continue to observe their *Moharram* and *Bakrid* joyfully. The *Aj* heartily supports the protests of the *Arya Samaj* against the stoppage of their *nagarkirtans* at various places and condemns the official policy which countenances such unjustifiable actions. It points out that when the followers of all other creeds can propagate their teachings without let or hindrance it does not stand to reason that the *Arya Samaj* alone should be deprived of this right. *Al-Bashir* regards the attitude of the Hindu press as unreasonable and says:—Since the inauguration of the reforms scheme communal prejudice has been accentuated. After the failure of the non-cooperation movement the leaders who sought fame and honour found an easy means of winning eminence by fanning communal hatred. The question of music before mosques though ostensibly a religious one has in fact been raised to secure leadership and success at the elections.

The Land Revenue and Agra Tenancy Bills.

The *Leader* criticizes the attitude of the zamindars with regard to Land Revenue Bill and says:—By their unwise action the zamindars have injured none but themselves and have thrown away valuable rights which were being conceded to them. The concessions might possibly be regarded as too generous by a democratic section of Indian politicians. But the zamindars by their action showed that they would not look at them. We are sorry for them. The *Sainik* writes: The message which the Governor of the United Provinces sent on July 29 in connexion with the Agra Revenue Bill enable many of our brethren (zamindars) who live in fool's paradise to realize their helplessness. In dealing with the tenants they should act on the principle of "mutual aid" and not on the pernicious doctrine of "struggle for existence." We deplore the timorousness of the Government for in spite of its wish to grant occupancy rights to all tenants it could not do so for fear of zamindars. Is there any limit to such weakness? The Government could have carried out its wish with the help of Swarajists. It has given concessions to zamindars after cutting the throats of occupancy tenants. The

Governor has displeased everybody. If he had the moral courage to act on his opinion he could have pleased at least the tenants and the Swarajists. The Governor's message has convinced the zamindars that the councils are a mere sham. By the use of his special powers the Government can set at naught the opinion of the whole council. The welfare of the rich and the poor, the *kisans* and the zamindars, princes and subjects lies in the establishment of *Swaraj*. The *Aj* says that a fresh example, if one was still needed, of the hollowness of reforms has been furnished by the action of the Governor of these provinces in sending messages to the Legislative Council recommending the passage of the Agra Tenancy Bill and the Land Revenue Bill on certain specified lines. "These orders" show that public opinion has no value and that the councils are mere toys to wheedle children. The action of the Governor implies that the Legislative Council has no more importance than that of a mere advisory body. The co-existence of an autocratic ruler and a representative body is an impossibility and the attempt to render it possible only proves to be an insult to the people and promotes discontent. *Al Adl* thinks that the Tenancy Bill will not help much in improving the relations of zamindars and tenants. In enforcing this Act the apparent aim of the Government is to stop ruinous litigation and frequent ejectment. If the Government succeeds in achieving this object the Act will prove to be an invaluable blessing to the country. The *Aziz-i-Hind* regrets that the policy of Government was consistently hostile to the zamindars and says:—A complete hold of the Swarajists over the tenants and destruction of the influence of the zamindars will have a bad effect on the next elections. Commenting on the Governor's message recommending reconsideration of certain amended sections of the Agra Tenancy Bill *Al Khalil* remarks:—At this stage of the council proceedings this message was altogether unconstitutional. It shows that the council and its discussions are a mere plaything, that constitutional reforms are a mere farce and that Government's proposals have to be carried out literally. Government may well take pride on the passage of this Bill, but the zamindars should take a lesson from it for the future.

Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on the speech delivered by Lord Irwin at the Chelmsford Club the *Hridaya* accuses Government of following a pro-Muslim policy and remarks: Lord Irwin has supported the authorities instead of warning them and condemning the inaction and negligence displayed by them. His Excellency may refute the charge that the Government derives satis faction from the communal riots, but we cannot help stating that British rule in India is based on communal riots and that the Government does not want that there should be unity between the Hindus and Muslims. The *Mashriq* commends Lord Irwin's speech at the Chelmsford Club to those who charge Britain with following a policy of "divide and rule" and says:—Does not the speech show that the accusation is wholly wrong? Even after hearing the words of Lord Irwin can any one say that religious disturbances are not a cause of trouble to Government?

Indian States.

The Muslim press is indignant over the news regarding the Government's communication to the Nizam as published in the *Daily Mail* of Bombay. The *Hamdam* says that if the news is correct it would appear that Lord Reading's repressive policy towards Indian states is still being followed. We wonder how His Excellency the Viceroy has been induced to make complaints regarding the internal affairs of Hyderabad when so far as treaties and agreements are concerned the relations between the Nizam and his Government and the British Government stand on the same footing as those between the latter and the rulers of Afghanistan and Nepal, who have full liberty and power to act as they like in their internal affairs. Charges of sale of offices, corruption of judicial officers, and ill-treatment of brothers, sisters, daughters, jagirdars and zamindars, are so vague that they can be levelled against any ruler. So far as the propagation of Islam is concerned the Government of India should not have any cause of complaint inasmuch as it itself spends lakhs of rupees over missionaries every year. The real cause of these charges is that the dismissal of the European officers one by one has annoyed the Government. The *Medina* sarcastically observes that the appointment of black-skinned men in place of white-skinned ones on high posts is certainly a sin for which every Indian state from one end to the other should be blown out with guns. If the ultimatum had ended only with this "white" demand it would have aroused suspicion in the minds of Indians and it is for this reason that concocted charges of taking presents, doing injustice to petty jagirdars, following a wrong system of administration and

excesses of state servants have been tacked on to it. Lord Irwin has lost no time in gagging those who charge the Government of India with partiality for Muslims. We congratulate the Government of India on its prescribing the remedy of the appointment of English officials for the betterment of the Hyderabad state, but there are some perverse persons in India and probably in the majority who say :—Huzoor, better cure the ailments of the places under your control, the states will look after themselves. The *Aj* expresses the hope that the Government of India will not be frightened by the threat of the *Muslim Outlook* into abandoning the performance of its duty to get reforms effected in the administration of the Hyderabad State. Referring to the allegation that the Nizam has spent lakhs of rupees in the propagation of Islam the *Vartman* remarks :—The pecuniary help given by the Nizam to excitable mullahs and maulvis has spoilt them and they have tried by fair means or foul to propagate Islam. The Nizam should have withdrawn his hand when Hindu-Muslim tension was found to be increasing. The *Anand* remarks :—There is no doubt that the Nizam's administration is most irresponsible and that his Hindu subjects have to undergo great sufferings on account of his fanaticism. Barring the question of the employment of British officials we are of opinion that all other decisions of the Government are proper and the Nizam should reform his administration in the light of the orders of the Government of India. Otherwise the day will not be far off when the British Government will have to dethrone the Nizam in order to destroy fanaticism and despotism.

The Indian National Union.

Commenting on the proposal of Pandit Motilal Nehru for the establishment of the Indian National Union the *Bharat* remarks :—We also want that the Hindu-Muslim quarrels may soon be ended, but the object for which our Congress moderates and swarajists want to end them is not right. We think it is impossible to end the quarrels without *sangathan* and fear that by the establishment of this new union some other pact may come into existence to destroy the Hindus. All these schemes which have hitherto emanated from the swarajists' factory have proved foolish and useless. We request our countrymen to beware of swarajists schemes. The *Medina* warmly welcomes the manifesto issued by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad but deplores that the bigoted and blind Arya Samajist press has not welcomed this auspicious movement with the same delight. It says :—The plight to which India has been reduced by the *shuddhi* movement of the Arya Samajists, the *sangathan* of Malaviya and the *tanzim* and *tabligh* movements is disgraceful for Indians and no self-respecting and sober man will ever like to live in a country where people can sacrifice their freedom, nationalism and humanity for the sake of the horns of cows, the branches of the *peepal* tree, the leaves of the *tulsi* plant, the sound of drums and pieces of bamboos used in making *taziaz*. The communal conflict has cost both Hindus and Muslims dearly. The *Haqiqat* warmly supports the Union but is sceptical about its success.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* publishes "An appeal to the teachers of the country" over the signature of Babu Sitla Sahai, Secretary, United Provinces Khadi Board, who exhorts the teachers of primary and middle schools to instil patriotism into the minds of children in their charge and to persuade all people about them in view of their poverty to give up the use of foreign cloth and patronize khaddar so as to provide useful employment to the poor and the idle in the countryside. The *Vivek* publishes an article under the heading "A dream" by Srimati Uma Nehru in which "Mother India" is represented as deploring the exploitation of India by foreigners, which has resulted in the utter physical, economic, moral and social degradation of its inhabitants. "The Indians gladly tolerate the insults offered by their rulers and their kicks, the plunder of all material wealth, their moral ruin and the trampling of political rights, but consider the fulfilment of the wishes of their brethren as against their religion and prestige.....These eyes have witnessed the fall of many civilizations and the extinction of many great nations, but they have never beheld thirty crores of civilized, industrious and brave people dancing like puppets in this manner in the hands of a handful of foreigners. The foreign rule is destroying my children in the same manner in which moths enamoured of light are destroyed by it."

Agra University Bill.

The *Leader* strongly criticizes the Agra University Bill and says :—The needs of the country require the best type of modern universities—unitary and teaching universities—well

staffed and well equipped. Three-quarters of a century ago, when Universities were first founded, the needs of the country were different. These institutions have long outgrown their days of usefulness. In our considered opinion the supporters of the Agra University Bill have done no service to the province. At this stage of advance in university education we regard the Agra University Bill as a retrograde measure. The *Aj* remarks that it is a mere waste of time and money to increase the number of universities at the present time. If even three-fourths of the money spent on higher education were devoted to primary and industrial education much real good could be done to the province and the country in these days of unemployment. It is surprising that both administrators and legislators are heedlessly making provisions to increase the number of the educated unemployed, but are making no earnest efforts to reduce unemployment.

Music before mosques.

The question of music before mosques continues to be discussed on communal lines. Referring to Sir Ali Imam's advice to the Muslims of Bihar not to insist on the stoppage of music before mosques the *Hamdam* says that it is not one of those who regard the Muslim demand for the stoppage of music before mosques at all times as justified. The *Shariat* does not enjoin Muslims to insist on the stoppage of music, but when the playing of music is intended as an insult to Islam the religious injunction of the Muslim on the subject also undergoes a change. Sir Ali Imam's advice is worthy of being followed by every Muslim, but it is not the question of music before mosques, but the offensive spirit of the Hindus which is really responsible for the present tension. Even if the Muslims give up this question there is no guarantee that the Hindus will not set up another claim with a view to assert their supremacy.

Reforms.

Commenting on Lord Birkenhead's reference to Reforms the *Mashriq* says:—To grant further reforms without giving equal rights to the Hindus and the Muslims will be to court disturbances and to furnish material for a mutiny. Both the communities are entitled to equal rights. Local bodies and Legislative Councils bear witness to the fact that the treatment which is being accorded to the Muslims is unjust and unholy. The Government should either revert to the constitution which was in force ten years back, or should grant equal rights to the two communities. It is of primary importance that no Indian should be put in charge of a district. Disturbances are created in the districts which are in charge of Muslims. Our opinion that this country does not deserve self-government is receiving confirmation from all quarters.

Lord Olivier's letter.

Commenting on Lord Olivier's letter the *Najat* remarks:—The unfortunate Indians do not understand that Government neither favours Hindus nor sympathises with Muslims for it shapes its policy in accordance with the exigencies of the situation. In current matters it favours and helps the community that serves its interests better. It is essential that sensible Hindus should understand this for if they believe in Lord Olivier's statement they are bound to be inclined towards Government.

Muslims affairs.

Commenting on the decision of the Shias of Lucknow to wait upon the Viceroy with a deputation to request him to warn Ibn Saud against perpetrating atrocities in the Hedjas the *Najat* says that excepting the Shias few Muslims of other denominations will agree with the decision which has been arrived at in the Lucknow meeting. This being the case it is nothing short of fraud and deception to make this request on behalf of the general Indian Muslim public. The majority of Muslims do not regard Ibn Saud as a slave of Englishmen like Amir Feisul and the Shah of Iraq and Karbala.

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ALLAHABAD:
August 14, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

14 SEP 1926
INDIA

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 33 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 21, 1926.

Viceroy's speech.

The *Leader* writes:—Lord Irwin's address to the Indian Legislature was a model of conciseness. He referred to the communal question in words which were marked by sincerity and which should appeal to the higher sensibilities of members of both the communities. The policy which he has more definitely announced in respect of communal claims and rights will be welcomed by all right-thinking Indians. With one exception, no Local Government appeared to have a policy which can be described as just, strong, and consistent . . . The demand for the stoppage of music before mosques is of recent origin and is a novel one. Several competent Muhammadans have declared that it has not the sanction of their religion. When such an unreasonable and untenable demand is sought to be enforced in some places by violence or threats of violence, it is the clear duty of the Administration to protect the law-abiding citizen in the unhampered pursuit of his lawful avocations and not to yield to threats of force or to follow what may appear to them to be the line of least resistance. The principles of action have been clearly laid down and it is for the local authorities courageously and impartially to enforce them. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The speech of His Excellency has a ring of sincerity about it. He speaks with the feeling of a man who approaches the Indian problem with a certain amount of reverence. There is, however, nothing new or original in the speech for lengthy discussion.

Ban on Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje.

The order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moonje continues to be the chief topic of strong comments in the Hindu press, which generally regards it as evidence of bankruptcy of statesmanship of the Bengal Government and of its pro-Muslim bias. In the course of a note headed "The End of a Comedy" the *Pioneer* congratulates the Bengal Government on its withdrawal of the charges against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and says: "It is sufficient that further material for the laughter of the impious has been withheld." The *Republic* writes:—Nobody could imagine the mild and inoffensive Pandit Malaviya falling a prey to official displeasure. We fail to understand what "blessed" law and order is maintained by gagging and restricting the movements of an accredited leader like Panditji. We appeal to our leaders to sink their trifling differences and liberate our motherland from the clutches of the bureaucracy. The *Sainik* is surprised that action should have been taken against a leader like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya whose love of peace even his worst enemies cannot doubt. This action is bound to have an adverse effect on the communal tension. But how could this occur to the Government which resorts to tricks and whose interest lies in the increase of communal tension? These tricks cannot, however, prolong the lease of life of the bureaucracy. The *Surya* writes:—The efforts made by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to defend the Government against the charge of partiality for Muslims have been nullified by the Bengal Government. Either to please the Muslim members of the Councils or for some other reasons, no action is taken against Sir Abdur Rahim, Dr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Ghaznavi whose speeches and activities are obviously contributing to the growth of communal tension and riots. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* says:—It is to be regretted that the Bengal Government cannot distinguish between a friend and a foe. Mr. Malaviya is a well-wisher of Government and has always been trying to establish good relations between the rulers and the ruled. The Bengal Government has put an ugly blot on its statesmanship. The *Najat* says:—

Malaviyaji and his followers have found a good opportunity for the organization of their community and are utilizing their time in carrying on a misleading propaganda for the next Council elections. They call themselves responsivists, but in fact they are trying to lead the people at break-neck speed on the path of treachery to the country. In another article the paper says: The special treatment accorded to Malaviyaji's party clearly indicates that Malaviyaji's personality is above the jurisdiction of law, for he rendered meritorious services during the non-cooperation movement, created discord among Hindus and Muslims, and is expected to lead the votaries of Government at the next Council elections. In view of such a big advantage, why should Government care to respect the law itself and to have it respected by others? It would have been better if it had not applied section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and saved itself from this humiliation. We can boldly assert that the policy of Government is behind all the activities of Pandit Malaviya and it is on the strength of Government that he is freely displaying his knowledge of law and independence of thought. The preferential treatment accorded to Mr. Malaviya will surely encourage others and increase the chances of Government being discredited. The *Medina* says that both Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje are sworn enemies of Muslims and prefer slavery under the British to liberty based on equitable relations with Muslims. In their efforts to provoke the Hindus and to defame Muslims they do not scruple to murder truth, fairness and justice. The effect of the action taken against these two leaders will, however, be to make them more popular among the Hindus and to increase the strength of the responsivists and to rout the swarajists at the next elections. The *Bedar* remarks that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is now in Calcutta carrying on a propaganda for throwing the residents of Arabia into the sea. If, following the example of other patriots, he is courting arrest and imprisonment, he should remember that incarceration for narrow-mindedness and bigotry is quite different from imprisonment for the sake of one's right and freedom. It is his object to create universal aggressive ill-feeling against the Muslims in the minds of the Hindus. *Al Khalil* remarks:—The bold and open defiance of the order under section 144 by Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje has revealed the true plight of the Government. Their conviction under section 188, Indian Penal Code, cannot remove its weakness. There will be agitation and Government will be faced with greater difficulties because it is not the non-violent non-cooperation movement but the *sangathan* movement which is backed up by mischief. The *Sada-i-Muslim* exhorts the Muslims to learn from Pandit Malaviya the way to uphold national honour and to cow down even the most tyrannical Government. By establishing *Mahabir dals*, *akharas* and Hindu *sabhas* the Pandit has been able to defy the most drastic measures of the Government. If Muslims want to bring down the Government to its knees and to acquire strength enough to infringe its laws, the best course for them would be to organize and strengthen themselves and develop a spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of their community. Commenting on the remark of the *Hindu* that the Muslim press is jubilant over the ban on Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, the *Hamdam* says that no important Muslim journal, except the *Muslim Outlook*, has viewed this order with approval. The *Hindu* will, however, have to admit that the sort of speeches which Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje have delivered at various places can be regarded as extremely detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of the country and as such officials could not shirk for any considerable length of time their duty to maintain public peace.

Currency Commission.

Indian papers generally view the recommendations of the Currency Commission with suspicion and express the fear that if given effect to they will benefit British manufacturers at the expense of Indian agriculture and industries and leave paper money alone in the country. The *Daylight* writes:—The Government of India have laid themselves open to the charge of siding more with the English manufacturers than with the Indian. They have handled the currency affairs in a manner which has raised a not unreasonable suspicion in the minds of the Indian manufacturers and the general public that Indian industrial interests do not receive the attention and sympathy at the hands of the British and Indian Governments that they deserve. This suspicion cannot but be strengthened by the commission not agreeing to fix the ratio at 1*s.* 4*d.* The *Aj* contends that the exchange value of the rupee proposed by the Currency Commission is not only unnatural but also prejudicial to the interests of India, as it will result in the Indian markets being glutted with foreign goods. The savings accruing to the Government by the adoption of the exchange rate at 1*s.* 6*d.* will be nothing as

compared with the loss suffered by the indigenous industries and agriculture. The *Surya* expresses a similar view. The *Hindi Kesari* is of opinion that the report of the Commission will accentuate the discontent in India. The recommendation of the Commission regarding the conversion of the proposed new notes will result in the silver currency of the country being replaced by paper currency and all the gold in the country being transferred to foreign countries.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to Lord Birkenhead's remark that the Lucknow Pact had brought with it not peace but a sword and that the system of communal representation tends to stereotype the communal line of cleavage, the *Leader* writes:—Is it not the duty of British statesmen, as also of Indian nationalists, to strive for the abolition or modification of a system which has admittedly been a fruitful source of mischief? These communal riots, while they are a disgrace to both communities, also discredit the administration. In the course of an editorial article the *Adarsha Hindu* remarks:—To-day a great calamity has overtaken the Hindu religion. Even in this twentieth century quite a Nadirshahi or Aurangzebshahi (despotism) is rampant. A power is working among the Muslims from one end of the country to another which has kindled in their hearts a fire for the propagation of Islam, with the result that they are determined to destroy the Hindus. At some places riots break out, Hindu houses are burnt, the property of the Hindus is plundered and their villages are destroyed and, at others, Hindu women are abducted and dishonoured and innocent Hindu children are forcibly converted to Islam. Have the Muslims resolved to raise the flag of *jehad*, to annihilate twenty-two crores of Hindus, and to convert India into a Muslim stronghold? It appears to be so . . . If in the near future efforts are not made for the establishment of a big Hindu league, the Hindu community will only exist in the pages of history and it will be only the Muslims and the Christians who will be seen everywhere in this holy land of India. The *Vivek* refers to the communal tension in the country and opines that the suggestion of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to remedy it by means of disenfranchisement will only go to place one more weapon of repression in the hands of the bureaucracy which is sure to abuse it for political purposes. The fresh effort of the Government to promote Hindu-Muslim unity has taken the form of the application of section 144 against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. We fail to understand how anybody can hope to promote Hindu-Muslim unity by such orders. It can be no matter for wonder if we doubt the honesty of purpose of high and responsible officials who adopt such a course. If the Bengal Government is privy to it, we can only reach the conclusion that either the Government is not honest and does not want to establish harmonious relations between Hindus and Muslims or it does not know the right way to do it. In both the cases our duty is plain, namely, that we should hope for nothing from Government in this connexion and should ourselves strive to settle amicably our disputes. The *Gyanshakti* opines that although friendship can exist between a Hindu and a Muslim the two communities cannot have one common organization. The Indian National Congress is, therefore, incapable of doing any good to the Hindu community or the country. The Hindus should not waste their time in the Congress but should join the Hindu *sabha*. Referring to the Hindu allegation that Muslim intelligentia had a secret hand in the Bengal disturbances, the *Sada-i-Muslim* says that there can be no peace in the country so long as wicked Hindus carry on their propaganda in this way. It is really communities other than the Muslim that are working behind the scenes. Muslims ought to guard themselves against the foul propaganda of the non-Muslims.

Indian States.

The communication of the Government of India to the Nizam continues to be widely discussed, generally on communal lines. Muslim papers warn the Government that any strong action taken against the Nizam will cause serious discontent and agitation among Muslims. Hindu papers, on the other hand, say that in view of the reported mal-administration in the State and especially of the oppression to which Hindus are subjected there, the Government of India would be thoroughly justified in taking severe steps against the Nizam. Referring to the Government of India's statement that its previous communication to the Nizam did not include the charge of the utilization of public money for Islamic propaganda, the *Pratap* remarks:— The Government of India has been well-advised in making this explanatory statement. In its communication the Government

may not have referred to the expenditure on Islamic propaganda but those who are acquainted with the methods of the Nizam are aware of his extravagance in this direction. The *Arya Mitra* remarks:—It will have to be admitted that the Nizam's administration at present is not satisfactory. The majority of his Hindu subjects are tired of his communal bigotry. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks:—The majority of the Indian States are still living in the mediaeval age. They take pride in treating their subjects as brutes and in this respect the Muslim States have earned greater notoriety than the Hindu States. Bhopal, Hyderabad, and other Muslim States have become notorious for their misdeeds. There is no doubt that the Nizam has thoroughly betrayed his imprudence and administrative incapacity. But he has been administered the bitter pill which he needed. Other Indian Chiefs should take a lesson from this and beware. The *Sada-i-Muslim* contends that the Government of India cannot itself plead not guilty to the charge of the sale of offices, bribery and corruption and of the propagation of religion, which it has levelled against the Nizam. The only fault of the Nizam is that he has demanded the restoration of Berar. If the Government of India takes any action against the Nizam, it will raise to the highest pitch the sorrow and indignation of every Muslim. The Muslims of India should leave no stone unturned to help the Hyderabad State. Referring to the alleged demand for the appointment of Europeans to high posts in the Hyderabad State, the *Haqiqat* says:—It is evident that the pensioned civilians of British India cannot get better posts than the few prize posts of the State. The Government's object is to entrust the State to the care and management of European officers and thus gradually to deprive the Nizam of his powers. The *Oudh Punch* compares the Government of India to the monkey who gave a bag of gram to a hungry sepoy on condition that if he ever refused to obey his behests he would have a big piece of flesh from his throat as penalty and says that the only difference between the two is that the monkey's victim was a hungry man, while the victims of the Government of India are Indian States. The bag of gram in their case does not exist in reality, but only in words added before and after their names. At present the piece of flesh has been demanded from the Hyderabad State. The *Mashriq* tries to refute the charges against the Nizam's Government and says that as a well-wisher of the Government of India it would advise Lord Irwin not to darken his bright *regime* and to alienate seven crores of Muslims by following such a policy. The *Aj* remarks that it is the height of cruelty that the Princess of Bastar is not being allowed to marry according to her inclination and those of her mother. Such interference of the Government in the domestic affairs of a princely family is not only wholly improper but also inhuman. It is to be hoped, that Lord Irwin, who is said to be a God-fearing man, will not allow such an injustice.

Indian National Union.

The *Bharat* insinuates that the proposal of Pandit Motilal Nehru regarding the formation of the Indian National Union is a move, like the formation of the Bengal Pact, calculated to bring about the annihilation of the Hindus and warns the Hindus not to commit themselves to any pact or organization without weighing its pros and cons. The *Pratap* welcomes the National Union and believes that if it is conducted on the proposed lines it will allay the existing communal tension and promote feelings of nationalism. It is, however, sceptical about the success of the union, as the forthcoming elections are likely to be run on communal lines. *Al Barid* remarks :—There can be no doubt that this is the only remedy to cure the existing communal disease, but there are most serious difficulties in its way. The rules framed for the members of the proposed union are very useful and essential for promoting fellowship and unity between the two communities but care should be taken that justice is not made the target of bigotry and obstinacy.

Music before mosques.

The *Dabir* publishes a communication from Khwaja Hasan Nizami to the effect that the question of music before mosques has really no substance in it and that the Aryasamajists have involved the Muslims in it simply with a view to divert their attention from matters of greater importance. If Muslims do not object to the playing of music, all the designs of the Aryasamajists will be frustrated. The *Haqiqat* exhorts Muslims to prefer Khwaja Hasan Nizami's views to those of Mr. Ghaznavi and says:—It does not become true Muslims to narrow the outlook of Islam and to quarrel with non-Muslims over trifles. If the Muslims do not abandon their obduracy regarding the playing of music before mosques there

will be difficulty in the construction of new mosques within the inhabited portions of cities; for it is obvious that in order to please Muslims no restrictions can be imposed on the passage of religious and non-religious processions of non-Muslims through public roads. While welcoming the change in Khwaja Hasan Nizami's views the *Arya Musafir* says:—There is surely something suspicious in the affair. This sudden change in the views of Hasan Nizami and other Muslim leaders has some significance. Have they received any orders from above that the demand for the stoppage of music before mosques cannot be entertained for long or is it that seeing the patience and forbearance of the Hindus at an end, Muslims have thought it advisable to beat a retreat? The *Medina* ridicules those Aryasamajists who seek to prove that Islamic scriptures do not prohibit music before mosques and says:—We wish that Hindus decided this matter in accordance with Islamic injunctions; for not to say anything about the jarring music it is laid down in the *Shariat* that while congregational prayers are going on in a mosque even the *Quran* should not be read aloud.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* refers to the thinness of attendance in the House of Commons on the occasion of the recent debate on India and remarks:—What a fine use they make of their power who hold the destiny of thirty-two crores of people in their hands! Still they are not ashamed to talk of their trusteeship. The sacred duties of Parliament are surely discharged if they support the man on the spot in his arbitrary administration. The fact that Parliament paid greater attention to India during non-cooperation days shows that India will benefit really from non-cooperation and not from co-operation. Under the heading "The Condition of the Country" the *Virek* publishes sarcastic notes on the military, economic and civil administration and the communal question in the country and says:—The military administration is so efficient that our armies are posted from Egypt to China and are helping in the maintenance and expansion of the British Empire. They crushed the national agitation in Egypt and prevented that country from freeing itself from British suzerainty. What can be a greater glory to our armies than this, that they destroyed other nations and brought them under British domination? We spend about 78 crores of rupees overtly and 10 or 12 crores of rupees covertly over these armies. . . It is true that our armies do not protect our life, property, and honour from the injustices and atrocities of other countries. We are treated as untouchables in every country including England. No country could quietly bear the miserable position which we have within the British Empire itself. But when we are a part of the British Empire and our armies help it so much, why should we find it disagreeable to spend so much money on them and should not hold that the military arrangements of our country are incomparable? The English imperialists have made excellent economic arrangements too. This country has to arrange its industry and products in such a manner as not to injure other parts of the Empire. It can only produce raw material, while the other parts of the Empire turn it into finished products. There is nothing objectionable in this division of labour. It is only with a view to benefit other parts of the Empire that we suffer losses in our imports and exports, for are we not a partner of the Empire? . . . What can be greater disinterestedness than this, that though realizing that our mutual communal wrangles are the greatest source of strength to the foreign rule, Lord Irwin still desires to put an end to them?

The United Provinces municipalities.

Reviewing the United Provinces municipal report for 1924-25 the *Aj* says that the practice of provincial Government monopolizing the larger portion of the taxation and making grants out of it to the local bodies is undesirable for it seriously affects their position. They have to become dependent upon the provincial Government even for their ordinary needs and the consequent pressure of the bureaucracy upon them becomes so great that their evolution is checked. It would be more natural if the local bodies controlled all the local taxation, including land revenue, and assigned a fixed portion of it to the provincial Government. In another issue the paper holds that it is the Municipal department of the provincial Government which is mostly responsible for the deplorable condition of municipalities specially of their water-works. These water-works are constructed and run on such unbusiness-like lines that they are not only not self-supporting but absorb large amounts of money reserved for other works of public utility such as maintenance of roads. The condition of

the municipalities can be improved only if the Government curtails its expenditure on administration, releases the municipalities from their monetary obligations and allows them to carry on their future works on business lines.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* appeals to all Muslims to sink their differences and to adopt a common programme with regard to the Hedjaz problems, as it is the religious duty of every Muslim to strive for the sanctification and freedom of that country. This is a question of life and death for Indian Muslims. The *Mashriq* complains that Muslims are being treated unjustly by Government. They do not get posts even in the proportion in which the Government professes to appoint them because Government itself does nothing but has to depend upon the reports of its subordinates who consider it their duty to create dissensions between the Hindus and the Muslims and who think that the Muslims and Christians have no right. The only remedy for all this is that the Muslims should agitate for equal rights. In view of their importance Muslims are entitled to more than what is their due on the basis of their proportion of population. The *Medina* deprecates the idea of Turkey joining the League of Nations, as in its opinion more reliance can be placed on the friendship of uncivilized Russia than on that of the civilized League of Nations. The paper characterizes the League as a band of shroud-stealers.

Election campaign.

The *Aj* urges that the motion of Mr. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi regarding the desirability of the Congress withdrawing itself from the Council elections should be accepted so that this national body may be saved from falling a victim to the communal wave and from arraying itself in opposition to the Hindus and the Muslims in the Councils. If the motion is not accepted, the majority of Hindus too like the Muslims will desert the Congress or it will become only a Hindu political body and its politics will be reduced to mere collecting of crumbs from the bureaucratic table. If the Congress is to be saved, it should be kept aloof from the dirty election squabbles.

Publication of obscene advertisements.

Commenting on the conviction of the *Zamindar* and the *Siasat* of Lahore for publishing obscene advertisements, the *Hamdam* says that as the editors are not responsible for the matter in the advertisement columns, it is unjust to hold them liable for an offence with which they have nothing to do. It is, therefore, necessary that the law should be amended in such a way as to ensure the correct fixing of responsibility.

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ALLAHABAD:
August 21, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAIL BRANCH
21 SEP 192
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 34 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 28, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Commenting on the preliminary conference of the Asiatic League held at Nagasaki the *Hindi Kesari* remarks:—Although a few Asiatic countries were not represented in the Conference yet it goes without saying that a good beginning has been made. Any opportunity for a mutual exchange of ideas which subject nations may get is welcome. The western nations gaze at the eastern nations with the vulture's eye. They want to devour us. In these circumstances an organization which could bring all the Asiatic nations nearer to one another was a great desideratum. The *Pratap* publishes a translation of a letter in English sent by 'Raja' Mahendra Pratap from Tibet to Pandit Bhawani Dayal in the course of which he remarks:—I have come to know from a letter of the Dalai Lama that the Tibetan Government is much afraid of the British but it does not regard them to be its masters. It is possible that the Tibetans may have to suffer on account of their present weakness but they are very keen on keeping their freedom unimpaired. At Chando I found that the army was clad in uniforms of modern style and that its armaments were of British manufacture. This gave me an idea of the exploits and the diplomacy of Britain. I had an opportunity of talking to a few educated Tibetans who think that the little help which the British are giving to Tibet is not for its good but in the interests of Britain herself. Besides British demands are increasing day by day which has led the Tibetans to apprehend that one day they may have to pay a huge price for the trifling help given to them by Britain. It is yet time that Tibet was saved from the fate which overtook Burma and Ceylon whose ancient civilization and culture have been destroyed by Britain's selfish designs.

The Viceroy's speech.

Papers of all shades of opinion commend the Viceroy's address to the Legislature for its conciliatory and sympathetic tone but most of them regret that it does not offer any definite and practical solution of the communal problems. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that the address must have been disappointing to many who had built great hopes on it. There is no mention in it of any new policy or new scheme. We cannot understand how the Viceroy has thought the 1*s.* 6*d.* rate to be in the interest of the country. Where British and Indian interests clash it is a mistake to expect the Viceroy to take the side of India. The *Surya* regrets that His Excellency did not indicate definitely his policy regarding reforms, the currency proposals and the conduct of irresponsible officials. His speech does not show that Government will follow a policy of firmness in regard to communal disturbances. The *Pratap* congratulates Lord Irwin on his remarks regarding new communal claims and says:—The Viceroy has arrived at a right decision on this point for the simple reason that further delay would have resulted in the exposure of the British Government, to discredit and the replacement of British rule by *goonda* raj. This attitude of the Viceroy has had some effect on a few orthodox Muslim organizations. The somersault taken by Khwaja Hasan Nizami as evidenced by his present advice to the Muslims to give up their obduracy on the question of music before mosques is indeed ascribable to Lord Irwin's attitude. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that the Viceroy's speech was as hollow as a drum. His Excellency appears to be an expert in the art of saying nothing of importance while delivering a lengthy speech. He carefully avoided reference to the real interests and questions of India. So long as Indians do not give up all hope of getting Swaraj as a gift and do not stand upon their own legs, they will continue

to hear high-sounding but worthless speeches. Englishmen are ruling India in their own interests. They have come to make money and will continue to do so unless a finger is thrust into their eyes and they are shown the way whereby they may go back to their country. For this India needs unity and endurance. The scramble for crumbs will also have to be given up. The *Vartman* writes :— Lord Irwin tried to make out that the Government had acted impartially in dealing with communal disturbances and could not venture to say a word against the crooked policy of the British. He scatters flowers from his mouth but there is no trace of scent in them. The *Vivek* says that there was nothing in the Viceroy's speech which could be regarded as satisfactory from the Indian standpoint. God only knows how long Indians will take to learn that they should not be deluded by the phraseology and sentiments of western politicians but should look for substance in their speeches. His Excellency only reaffirmed the old policy of the Government in regard to various questions. The *Aj* finds nothing commendable in the Viceroy's speech which, it says, neither gives any clear indication of a policy nor holds out any hopes. " The love of justice " of Lord Reading did not do good to India and there is little likelihood that the God-fearing nature of Lord Irwin will prove more fruitful, the reason being that the country's administration is heartless and is a mere machine devoid of human element. The Viceroy made such observations as he was bound to make in the interests of the " steel frame." His Excellency only echoed the views of the civil service. It appears that the first " righteous " act of the Viceroy will be the raising of the exchange rate of the rupee which will be prejudicial to the interests of India. His Excellency's remarks regarding the communal questions are not free from ambiguity and are self-contradictory. Taken with the statement of the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly in reply to a question they go to show that the rights of citizens will not be considered and that the local usages and customs will continue to hold the supreme place. What these customs and usages are will be decided by local authorities or, in other words, by sub-inspectors who by no means remain uninfluenced by communal bias. This shows that there is little likelihood of communal dissensions coming to an end in the immediate future. The *Oudh Akhbar* is glad to find that Lord Irwin's address is full of sympathy and sincerity. A perusal of it shows that the noble Lord has the same regard for India's welfare as Indian leaders. This speech neither contains autocratic or soldierly threats of Lord Chelmsford nor the diplomacy and circumlocution of Lord Reading. The *Haqiqat* remarks :—No sensible man can disagree with the advice given by His Excellency regarding the settlement of communal quarrels. Though the speech is not encouraging it shows that Lord Irwin will try his best and in good faith for the welfare of India. The *Hamdam* says :—His Excellency's remarks about making India responsible for her destiny would have satisfied Indians if he had announced the visit of a statutory commission just now and had not reminded them of the fundamental duty of Parliament to assist India. The *Medina* writes :—The general tone of all the speeches which Lord Irwin has so far made is the same as that of the " steel frame," but there are also glimpses of his personal sincerity and open-heartedness. The speech also shows that he possesses zeal for work and earnest desire for serving India. His Excellency's proposals regarding communal tension deserve consideration but some of them will be found difficult to adopt. . . On the whole we find that in making the inaugural speech His Excellency has merely performed a customary function. He had to speak and therefore said something but did not prescribe any efficacious remedy for the ills from which India is suffering.

Ban on Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje.

The withdrawal of the case against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moonje has been hailed with jubilation by the entire Hindu press and is generally attributed to the statesmanship of His Excellency the Viceroy. Some extremist papers, however, remark that it was a deep move on the part of the Government to strengthen the Responsivists in order to ensure the defeat of the Swarajists at the next election. Muslim papers generally observe that this action of the Government will lower its prestige and encourage the sangathanists. Under the heading " End of a Farce " the *Leader* writes :—We think that the person who most deserves to be congratulated on the withdrawal of the intended prosecution of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moonje is His Excellency Lord Irwin. For we do not believe that, left to themselves, the Government of Bengal, with the genius for muddling of which they have recently shown themselves capable, would have acted with such good sense. . . After this farce of abortive proceedings under

section 144 we suggest that it is time for provincial Governments and their officers to make a wholesome revision of their notions of the purposes for which that section might be employed by them. The *Anand* remarks :—The prudence displayed by the Bengal Government in dropping the proceedings will bring satisfaction to the country and Indians of all classes will commend Lord Irwin's tactful handling of the situation. The *Abhyudaya* writes :—As we had anticipated the Government has suffered humiliation and discomfiture. The arguments advanced by the Government pleader for the withdrawal of the proceedings proclaim the hollowness of the prosecution case. The *Aj* says that the Bengal Government had committed a blunder under the influence of the enemies of Hindus and so it had to suffer discomfiture as a result of the firmness of the two gentlemen. By disobeying the unjust order these two leaders have infused a new spirit into the whole of the country. This is a very good example of individul civil disobedience. If India ever secures emancipation it will be through such a spirit. What Malaviya has done to-day as an individual, the whole of the country will have to do as a collective body and then *swaraj* will be attained. The *Shakti* remarks :—Malaviyaji's triumph constitutes a personal and sectional and not a national victory. It was a move on the part of the Government to coax the Responsive co-operation party and spurn the Swaraj Party. This is the mystery behind the whole conspiracy. The Government has already begun to encourage the party it favours. Let the Swarajists and public beware. Every vote cast in favour of a Responsivist will be a vote given to the Government. The *Vivek* says that the reason given for withdrawing the case against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya shows how far incompetency and irresponsibility exist in the administration of the country. Many people wonder whether this affair was the outcome of folly or of diplomacy. Be that as it may there is no doubt that the Government has benefited in many ways from this affair. To increase the strength of communalism, to wreck the influence of the Congress and to bring the moderate members of the responsivist party into the councils are by no means inconsiderable gains. The *Desh Bhagat* says that the unique passive resistance resorted to by Malaviyaji to protect Hindu rights is a valuable asset for India of to-day. If the Hindu community follows his example whenever Government passes any illegal orders interfering with its religious and human rights no part of the Government machinery will dare to interfere with those rights. The *Sadaqat* expresses satisfaction over the courage evinced by Pandit Malaviya in successfully infringing the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta and strongly refutes the charge that Muslim journals are jubilant over the ban. It says that no patriotic person can support orders restricting the movements of national leaders. Though the Muslim community has serious grievances against Hindu leaders of the type of Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje it does not mean that they want their liberty to be restricted. The *Najat* says that the Muslim press is never devoid of nationalistic feelings. Even its silence or support of the Magistrate's order is based on the same feeling because the Pandit's life never deserved to be called a national one. He cruelly demolished the edifice, the foundation of which was laid by the great national statesmen and which was built by Mahatma Gandhi himself. His speeches have been proved to be a direct incitement to communal dissensions. Any one who admits that the Pandit is to a great extent responsible for the Hindu-Muslim tension cannot protest against the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* says :—The Government understands its problems. When it likes it lets loose Malaviya and Moonje to kindle the fire of communal feelings and when its own interests require it, it issues prohibitory orders against them. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that by admitting its mistake the Government of Bengal has evinced its love of justice and fair play. The *Hamdam* regards the withdrawal of the case as a weakness of the Bengal Government which will lead people to believe that the Government has been overawed by Pandit Malaviya's personality and that all the tall talk about "law and order" is a mere sham. The Chief Presidency Magistrate's order against the Pandit was no doubt mistaken but the withdrawal of the proceedings before hearing him is a greater blunder for which the Government of Bengal will have to pay dearly. The *Medina* remarks :—The Government has laid down its arms, but it surely deserves to be congratulated on this course of action. It has realized the strength of *Sangathan*. The way in which it has eaten the humble pie will, no doubt, be a smart blow on its prestige, but the institution of a case for the violation of its orders would have created a series of difficulties and the Government has chosen the lesser evil. *Al Khalil* remarks :—Law has been trifled with in

an unprecedented manner. It is however satisfactory that since the enforcement of section 144 riots have stopped.

Currency Commission.

The recommendations of the Currency Commission continue to be criticized vehemently, being generally regarded as a move to help British industries at the expense of India and to drain the country of gold and silver. The papers warn the Government that if the proposals regarding the exchange rate and currency notes are adopted it will incur public distrust and will have to face a serious agitation. The *Aj* emphasizes that the fixing of the exchange rate of the rupee at 1*s.* 6*d.* and the practical inconvertibility of the proposed currency notes are intended to benefit Britain at the expense of India. It urges that such an arrangement will have to be opposed vigorously in the interests of India. If the Viceroy exercises his special powers in its favour despite the opposition of the Legislative Assembly a widespread agitation will have to be organized to impress upon the people how they are being looted. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the acceptance of the recommendations of the Currency Commission will result in the replacement of the existing silver currency by paper currency which will aggravate the economic condition of the country. The Indians demanded gold currency and are given the paper currency. This is how they are given stone when they ask for bread. The proposed exchange rate of the rupee will ruin the indigenous industries and will accelerate the process of the transfer of the wealth of India to England. There is not sufficient room in England, otherwise even the soil of India would have been sent there. The *Pratap* remarks:—We are convinced that the replacement of gold and silver currency by paper currency will remove what little confidence the people still have in the currency policy of the Government, and sooner or later the Government and the people will have to suffer the consequences of such a policy in an aggravated form. We think that the time is not far off when currency notes will be subjected to discount in rural areas and the roots of political discontent will be strengthened by this economic problem. The *Vivek* points out that the exchange rate of the rupee at 1*s.* 6*d.* will raise the prices of Indian goods and thereby restrict their consumption and that it will go a great deal towards counteracting the effects of the abolition of the cotton excise duty and the grant of subsidy to certain industries in the country. This will show how the Indian trade will be throttled with the chains of gold.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Shankar* publishes a signed editorial article in which the writer, Pandit Durga Dutt Pande, says that the Hindus and Muslims are so absorbed in the communal game that they are not in the least aware of the entry of the thief into their house. The thief has stolen all the property and is about to set fire to the house but the owners of the house (Hindus and Muslims) are still quite indifferent to it . . . . The Muslim demand regarding music before mosques has destroyed nationalism in the country. To-day the third party is in high spirits. It scolds us and plumes itself on its success. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks that the Government which is an adept in the policy of creating divisions has a considerable hand in keeping up the Hindu-Muslim tension. Though this is denied by the Viceroy yet it is being established daily by direct proofs. As long as the Government was partial towards the Muslims they were ready to break the heads of the Hindus on any pretext whatsoever. Now finding a change in Government's attitude the Muslim leaders like Hasan Nizami and others have begun to talk of sympathy and humanity. Now the eyes of both Muslims and the Government have been opened and they are coming to their senses. This is all due to the *Sangathan* movement. Commenting on the manifesto of Maulana Vilayat Husain and Mr. Zahur Ahmad on the music question the *Vivek* says that it has now become a part of their religion for communalists to indulge in misrepresentation in connexion with communal questions, otherwise these two gentlemen would not have asserted that it was the custom at Allahabad to stop music before mosques. It points out that their attempt to impress upon the ignorant Muslim masses that the Hindus are trampling upon their rights and are trying to insult Islam is nothing short of deliberately sowing seeds of riots in the country. The *Arya Musafir* advises the Muslims not to take offence at the sacred exploits of the Prophet which have been described in the *Hadises* and by the Muslim commentators and says:—Now that the world cannot forget whatever the Prophet has done or what the firm believers like Abu Haraira have written about him it is proper for the Muslims either to bid adieu to their blind

faith in him and embrace the Vedic *dharma* or cultivate the quality of toleration. The *Mashriq* deplores the indifference of the Government of India towards the grievance of the Muslims of Panipat regarding the stoppage of cow-sacrifice in that town and says:—The Government always does what it thinks proper. It neither cares for the *shastras* of the Hindus nor for the *shariat* of Muslims. In Calcutta it ordered the Hindus not to play music before certain mosques and in Panipat it stopped cow-sacrifice. The claim that it does not interfere in religious affairs is untenable. The policy of stopping cow-sacrifice is not sound and will have a bad effect on administration.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an explanation to a correspondent's query the *Vivek* says that the British Government has spent a very large amount of money in combating the growth of the ideal of nationalism in India. The most common method is to provoke communal feelings in the country. The Brahman and non-Brahman question in Southern India and the Hindu-Muslim question in Northern India have not arisen in their present form of themselves. The *Aj* says that the Finance Member's speech on the Todhunter Committee's Report shows that he will utilize this report only in increasing taxation and that people cannot hope for any decrease in taxes. It remarks:—It is idle to hope for good days under this administration. On the one hand high prices are being made stable by enhancing the exchange rate of the rupee and on the other the salaries of high officials are being raised and now the Finance Member is thinking of imposing fresh taxes. God alone can protect unfortunate India in these circumstances. The *Swadhin* writes:—On the one hand the foreigners are slapping us on the face, depriving us of our morsels of food and perpetuating our slavery and on the other mutual dissensions and animosities have developed to such an extent in the political, social and other spheres of our activities that the people scramble for immediate gains regardless of the fact that they are being trodden upon by the foreigners and that it is their duty to sink their mutual animosities and attain *swaraj* by their united efforts. The *Medina* commends to the Indian universities the speech delivered by the Earl of Balfour at the Empire Universities Conference and says: Had Indian universities imparted education on the right lines and from the right point of view India would have long ago occupied a position of distinction among the civilized nations. The fact, however, is that these universities are only a recruiting ground for service and as a result India occupies the first place among subject nations. Her existence depends entirely on the will of the foreigners and every department of life is helpless. Educational institutions have been made instruments for accomplishing the sinister designs of imperialism and propaganda in support of the trickery of administration is considered to be an essential part of the educational curriculum and educational methods aim at the waste of life and money.

Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill.

While recognizing the harm done by the dissemination of inflammatory communal publications and the need of adequately punishing their authors the *Leader* fears that the measure introduced by the Government for the forfeiture of such publications is liable to abuse. It says:—Let it be understood by the Government of India that there is not in this country a widely diffused confidence in the executive, the magistracy and the police such as would lead a publicist to take the view that as there is little risk of improper action by them he can give his assent to a measure of which he generally approves. In the second place it has not been possible for us and many others always to feel confident that both communities are treated equally and impartially by many officers. Therefore, we require to know what precautions will be taken against its abuse before we can support the new Bill. In a subsequent article the paper writes:—After the weighty support accorded by prominent non-official members to the principle of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill the Government were very ill-advised in not acceding to their reasonable and modest request that the Bill should be referred to a select committee. It is such autocratic procedure which irritates and gives a handle to the extremists who lose no opportunity of ridiculing the constitutionalists and making political capital out of such incidents. The Bill is an exceptional measure which vests wide discretionary powers in the executive and is presumably intended to meet an exceptional situation. The powers proposed to be vested in the executive should, therefore, not be of a permanent nature. And it ought to contain safeguards against abuse. The *Aj* is opposed to the proposed legislation on the ground that it is an encroachment on the freedom of writing and seeks to invest the executive with the powers of the judiciary. It holds that the existing law is sufficient for the purpose and need not be supplemented

by special legislation. The *Vivek* says that the people who have seen how the power to proscribe seditious literature has been abused to put down patriotic literature and writings calculated to throw light on the real political and economic condition of the country can never agree to invest the Government with power to proscribe inflammatory communal writings. Any repressive legislation in a country where section 144 can be applied against an eminent and responsible leader like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Babu Rajendra Prasad means only a fresh calamity on its people.

Indian States.

The Muslim Press continues to protest vehemently against the attitude of the Government of India towards the Nizam. The *Haqiqat* says:—Lord Reading's hostile attitude regarding the Berar question has further strengthened the deep conspiracies hatched against the Hyderabad state. Loyalty does not mean that H. E. H. the Nizam should consider himself to be a slave of the British bureaucrats and yield to their legal or illegal demands. It is a folly to expect a slavish attitude from a ruler in authority and thus to deprive him of his legal rights. The demand for the restoration of Berar was quite justified and the usurpation of that province is an open high-handedness on the part of the Government of India. Referring to the charge that the Nizam is spending money in Islamic propaganda the *Medina* wonders why Muslim states alone should be blamed for supporting religious propaganda when every Christian state in Europe helps missionary societies. The Maharaja of Mysore has appointed a commission regarding cow-slaughter. As the state is the cradle of bigoted Brahmans the findings of the commission may well be anticipated. Is this not religious propaganda? We strongly deprecate this action of the Maharaja and hope that he will not pass a law stopping cow-sacrifice which will hurt Muslim feelings in the extreme.

Indian National Union.

Devanarain Pande, Secretary, Indian Party, writing to the *Bharat* prophesies that the newly formed Indian National Union is doomed to failure as all the Hindu representatives in the Union are half-Muslims and says that no real work can be done in the country so long as the Swaraj Party continues to exist. The correspondent also reports the establishment of a small organization called the Indian Party by certain young men of Cawnpore and says that by the efforts of this party peace will be established throughout the whole of India within the next ten years and within fifty years the country will attain complete independence.

Indian delegation to the League of Nations Assembly.

The *Leader* writes: We are not convinced by the Hon'ble the Law Member's defence of the Government's selection of the personnel of the Indian delegation to the League of Nations Assembly. After considering what he has said, we retain the opinion that in that selection due regard was not paid to the self-respect of India which could only be satisfied by the appointment of an Indian as the head of the delegation and by the selection of the best available men as the Indian members.

Indians in the colonies.

In the course of a lengthy letter in the *Leader* Pandit Benarsi Das Chaturvedi criticizes the Government of India for not publishing the report of the Fiji deputation and says: It would be a hundred times better if the Government of India would plainly tell us that on account of interference from Downing Street the report of the Fiji deputation has been suppressed, than to lead us in that interminable labyrinth of questions and answers in the Legislative Assembly which lead us to nowhere.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,

Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:

August 28, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
28 SEP. 1926
OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 35 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 4, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the British anxiety owing to the growth of the Russian air force and the establishment of aerial communication between Moscow and Kabul the *Najat* says :—The growing influence of Russia at Kabul and her help to the Afghans in the shape of airships and airmen clearly show what the intentions of these two countries are. If in this connexion we take into account the British encroachment upon the Frontier territories and the resentment of the Afghans against it it would not be difficult to say that the clouds of danger are rapidly overcasting the horizon and that Russians are being helped by their allies in accomplishing their designs. The *Hamdam*, on the other hand, advises the British to banish the idea of Bolshevik bogey and the Afghan danger from their minds.

The Viceroy's speech.

Commenting on Lord Irwin's address to the Central Legislature the *Bharat* remarks :—Lord Irwin's speech does not satisfy us at all. We can admire his eloquence and his literary attainments, but we cannot give him credit for outspokenness. His speech is in the stereotyped bureaucratic fashion characterised by jugglery of words. Although he expressed his keenness for the solution of the communal problem, he could not prescribe an effective remedy for it. Perhaps the first prescription which was communicated to the Bengal Government for experiment was the subjecting of Hindu leaders to insult. The *Haqiqat* remarks :—The Viceroy is quite justified in saying that so long as communal tension goes on it will produce no good impression on the Reforms Inquiry Commission. We hope that the Hindu-Muslim leaders will heartily respond to the Viceroy's appeal and pass the next three years calmly and peacefully.

Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill.

The *Aj* says that the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill is a fresh attack on the freedom of writing. Its passage within two days was a farce. The most regrettable thing in this connexion was that those who pose as political leaders of the country accepted the principle underlying the Bill. The Swarajists did well in not attending the Assembly and in keeping aloof from those people who held it right to invest the bureaucracy with power to interfere with the freedom of writing and thereby make encroachments on the elementary rights of citizenship. Inflammatory communal literature could be adequately suppressed under the existing law. The *Surya* characterizes the Bill as a terrible measure, and says that in view of the fact that the Government already possessed power to inflict the severest punishment on fomenters of communal hatred, the fresh augmentation in its power means that it wants to revive the Press Act. The new measure will be a serious encroachment on the liberty of the press and will increase the high-handedness of irresponsible officials. The *Hindi Kesari* says that those who know how sections 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and 124A, Indian Penal Code, are being abused frequently can easily understand that the new law regarding the proscription of inflammatory communal publications will also be similarly misused. The *Abhyudaya* remarks :—Although the Press Act has been repealed, yet the Government is always doing something or other to encroach upon the freedom of the press. We do not think that the proposed legislation will serve any useful purpose. It is idle to expect that the forfeiture of communal literature will put an end to communal disturbances. Communal literature is not at the root of the prevailing tension. The Bill does not provide any guarantee against the misuse by the provincial Governments of the powers to be conferred on them. The *Bharat* remarks :—Seeing the

attitude of the police the public is afraid of giving additional power to it. It is our duty as a matter of principle to protest strongly against an arbitrary law. It is a sin to support such autocracy. The *Oudh Akhbar* wonders why the Government did not wait for the result of His Excellency Lord Irwin's appeal to political leaders, but passed such a law hurriedly, taking advantage of the absence of Swarajists from the Assembly. It hopes that the officials will resort to this legislation only when warning proves fruitless. The *Hamdam* urges that the power to proscribe inflammatory communal literature should be exercised with great discretion, specially in cases when action is taken against a paper of one community on the complaint of another community. The *Najat* approves of the passage of the Bill in view of the present communal situation, but fears lest it should help the local authorities in feeding fat their personal grudges and accomplishing their autocratic designs. As the Government could combat the present evil with the existing laws, the object of the new legislation must be to put further restrictions on the freedom of the press. *Al Khalil* says :— The measure will strike at the freedom of the press, specially when local authorities are in the habit of doing injustice at the instance of their subordinates influenced by communal spirit. But as the Hindu-Muslim quarrels have developed to a terrible extent and some papers are carrying on communal propaganda, we heartily welcome this law in principle, though at the same time we fear that the powers given by it might be abused. The *Arya Musafir* says that though the Bill will have no effect on such teachings of the Bible and the *Koran* as retard the progress of mankind, it may some day be used against the *Satyartha Prakash* against which the Muslims have raised such a hue and cry.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an article headed "The Writing on the Wall" calling attention of Muslims to the danger to which Islamic countries are exposed the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—It is now fairly apparent to all that India cannot attain her freedom with this hateful communal jealousy raging within her own boundaries. It is precisely for this very reason that the Anglo-Indian Press and Anglo-Indian statesmen are playing the Muslims against the Hindus. They are siding with the Muslims only to prolong this racial animosity. They are playing this game in India as part of a world game. The Britishers are great imperialists endowed with all the shrewdness and tactics of despots. Their profession of sympathy is only skin-deep. They can, like all imperialists of history, strangle to death those very people whom they now pat on the back. There is nothing called "charity" or "mercy" in the vocabulary of the imperialistic statesmen. Now under these circumstances does it befit the Muslims of India to cross swords with the Hindus? With their interests jeopardised in Egypt, Arabia and Turkey, can they still withdraw the hand of fellowship from the Hindus, and thus retard the cause of India's Swaraj, upon which depends the political emancipation of Asia and Africa? Do they not perceive that they are becoming helpless instruments in the hands of wily foreigners for the furtherance of the latter's scheme of exploitation? In another article the paper takes strong exception to the *Leader's* article on the proposed Muslim paper to be started by the Maharaja Sahib of Mahmudabad and other Muslim leaders and says:—The proposed paper will, of course, agitate for the protection of the minorities in the Legislatures, Municipalities and District Boards and, perhaps, even the Public Services. If it does so, the dishonest (because thinly-veiled) anti-Muslim policy of the *Leader* school and the honestly aggressive policy of the Sangathanists will alone be to blame. When a majority organizes itself you cannot expect a minority to take things lying down. Even worms turn and the Muhammadans are far from worms. In the course of two editorial notes the *Medina* says :—Is there any Hindu newspaper which does not publish in every issue, under inflammatory headings, reports of the violation of the modesty of Hindu women? Although half of these reports are false and are published for propagandist purposes, yet we have to hang our head in shame seeing that Muslims are mixed up with these disgraceful events or reports. Islam ordains the severest punishment for adultery and Muslims should endeavour to put a stop to such cases. Unless such occurrences are necessary for Sangathanist propaganda, the Hindus too have a duty to perform. Outrages on the modesty of women are due to social evils in the Hindu community and the non-observance of *purdah*. "If you expose your gems in the open market there is nothing to be wondered at if some thief, be he a Hindu or a Muslim, tries to decamp with them. See how fallen is the moral condition of European countries? There such pious persons as content themselves with one wife will be found to be rare.

The want of *purdah* is also the root cause of the deplorable cases of abduction in India. These cases are increasing with the length of British rule. The first step should be to make the Hindu women observe *purdah*. If this suggestion is not acceptable, then inculcate shamelessness like that of Europe. Sangathan (organization) is not the remedy, for in spite of so much organization and regulations in Europe chastity does not possess the value of even a potsherd there." The *Desh Bhagat* says that the United Provinces Government's reply to the question regarding the order of Mr. Jafri to Mr. Ram Sarup to leave his bed and stand respectfully when the procession of *Tazia* passes before his house shows that the Government has surely a hand in all the communal disturbances which take place in the country; otherwise no responsible Government can dare to give such silly replies in such cases. Will Lord Irwin in one of his speeches throw some light on this reply of the United Provinces Government and show if there is any difference between his and the United Provinces Government's angle of vision?

Ban on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moonje.

The *Shankar* remarks that the withdrawal of proceedings against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moonje represents the victory of the doctrine of individual civil disobedience and that the path for Swaraj will have been paved the day the entire Indian population has understood the full significance of this doctrine. The *Bir Hindu* thanks the Government for withdrawing the cases against Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje and says that the Muslim League which passed a resolution expressing joy at the passing of the prohibitory orders against them must have observed mourning and felt somewhat crest-fallen at the withdrawal of the cases. In future bodies like the Muslim League ought to give proof of their weakness and meanness by supporting every proper and improper act of the Government. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* says:—The ban on Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje was an insult to "these revered personalities" and by rectifying the mistake of the Government of Bengal the Viceroy has enhanced the prestige of Government and the reputation of the Crown for justice. It is regrettable that Muslim members did not join the deputation that waited on His Excellency the Viceroy, and in so doing they were influenced by the Muslim Press. This shows that there has been a great change in the mentality of Muslims, although Islam does not deny freedom of speech to any one. The *Sada-i-Muslim* contends that Pandit Malaviya's civil disobedience and the withdrawal of the case against him constitute really the triumph and not the defeat of the Government of India because its action has strengthened the chances of the success of the Pandit's party at the next elections. It wants to make Pandit Malaviya the uncrowned king of India. It is, therefore, the duty of every Indian to support the Swarajists and not to let any member of Pandit Malaviya's party succeed at the next elections. The *Sarfaraz* says:—Encouraged by the bold attitude of Malaviyaji who was afraid of even mentioning the name of "civil disobedience" Mr. Gandhi has proclaimed that Malaviyaji's triumph is the triumph of the country. We hope that the Government will realize that the civil disobedience movement is still alive and when the time comes every citizen of this country will be forced to take part in it. But if such an opportunity ever comes Malaviyaji will not be prepared for the "civil disobedience" of which Mr. Gandhi is dreaming. If Malaviyaji had not disobeyed the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, the cowardice and degradation of the Hindu creed would have been exposed.

The Swaraj Party.

In the course of a lengthy article vehemently criticizing Lala Lajpat Rai's letter to Pandit Motilal Nehru the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The Lala leaves the Swaraj Party in the hour of its need, because he is not its friend. He joined the party at a time when he needed it more than it needed him . . . Apparently the Lala chose to exploit the party so long as it suited him. Young India expected something better from one of its veterans . . . The Lala will serve neither the Hindu community nor India by converting the Legislative Assembly into a fighting den of the Hindu Sabha-*cum*-Muslim League. If the Swarajists refuse to help the Lala to pursue this short-sighted policy, it is because they have the interests alike of the country and the community at heart. The *Leader* writes:—Pandit Motilal Nehru's reply to Lala Lajpat Rai is a characteristic outburst. Could anyone disagree with the great man without running the risk of being stigmatized, in effect if not in terms, a fool or a knave, if not both? The abuse by Pandit Motilal Nehru is the penalty which Lala Lajpat Rai has to pay for having walked into his parlour eight months ago. The lesson that emerges from

the latest episode in the history of that wonderful party is that everyone should beware of it. India is not near Swaraj, she is farther away from it on account of the Swaraj Party. We dare not prophesy, but we should be surprised as well as saddened if the electors will renew their confidence in this party. The *Aj* remarks:—It passes our comprehension how the Lalaji will justify his secession from the Swaraj Party and joining the Independents when he has so often expressed his strong disapproval of "acceptance of offices." It was under his presidentship of the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta that the non-cooperation movement was launched out for the first time in the annals of Indian history and to-day he is becoming an advocate of full and whole-hearted cooperation. We are inclined to attribute the recent change in his views to his being overpowered by the desire to win for the Hindu community the favour of the bureaucracy. There is no doubt, however, that his secession will be a severe blow to the Swaraj Party. Despite our differences with this party, our sympathies spontaneously go to it seeing that it is being attacked by the bureaucracy and its coadjutors combined. *Al Khalil* remarks:—A man of even ordinary commonsense can say that Lala Lajpat Rai's severence from the Swaraj Party is due to Hindu-Muslim differences. His proposal will not only shake the very foundations of the Congress, but it is bound to transform the Legislative Assembly into a communal battle-field. This discloses the hollowness of Lala Sahib's patriotism. The *Haqiqat* says that the crushing reply given by Pandit Motilal Nehru to Lala Lajpat Rai regarding Council entry must have made him realize the weakness and mistake of his policy. Rapid change of views is Lala Lajpat Rai's old weakness. It will be advisable for the lion of the Punjab to lie hidden behind the bushes of the Hindu *Sabha*.

Political propaganda.

In the course of its editorial article written in honour of the birthday anniversary of Lord Krishna the *Hitaishi* remarks:—O Lord, to-day Mother India is devoutly invoking you and her eyes are eager to see you. She is no longer able to bear injustice and oppression and in her weak and decrepit condition she is anxiously awaiting the fulfilment of your pledge that whenever injustice and irreligion prevail in India you would reincarnate yourself and establish righteousness. O Lord, is there further delay in your incarnation? Has not the cup of immorality and sin been yet filled to the brim? Have not inequality and injustice replaced equality and justice? Come and bring the misguided and indolent Indians to the right path and once more convert India into a paradise. The *Aj* publishes an emotional article under the heading "the coming one" by an anonymous writer who says that all religions have promised the advent of a Messiah at some future time. He comes when a few "beings of clay" looking upon themselves as God destroy the children of God and adorn the bosom of the mother Earth with innumerable pillars of bones. He comes when man forgets himself and becomes a *rakshas* (demon) and destroys his own brethren. He has already appeared in the form of Christ, Muhammad and Krishna. He came when his votaries and devotees were encompassed with the darkness of utter despair as at the present day, when the poor and their rights were being "murdered" as at the present day, when the people had been deprived of every sort of liberty as at the present day ..... Tolstoy died waiting for him and Gandhi is eagerly awaiting his advent. Gandhi initiates with water. The coming one will initiate with fire. Gandhi prescribes peace. The coming one will prescribe war. He will come and with his advent will be humbled the pride of brute-force and then peace will reign supreme in the world.

The Election campaign.

The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—The interests of the country, society and the nation demand that the Congress should not contest the elections. Such of the Congressmen as want to contest the elections should do so as Independent and not Congress candidates, whereas those who are not themselves candidates for election to the legislatures should refrain from participating in the elections. This is the only means of saving the Congress and upholding its honour. The *Shankar* regrets that the Congress has involved itself in the elections and remarks that the strength of the Congress lies in keeping aloof from the bureaucracy. The nearer the Congress goes to the bureaucracy the weaker will it become. The best course for the Congress to follow is to devote itself to village organization, spinning and the propagation of khaddar and withdraw its candidates from the elections. The *Aj* also holds that the Congress should keep itself aloof from the elections. If the Congress itself does not participate in the elections, but allows the various parties composing it to contest them, it will deal a blow to its own organization.

The *Bharat* remarks that the lack of confidence of the Hindus in the Congress is attributable to the fact that it has always helped non-Hindu organizations and rendered the Hindus weak and worthless. Unless the Congress abandons this policy it will be incapable of doing any good to the Indian nation. The situation demands that the unholy Lucknow and Bengal pacts should be burnt. Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible so long as the system of communal representation continues to exist. It is improper that the interests of 23 crores of Hindus should be sacrificed for the protection of the Congress edifice built on a sandy foundation. The best course for the Congress to follow in the existing circumstances is to leave the election of the Hindu constituencies to the Hindus. Hindu *Sabhas* should be properly organized and Hindu-Muslim questions should be discussed freely inside and outside the legislatures. A permanent solution of the existing communal and sectarian quarrels should be found out. If in the fulfilment of this task communal disturbances break out resulting in the death of ten or even twenty thousand persons, they will not cause so much harm as will be caused by closing the door of nationalism.

Currency Commission.

The *Rozana Akhbar* supports the recommendations of the Currency Commission and says :—The reasons advanced by Sir Purshottam Das Thakur Das against fixing the rate of exchange at 18*d*. are unsound and unconvincing. If his proposal is acted upon the purchasing power of the rupee will diminish. Referring to the recommendation regarding the reintroduction of the one-rupee note in India the *Zulqarnain* urges that Indians should use paper money in their every day business transactions. This will have the advantage that a rise in the value of the silver will have no effect on the value of the rupee and there will be no deficit in the silver reserve. Decision about fixing the rate of exchange at 18*d*. should be taken after due deliberation.

Communal representation.

While admitting that communal representation is prejudicial to nationalism the *Medina* points out that the system has become imperative for safeguarding Muslim interests against the selfishness and aggressiveness of the Hindus. It says :—The Hindus seem determined to put an end to communal representation. If their efforts in this direction had commenced at a time when there was inter-communal trust, a large section of Muslims would perhaps have supported the demand. But this clamour is the inevitable outcome of that selfishness, sycophancy, narrow-mindedness and bigotry which for centuries has deprived the Aryan nation of liberty. The Hindus want to regain the monopoly in the various departments of life which they enjoyed for fifty years after the mutiny. If there were no communal representation Sir Fazl-i-Hussain, Umar Hayat, Raza Ali, Raja Mahmudabad, Abdur Rahim and some others who are to be found here and there in Government departments would not have been seen and like the depressed classes, the Muslims would have fallen victims to the selfish mentality of Hindus and would have suffered disgrace and humiliation. In these circumstances how can Muslims abandon communal representation and thereby hand over to the bigoted Hindus weapons for ruining Muslims. How is it possible for Muslims to help Malaviya & Co. in scattering poison for their (Muslim) destruction? "Why do you not turn out the Government, which has no connexion with India, in the way in which you are turning out Muslims who have after all some connexion with the country. If your intentions were honest you would have at first fought with the Government and would have laid the axe at the root of communal representation. But in your cowardice you have forgotton true liberty and for the fulfilment of a few objects you want to rob the Muslims of their remaining possessions."

Music before mosques.

Referring to the question of music before mosques the *Agra Akhbar* says :—The attitude of the Hindu papers on this point compels us to change our opinion and we are not inclined to entertain favourably the obstinate requests of the infidels in the matter. The accidental passing of music by mosques is quite different from the deliberate beating of a drum before them. The venomous demands of the Sangathanists are puzzling the Muslims. If the present demand is satisfied to-day a new one may be put forward. The Hindus have become devoid of tolerance. Why then should Muslims show toleration towards them? All this is due to Muslims' weakness. If they non-cooperate with the Hindus and cut off all connexion with them they will not only raise their communal status, but also improve their economic condition. The Muslims should tolerate the accidental passing of music by a mosque, but should strongly oppose the new demands of

Sangathanists. They should declare plainly that no tumultuous marriage procession can pass by mosques during the *azan* and the *nimaz*. Commenting on the letter of Maulana Vilayat Husain and Mr. Zahur Ahmad of Allahabad regarding music before mosques the *Haqiqat* remarks :—At a time when Hindu-Muslim feelings are running so high Muslims are bound to be provoked if out of sheer obstinacy the Allahabad Hindu *Sabha* wishes to take out its Dasehra procession before mosques just at the time of congregational prayers. Pandit Malaviya, who delivers eloquent lectures on Hindus-Muslim unity, does not prohibit his co-religionists even at Allahabad from deliberately disturbing the Muslims in their prayers. If Hindus persist in taking out their procession before mosques at prayer time conciliation will be possible only when they act upon the old custom and stop music for a short distance near mosques.

The Andamans as a Penal Settlement.

The *Vartman* strongly criticizes the reply of the Home Member to the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the question of the abandonment of the Andamans as a Penal Settlement and says :—How alluring are the words of the Home Member? But an effective reply to his blandishments can be given by those who have a knowledge of the real conditions, who have returned after vomiting blood in the solitary cells of the Andamans, who have seen innumerable consumptive and malaria patients dying like animals, who have returned after being reduced to mere skeletons owing to mosquito bites, who under lashes have metalled the roads of the new Government colony and who cannot become proprietors of fields which have been prepared by them after levelling up rugged lands. The *Hamdam* deplores the action of the Assembly in rejecting the demand for the transfer of the Moplahs from the Andamans. Referring to the remarks of Colonels Gidney and Crawford that the Andamans are heaven itself compared to Indian jails it says :—In our opinion it would be better to reserve the Andamans for Europeans only and send Indian prisoners back to Indian jails, for if it is really such a fine place the Europeans have a stronger claim to enjoy it.

The Taxation Committee.

The *Hindi Kesari* says that there is no likelihood of taxation being reduced as a result of the recommendations of the Taxation Committee as they suggest further taxation. It points out that if the burden of taxation is not lightened unrest will be accentuated in the country and urges voters to return only such members to the Assembly as will support the popular cause there vigorously and not side with the Government.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD :
September 4, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 36 of 1926.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 11, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Aj* infers from the conclusion of the Russo-Afghan treaty that the statesmen of Kabul do not believe the reports that Russia wants to swallow up the states of Central Asia and says that this treaty places the peace of Central Asia on a much surer footing. A "Kumaunese Friend" writes to the paper:—Mr. Rutledge, the Deputy Commissioner, has just returned to Almora from Tibet. Since "Raja" Mahendra Pratap's letters have been published saying that he is doing Congress work on his own lines in Afghanistan, Tibet and Nepal various reports have been circulating in Almora. There is a strong rumour of a road to Tibet being constructed and one or two cantonments being established in the neighbourhood of Almora. It is also reported that the Deputy Commissioner will go next year with forces; for this year the provincial governor of Tibet did not go to interview him although he waited for the latter for twenty one days. If Nepal and Tibet also become independent and well-organized like Afghanistan it will surely be a matter for alarm to the British Government for it remains suspicious even in the ordinary course of things and now it has got quite a sufficient excuse in the Bolshevik bogey. Referring to the "dream" of the Indian Muslims regarding the establishment of a Pan-Islamic organization and with its help to acquire domination over Asia at least the *Bharat* complains of the maltreatment of the coloured races by white men who, it says, are trying hard everywhere to keep them as beasts of burden. The protection of the coloured races depends upon the co-operation of Japan, Asiatic Russia, Turkey, Afghanistan and China. The Asiatics should be on their guard and independent powers of Asia should seriously consider what their duty is.

Election campaign.

The election campaign is receiving increasing attention in the Press. The *Swaraj* party is being strongly criticized by Liberal papers and Hindu papers of the *sangathan* school. The *Leader* writes:—That Mr. Motilal Nehru is not after unity with the responsivists should be made clear to those who read the speech he delivered at the opening of his party's election campaign at Meerut. Unless Pandit Malaviya and others who are opposed to the policy of this party concentrate their efforts in organizing their own following and stop wasting time in the pursuit of elusive unity, they will find themselves at a serious disadvantage. It is more than time that they made up their minds. The cause of unity can best be promoted by the defeat of the *Swaraj* party at the polls. In the course of his election manifesto published in the *Aj* Mr. Sri Prakash says:—"If the rights of the Hindus have been trampled upon it is the Government and not the Congress which has done so. If the Hindu processions have been interfered with, the Government and not the Congress is responsible for it. An alien Government can be based only on partiality and it is for ensuring even-handed justice for all that we want to attain *Swaraj*. We stand for the rights of citizenship and shall by every means oppose injustice and partiality." Commenting on the remark in the *Forward* that the ensuing elections will be on communal lines, the *Bharat* says:—Elections have always been on such lines as the Muslims and Sikhs have been sending their own representatives to the legislatures. The right of the Hindus alone had been usurped by the Congress. Now the Hindus being dissatisfied with the Congress are nominating their own candidates. This dissatisfaction with the Congress is chiefly due to the Lucknow and the Bengal pact and to the doings of the Swarajists during the past three years. Vehemently denouncing the "Nehru Party," the *Bharat Dharma* writes:—These impostors

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have always injured the Hindu interests by showing undue indulgence to Muslims. How can they refrain from opposing the Hindu interests, licking the sputum of the bureaucracy and cleaning its boots when they place their daughters at the service of Muslims and side with them even though they abduct them. Discussing the question of political leadership at the present juncture the *Vartman* pays an eloquent tribute to the services rendered to the country by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and calls upon the people to follow his lead. The *Hindi Kesari* exhorts the electors to vote for the Congress candidates and warns them against returning such selfish people as flatter the officials. It was the *Swaraj* party which opposed the Government in the United Provinces Council. No member of this party can be charged with flattering the officials. The Swarajists have always striven to expose the Police, the Jail and the Registration departments in their true colours. The *Anand* remarks :—Lala Lajpat Rai's unequivocal indictment of the *Swaraj* party should open the eyes of Indians and make them realize the harm which is being done to the country and the Hindu community by its unwise policy. It is the duty of the Hindus to act upon the advice of Lala Lajpat Rai and return to the legislatures able persons irrespective of party affiliations. The *Sainik* says that as a result of the emphasis laid by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the protection of communal interests, even the various sects of the Hindu community like the Jats and the Sanatandharmists are setting up their own sectarian candidates for the legislatures. The fire which Pandit Malaviya is kindling will soon consume the nation and the various communities together with those very persons who are kindling it. The *Haqiqat* fears that in spite of their careful selection of candidates the Swarajists will be much hampered by the Hindu Sabha. Referring to the efforts of Pandit Malaviya to set up his candidates against the Congress and the Swarajist party the paper remarks:—Panditji thinks that the pleasure of his friends is more important than national welfare. This open opposition of the Congress, backed up by false pretensions of nationalism and patriotism reminds us of the merry days of the Pandit of Allahabad when at Simla he used to accompany Lord Reading in his morning walks. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* acknowledges that the Swarajists played a prominent part in the legislatures but cannot help remarking that the party did fail in its object of bringing the Government to its knees. Expediency demands that the Swarajists should now reconsider their programme and, in co-operation with Government, should adopt a middle course which may be really beneficial to the country.

The *Swaraj* party.

The controversy between Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Motilal Nehru continues to receive prominent attention. The *Leader* writes :—Lala Lajpat Rai has scored a distinct victory over Mr. Nehru by his crushing, though dignified, reply to the latter's unedifying outburst . . . Lalaji has shown by his moderation of language that he can be above party pettiness. His suggestion that the best men should be put forward as candidates at the next elections without regard for party considerations is worthy of a patriot of his record. If Mr. Nehru could raise himself to his level the chances of united action among progressive politicians would be more hopeful . . . The greatest service that those who on public grounds are opposed to the *Swaraj* party can do to the country is not to waste their time in trying to arrive at a compromise with it but to organize their own forces to the best of their ability and put forward capable and self-respecting candidates at the next elections against the pledge-bound automatons of the *Swaraj* party. Referring to the opposition which is being offered to the *Swaraj* party from various quarters the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—Judged by the cloud of malicious witnesses, the *Swaraj* party stands for certain progressive principles which it would be dangerous to sacrifice in the quest of compromise. They have pressed for political reform, undeterred by the temptations of supine office, and they have kept themselves above the surging tide of venomous, pseudo-religious rancour in the country. Their services constitute an asset that should not be lightly bargained away. In another article the paper says :—If Pandit Madan Mohan, Mr. Jayakar, and others of that persuasion are really in earnest about unity, instead of haggling over the question of offices and emoluments in the absence of power and responsibility, they should decide to present a united front to a united enemy. The *Aj* regrets that Lala Lajpat Rai has administered a blow to nationalism by resigning membership of the *Swaraj* party. It contends that despite its defects the *Swaraj* party has proved itself superior to and done greater service to the country than all other political parties. It is, however, satisfactory that Pandit Motilal Nehru has given a crushing reply

to all his attacks. In another issue it says :—In order to secure emancipation a subject country cannot do anything beyond non-cooperating with its alien Government. If this be impossible in the existing circumstances, the next best course for it is to follow the policy of obstruction. To cooperate with the alien Government is nothing short of suicide. Self-respect demands that if non-cooperation is impossible, at least the ideal for which it stands should be steadily kept in view. The country should not be hurled into the abyss of despair by cooperation. Commenting on Lajpat Rai-Nehru controversy the *Bharat Jiwan* contends that the ultimate object of both the leaders is to attain *Swaraj* by bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity. *Sangathan* is really a movement for putting an end to communal quarrels, because the root cause of these quarrels is the weakness of the Hindus and the religious fanaticism of Muslims. Ten or twenty Muslims beat hundreds of Hindus and the latter cannot do anything. But as soon as the latter become organized the Muslims will realize the futility and the danger of quarrelling with them. Our opponents too who resort to secret wire-pulling to set Hindus and Muslims by the ears will, on seeing them uniting and realizing the force of their united demands, also find that it is no longer possible to make the two communities fight with each other. The *Medina* says that while Dr. Ansari has given up his connexion with communal organizations with a view to concentrate his energies on the attainment of *Swaraj*, Lala Lajpat Rai has resigned the membership of the *Swaraj* party on the ground that the policy of the Swarajists is prejudicial to Hindu interests, This means that the Lala Saheb can sacrifice *Swaraj* for the sake of Hindus. One of the leaders is a Muslim and the other a Hindu. Discerning persons should notice the difference between their attitude and say which community is more advanced in the matter of patriotism and love of freedom. It is the Hindu leaders who have rebelled against the Congress and have introduced *Sangathan*, *Shuddhi*, responsive cooperation and other movements which are calculated to crush the Congress It is an acknowledged fact that the right method for the attainment of true liberty was non-cooperation and we are confident that the country will have to resort to it once more. But we find that every prominent Hindu is trying his level best to oppose the non-cooperation movement, whereas Muslim leaders continue to stand by it and the *fatwa* of the *Ullema* still holds good. In another article the paper says that the Congress is a dead body now and has lost its influence not only among Hindus and Muslims, but also among peoples of other races and creeds. Matters have come to such a pass that the Congress has now become synonymous with the *Swaraj* Party. The *Sangathan* movement has aggravated the Hindu-Muslim tension and has clouded the political horizon. While the moderate Muslims have re-adopted the Muslim League policy, the more timid among the Hindus have engineered *Sangathan* and these two movements together have weaned away a considerable proportion of Hindus and Muslims from the Congress. The Sangathanists now believe that responsive cooperation is the only political creed which can be accepted by the Congress. There will be no place for Muslims among them and Malaviyaji will be the leader. It will become the haunt of place-hunters and an instrument for flattering the powers that be. It will no longer be the powerful organization for fighting the battle of freedom. Referring to the various changes in the political views of Lala Lajpat Rai *Al Barid* says :—These changes clearly indicate that Lalaji's intention is to increase the influence of the Hindus in the legislatures so that they may be able to humiliate the Muslims on every question even at the risk of shattering the Congress to pieces and dealing a death-blow to the Swarajist party. They want to turn the legislatures into communal battle-fields and to accentuate the communal tension. The *Hamdam* is surprised to find that Lalaji is insisting on Hindu representatives paying particular attention to Hindu interests, while he has always been pleading for joint electorates. If Lalaji's statements are to be accepted at their face value, they fully establish the need for separate electorates and separate representation for Muslims. The *Sadaqat* remarks :—Lala Lajpat Rai wants to work the Congress or *Swaraj* party on the lines of the Hindu Sabha and as he has not achieved any success so far he has given out that the *Swaraj* party is opposed to the interests of Hindus. We pity Lalaji's mentality which shows that India will have to remain in serfdom for a long time to come.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Aj* remarks that the debate on the communal situation in the Legislative Assembly shows that though the bureaucracy professes to dislike communal dissensions it does not want to take any step beyond allowing every liberty of action to the local

authorities to stop quarrels. We agree with Lala Lajpat Rai that *Swaraj* alone will put an end to communal disturbances. If the next elections take place with the communal question in view the third Legislative Assembly will only resound with Hindu-Muslim dissensions, *Swaraj* will recede further and the bureaucracy will be the only gainer in the end. Referring to the resolution regarding the slaughter of cows, bullocks and buffaloes passed by the municipal board of Etawah the *Mashriq* remarks :—It appears from this that the first step of *Swaraj* is to stop cow-slaughter under the influence of the Hindu Sabha. *Al Bashir* has suggested that the management of slaughter-houses should be removed from the hands of municipal boards. If the Government accepts the suggestion and places slaughter-houses in the charge of tahsils not only will the difficulties experienced by Muslims and Christians be removed but all future disturbances will also be stopped. Referring to the recent disturbances at Delhi *Al Khalil* says that Government has committed a serious mistake in not detecting and punishing those who initiated the riots. Government should carefully watch and restrain the activities of the *Sangathan* movement among Hindus and any similar movement among Muslims and then alone will the real causes of discontent be removed. Commenting on the report of the recovery of two Muslim children from the Arya Samaj Orphanage, Bareilly, the paper remarks :—If *Shuddhi* consists in the kidnapping of children there can be nothing worse. Such deeds are not only the worst instances of immorality but are also inhuman. It is disgraceful that British law and justice take no satisfactory action against the activities of institutions which harbour kidnapped children. The *Masur* condemns the sentiments expressed in Swami Satya Deva's Hindi book entitled *Sangathan ka Bigul* and asks whether any responsible Hindu leader in any part of India has ever cared to repudiate these views which are gaining popularity among the Hindus as is evidenced by the enormous sale of the book. The *Krishna* remarks that Hindu-Muslim union can be effected only if the Muslims stop *Tabligh* or recognize the *Shuddhi* movement as legitimate. If this is not to be and men of the type of the editor of the *Sada-i-Muslim* while carrying on *Tabligh* do not recognize the legitimacy of the *Shuddhi* movement they have no concern with India and the proper place for them is Arabia.

Political propaganda.

Referring to Earl Winterton's statement in the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce that India is England's greatest market the *Aj* remarks that this fact is the greatest obstacle to the freedom of India. Her purchases of English goods are so large that British authorities dare not remove their control over her. So long as we do not reduce this British trade by our self-sacrifice, Britain will not grant freedom to us of her own accord. But as soon as she finds that it is impossible to maintain her trade without keeping India contented she will be willing to listen to the demand for liberty. The *Hridaya* publishes an article headed "O Krishna," in the course of which the writer, who signs himself as *Pashan* (a pseudonym), writes :—O Krishna, if at that time India needed you or you thought it necessary to come to India, O Lord, why do you not come to-day? O Lord, one Draupadi alone is not being oppressed and unjustly treated to-day. O Lord, to-day Mother India is being disrobed and her children are without clothes. Now do you want to see her completely disrobed before the spring of your compassion will flow? O Gopal (protector of cows), to-day self-willed butchers are placing the knife on the necks of lakhs of cows. Even responsible rulers who bear the burden of the protection of the people do not to-day consider the slaughter of cows to be a sin and the eating of beef to be one of the major sins. At that time, O Lord, in order to kill Kansa (name of a tyrant) you assumed the human form and came (here) all in a hurry. And what about to-day when Kansas are seen at every step? Their atrocities are interfering with the freedom of speech, movement, reading and writing, worship and religious practices . . . O Bearer of the flute (Krishna), come. Destroy the wicked race of Kansa and sanctify the land of India with the tunes of your sweet flute. These days *rakshasas* are oppressing us by land, water and sky. Not only in four directions but in all the ten directions they reign supreme. Votaries are invoking you. Cows are in tears awaiting you. Come and remove the sufferings of all. The *Vivek* publishes a contributed article under the heading "Theft," in which the writer states that of all kinds of thefts political theft is the worst and insinuates that the government of India by the British is of the nature of such theft. He goes on to say :—Political theft is to take away the trade and all business of the inhabitants of a country, all their powers, all their laws, their civilization, their valour and ability, their

self-respect; their right to manage their affairs, their right to defend themselves; their right to make progress and their right to learn to advance their culture, language and industries . . . In return it has given them the right to drink, to eat opium, to starve and to bear beating and oppression. What else do they want? The beauty of this theft is indescribable. The obligations done to a country by a Government which has forced itself upon it are as innumerable as the stars in the sky.

Music before mosques.

The *Leader* writes:—What are things coming to? The district magistrate of Etawah is reported to have prohibited, under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, music in a private house because it is situated in the neighbourhood of a mosque, in connexion with the Janamashtami celebration, at certain specified hours in the evening, on the ground that there would be a danger of the breach of the peace if music were played or the conch sounded. Are Hindus not to be allowed to celebrate without interference their most important festivals with music even inside their houses if they happen to adjoin a mosque? Is this how the unexceptionable principles laid down by Lord Irwin for protecting individual rights are to be enforced by some of the local officials? . . . Do the United Provinces Government approve of the Etawah lord's action as being a reasonable or just exercise of power? The *Surya* also strongly protests against the aforesaid order of the district magistrate and says that if the United Provinces Government does not approve of his action it should punish him adequately. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—It is impossible to understand the mentality of a certain section of Hindu politicians who, while loudly claiming the right of conducting their religious ceremonies and festivals unhampered by any sort of restrictions, refuse to grant the right of other communities to similar privileges. They wish to take their processions with music amidst the noise of "jaikaras" at all hours of night and day without the least regard being paid to the convenience and feelings of others. These same gentlemen will never allow Muslims to perform their cow-sacrifice even in the quietest possible way. Referring to Khwaja Hasan Nizami's advice to Muslims not to insist on the stoppage of music before mosques, the *Hridaya* says that if the Khwaja really wants to settle this question he should request the Government to frame a law which may totally stop the agitation against the playing of music before mosques and should at the same time urge the Muslims to get the system of communal representation abolished. It is imperative that Muslims should give up their wicked policy, purify their hearts, regard India as their motherland and Hindus as their brothers. The *Hamdam* refutes Maulana Muhammad Ali's contention that the movement for the stoppage of music before mosques has been started by Muslims as a counter-measure against the Hindu agitation for the prevention of cow-sacrifice and says that this movement owes its origin to the Hindu claim regarding the right of the public to the free use of the King's highways.

Indian States.

The *Bharat Jiwan* writes:—After all the Nizam had to yield to the *firman* of the Government. His system of administration, rife with oppressions, high-handednesses and prejudices had so much undermined the edifice of his State that if he had in the least hesitated to do so it would have tumbled down. May we hope that the Nizam will take lesson from this incident? The *Aj* says that the fact that the Government of India should insist upon the appointment of Europeans and the Nizam should quietly acquiesce in the demand shows to what miserable plight Indian States have been reduced. Indian chiefs have indeed become mere puppets. Provided they keep their masters pleased they can waste the money of their subjects and even oppress them most wantonly. Their will is the only law in their States. Corruption, bribery, serious crimes like dacoities and murders are much more prevalent there than in British India. It is for this reason that the Indian chiefs command no public sympathy when the Government of India takes them to task. The fate of the Nizam will not prove an unmixed evil if it teaches the rulers of Indian States to keep their subjects pleased. The *Medina* wonders how far the treaties and agreements concluded between the British and the Nizam from 1740 up to date justify the Government's demand for the employment of European experts in the various departments of the Hyderabad State. When the principle of the Indianization of services has been accepted for British India there is no reason why it should not be extended to the Nizam's dominions also. The Government of India should bear in mind that seven crores of Indian Muslims are devoted to the ruler of Hyderabad and any innovation of the kind proposed will stir up agitation

among them. Writing in the *Haqiqat* Hakim Saiyed Ali Qummi, a journalist, complains of Lord Reading's dealings towards the Nizam and says that the policy of His Lordship has produced a bad impression not only on the Muslims but also on other ruling chiefs. If Lord Irwin solves the complicated question wisely, his name will deserve to be written in letters of gold in the annals of India.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the treatment accorded to Dr. Ansari and Maulana Muhammad Ali in Arabia, the *Sewak* remarks:—The Indian Muslims must have realized their real importance by this time. They should in future give up their increasing love for Mecca and Medina and should make up their mind to go to Haj only as free Muslims. Exhorting Muslims to attend the proposed Hedjaz Conference at Lucknow to devise means for the expulsion of Ibn Saud and the reconstruction of holy tombs, the *Aziz-i-Hind* contends that Ibn Saud will yield only when either the British Government exerts pressure or forty or fifty thousand volunteers from India are sent to protect the holy places. The threat to cause economic loss to his country by abandoning Haj for some time will not suffice to make him mend his ways.

Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill.

The *Sadaqat* apprehends that the passage of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill in its present form will be a source of danger for the press and exhorts the papers to stop the publication of mischievous communal articles. The *Haqiqat* remarks:—Every sensible man who wants to improve the present situation will acknowledge the need for such a law but will not like to see magistrates and the police abusing the measure to harass the editors and publishers of papers. *Al-Barid* says:—Though this amendment which was passed hastily seems to be incompatible with the liberty of the press yet considering the fact that the attitude adopted by certain papers has been accentuating the communal tension the Bill does not deserve adverse criticism.

Communal representation.

The *Leader* writes:—The suggestion of Mr. Srinivas Sastri for the modification of the existing system of communal representation with a view to its gradual abolition is deserving of serious consideration. The continuance of the system is likely to drag in the Government in the communal whirlpool. When in the legislatures there are two strong communal groups it will find it extremely difficult to maintain a position of aloofness. From all points of view the modification or abolition of the system appears to us to be desirable in the interests of peace, constitutional progress and good government. The *Aligarh Mail* says:—Any premature experiment to do away with communal representation is bound to prove disastrous not only to the Muslims but to India in general and to the cause of Indian democracy in particular. If our Hindu brethren have the good of the country at heart let them try to conciliate the opinion of the weaker and smaller communities and as soon as confidence is restored and Muslims are brought into line with the Hindu community they would of their own accord give up the privilege of communal representation.

Currency Commission.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* vehemently criticizes the proposed exchange ratio and says:—"The whole scheme is meant to be one of illicit taxation and the payment of a bounty to the foreign manufacturer. No wonder that Lancashire is gloating over Sir Basil Blacket's patriotic prescience and the assertion of the 18*d*. ratio."

Ban on Pandit Malaviya.

Referring to the withdrawal of cases against Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje the *Bedar* remarks:—O Muslims, feel ashamed of yourselves and witness the strength of union which has made even a mighty power like Government bow its head before a man of poor physique like Pandit Malaviya. Neither will Government sympathize with you, O Muslims, nor will you be able to lead honourable lives so long as you are not guided by the teachings of Islam.

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ALLAHABAD:
September 11, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 37 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 18, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Medina* thinks that the object of the treaty among Russia, Persia and Turkey is to form a combination against the European powers, which have tied down the East with the chain of imperialism, and also to help one another when the spirit of liberty prevails in the East. It says that every Asiatic will welcome such alliances as are calculated to defend the East against European imperialism. The *Najat* remarks:—This union will deal a fatal blow to the imperialistic governments of Europe and as Britain has relations with other powers she will have to encounter the most serious difficulties. The desire of the Bolsheviks has been fulfilled and they have succeeded in spreading a huge net over Asia which will bring all the Asiatic powers together, diminish the British prestige in the East and alienate Persian sympathy from the British. The *Mansur* opines that the new treaty between Afghanistan and Russia demonstrates the matchless statesmanship and unrivalled tact of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan. The fear of the Government of India is baseless for this new treaty is only one of the items in the scheme of the King of Afghanistan for the progress and uplift of his country.

The Allahabad disturbance.

The attack on the Dadhikando procession at Allahabad has evoked strong and bitter comments in the Hindu papers. With the exception of the *Haqiqat* no Muslim paper has so far commented on the subject. In the course of an article under the heading "The latest scandal" the *Leader* writes:—The Muslims' attack on the Hindu procession, which was unarmed and depended for its safety entirely on police protection, was premeditated, organized and unprovoked. No prayer was going on at the time, nor was there music in front of the mosque. The police seemed to have looked helplessly on at the time. Why were not the assailants caught red-handed? Why were no arrests made in the mosque? Did the authorities rely upon assurances given by any of the Muslim leaders? The District Magistrate has been very good to the Muhammadans, but he has been so repaid for his kindness and consideration which indeed might have been thought by some to amount to partiality. How can the Hindus hereafter have confidence in the capacity of the police to protect their processions against similar assaults? The authorities owe it to themselves—never mind the Hindus—to take steps to find out the real culprits and enforce respect for law and order. Either the officers responsible for the administration of Allahabad will even now open their eyes to the realities of the situation and act henceforth as efficient, impartial and responsible officials are expected to do, or it will be the duty of the Government to make other and proper arrangements. In a subsequent note the paper says:—In the light of the incidents of Sunday it would be an aggravation of injustice if anybody sought to cast upon the Hindus even fractional responsibility for what happened. In the course of an interview given to a representative of the paper Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru says:—I sometimes ask myself whether the Government has ceased to function or whether it has abdicated its powers and responsibilities in favour of "leaders" who are and should be expected to be partisans, some of whom are mischievous fomenters of strife and conspirators against public peace. To my mind if these riots can be treated as evidence of the perversity of the Hindus and Muhammadans, they can be fairly treated as evidence of a breakdown of the local administration. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The ugly outbreak at Allahabad shows as by a flash of light the wretched position in which our communal propagandists have placed the innocent people. Today Sir Abdur

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among them. Writing in the *Haqiqat* Hakim Saiyed Ali Qummi, a journalist, complains of Lord Reading's dealings towards the Nizam and says that the policy of His Lordship has produced a bad impression not only on the Muslims but also on other ruling chiefs. If Lord Irwin solves the complicated question wisely, his name will deserve to be written in letters of gold in the annals of India.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the treatment accorded to Dr. Ansari and Maulana Muhammad Ali in Arabia, the *Sewak* remarks:—The Indian Muslims must have realized their real importance by this time. They should in future give up their increasing love for Mecca and Medina and should make up their mind to go to Haj only as free Muslims. Exhorting Muslims to attend the proposed Hedjaz Conference at Lucknow to devise means for the expulsion of Ibn Saud and the reconstruction of holy tombs, the *Aziz-i-Hind* contends that Ibn Saud will yield only when either the British Government exerts pressure or forty or fifty thousand volunteers from India are sent to protect the holy places. The threat to cause economic loss to his country by abandoning Haj for some time will not suffice to make him mend his ways.

Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill.

The *Sadaqat* apprehends that the passage of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill in its present form will be a source of danger for the press and exhorts the papers to stop the publication of mischievous communal articles. The *Haqiqat* remarks:—Every sensible man who wants to improve the present situation will acknowledge the need for such a law but will not like to see magistrates and the police abusing the measure to harass the editors and publishers of papers. *Al-Barid* says:—Though this amendment which was passed hastily seems to be incompatible with the liberty of the press yet considering the fact that the attitude adopted by certain papers has been accentuating the communal tension the Bill does not deserve adverse criticism.

Communal representation.

The *Leader* writes:—The suggestion of Mr. Srinivas Sastri for the modification of the existing system of communal representation with a view to its gradual abolition is deserving of serious consideration. The continuance of the system is likely to drag in the Government in the communal whirlpool. When in the legislatures there are two strong communal groups it will find it extremely difficult to maintain a position of aloofness. From all points of view the modification or abolition of the system appears to us to be desirable in the interests of peace, constitutional progress and good government. The *Aligarh Mail* says:—Any premature experiment to do away with communal representation is bound to prove disastrous not only to the Muslims but to India in general and to the cause of Indian democracy in particular. If our Hindu brethren have the good of the country at heart let them try to conciliate the opinion of the weaker and smaller communities and as soon as confidence is restored and Muslims are brought into line with the Hindu community they would of their own accord give up the privilege of communal representation.

Currency Commission.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* vehemently criticizes the proposed exchange ratio and says:—"The whole scheme is meant to be one of illicit taxation and the payment of a bounty to the foreign manufacturer. No wonder that Lancashire is gloating over Sir Basil Blacket's patriotic prescience and the assertion of the 18*d*. ratio."

Ban on Pandit Malaviya.

Referring to the withdrawal of cases against Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje the *Bedar* remarks:—O Muslims, feel ashamed of yourselves and witness the strength of union which has made even a mighty power like Government bow its head before a man of poor physique like Pandit Malaviya. Neither will Government sympathize with you, O Muslims, nor will you be able to lead honourable lives so long as you are not guided by the teachings of Islam.

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ALLAHABAD:
September 11, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 37 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 18, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Medina* thinks that the object of the treaty among Russia, Persia and Turkey is to form a combination against the European powers, which have tied down the East with the chain of imperialism, and also to help one another when the spirit of liberty prevails in the East. It says that every Asiatic will welcome such alliances as are calculated to defend the East against European imperialism. The *Najat* remarks:—This union will deal a fatal blow to the imperialistic governments of Europe and as Britain has relations with other powers she will have to encounter the most serious difficulties. The desire of the Bolsheviks has been fulfilled and they have succeeded in spreading a huge net over Asia which will bring all the Asiatic powers together, diminish the British prestige in the East and alienate Persian sympathy from the British. The *Mansur* opines that the new treaty between Afghanistan and Russia demonstrates the matchless statesmanship and unrivalled tact of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan. The fear of the Government of India is baseless for this new treaty is only one of the items in the scheme of the King of Afghanistan for the progress and uplift of his country.

The Allahabad disturbance.

The attack on the Dadhikando procession at Allahabad has evoked strong and bitter comments in the Hindu papers. With the exception of the *Haqiqat* no Muslim paper has so far commented on the subject. In the course of an article under the heading "The latest scandal" the *Leader* writes:—The Muslims' attack on the Hindu procession, which was unarmed and depended for its safety entirely on police protection, was premeditated, organized and unprovoked. No prayer was going on at the time, nor was there music in front of the mosque. The police seemed to have looked helplessly on at the time. Why were not the assailants caught red-handed? Why were no arrests made in the mosque? Did the authorities rely upon assurances given by any of the Muslim leaders? The District Magistrate has been very good to the Muhammadans, but he has been so repaid for his kindness and consideration which indeed might have been thought by some to amount to partiality. How can the Hindus hereafter have confidence in the capacity of the police to protect their processions against similar assaults? The authorities owe it to themselves—never mind the Hindus—to take steps to find out the real culprits and enforce respect for law and order. Either the officers responsible for the administration of Allahabad will even now open their eyes to the realities of the situation and act henceforth as efficient, impartial and responsible officials are expected to do, or it will be the duty of the Government to make other and proper arrangements. In a subsequent note the paper says:—In the light of the incidents of Sunday it would be an aggravation of injustice if anybody sought 'to cast upon the Hindus even fractional responsibility for what happened. In the course of an interview given to a representative of the paper Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru says:—I sometimes ask myself whether the Government has ceased to function or whether it has abdicated its powers and responsibilities in favour of "leaders" who are and should be expected to be partisans, some of whom are mischievous fomenters of strife and conspirators against public peace. To my mind if these riots can be treated as evidence of the perversity of the Hindus and Muhammadans, they can be fairly treated as evidence of a breakdown of the local administration. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The ugly outbreak at Allahabad shows as by a flash of light the wretched position in which our communal propagandists have placed the innocent people. Today Sir Abdur

INDIA OFFICE

Rahim and Pandit Malaviya have possessed the public mind. Their speeches are listened to by an impressionable audience who think the most godly and h eroic thing in the world is to give a good hammering to the other side . . . . Allahabad is a Hindu centre. No wonder the Muslims have chosen Prayag as a suitable place to make a demonstration of their puissance. The mild Hindus in some other place might decide to retaliate. That is the *summum bonum* of Malaviya-*cum*-Abdur Rahim politics. The *Aj* says that the Muslim attack on the Dadhikando procession was unprovoked and was made in the presence of Muslim leaders. The procession was attacked under the very nose of the police which neither prevented the attack nor made any arrests on the spot. Such conduct of the local authorities is surprising and makes one incline to remark that if the authorities cannot protect the citizens, they should not prevent the latter from concerting measures for self-protection. When the police permitted the procession and disallowed the carrying of *lathis* by the processionists, was it not its duty to make adequate arrangements for their protection against the attacks of *badmashes*. The *Vivek* says that the attack on the Dadhikando procession was most brutal and was disgraceful to the Muslims. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police and the police guard were present, but could not protect the people. This being the case, can anybody expect preservation of peace at the hands of the police? The *Vartman* blames the police for dereliction of duty at the time of the disturbance and regrets that in spite of the repeated complaints of the Hindus against the City Kotwal the Government continues to keep him in a place where his presence is declared to be dangerous and prejudicial to public peace. The Muslims rely a great deal on the Kotwal. By committing breach of faith with Hindus the Muslims have again demonstrated their animosity. The Hindus should not allow themselves to be depressed and cowed down. If they organize and strengthen themselves the Muslims will be forced to make true peace with them. The *Haqiqat* remarks that the account of the riot shows that the Muslims were aggressors. It is regrettable that the disturbance took place in the presence of leaders of both the parties. When the parties are determined not to mind any disturbances and to show no toleration to each other disturbances are bound to occur daily and it is useless to rue them.

Music before mosques.

Hindu papers strongly protest against the order of the District Magistrate of Etawah forbidding the playing of music in a Hindu house near a mosque in that city. The *Anand* deplores that in spite of the claims of Lords Birkenhead and Irwin and Sir Alexander Muddiman that Government officials do not show partiality in communal matters there are officials in the country who do not attach any importance to religious liberty. Up till now the religious liberty of the Hindus was crushed by applying section 144 forbidding them to play music before mosques on roads, but the District Magistrate of Etawah has gone a step further and has prohibited the celebration of a religious festival even indoors. Do Lords Birkenhead and Irwin regard this action as a specimen of Government's impartiality? The Hindus of the United Provinces are eager to know to what extent the Governor of the province regards this action as justified. The *Abhyudaya* says:—The pets of the bureaucracy in this country have put a strange interpretation on law. The Hindus have the same right to celebrate their religious festivals in their houses as the Muslims have to say their prayers in mosques. It is the Collector's duty to protect the rights of both the communities. The Collector apprehended breach of peace. But from whom? If from Muslims, he ought to have taken steps against Muslims. What sort of justice is this that the innocent should be punished? We want to tell the Collector and the Government frankly that their encouragement of bigotry and submission to brute force is responsible for the present working of the Muslim mind, and if the Government continues to encourage it in this way some day it would also have to suffer serious loss along with the nation. The *Aj* says that such interference with religious functions in private houses lays an axe at the very root of citizenship. In another article the paper writes:—The absolute authority given to local officers to decide the question of music before mosques is producing very deplorable results. The authorities have begun to interfere with all-India festivals like Janmashtami. Have the Provincial and the Central authorities considered what terrible consequences this can produce? To leave the decision of such an all-India question to the option of local authorities argues bankruptcy of statesmanship, administrative ability and tact among higher authorities. Referring to the abandonment of the Dasehra celebration at Allahabad last year the *Abhyudaya* deplores the breakdown of negotiations

between the communal leaders of the town on the question of music before mosques this year and urges the Collector to permit the Hindus to take out their processions unconditionally. It says:—The Hindus do not want any innovation. They want to do the same thing which they have been doing for the last several centuries. If Muslims have any objection and they want to stop music they ought to get an order to this effect passed by a court of law. So long as such an order is not passed every effort of the Collector to stop music will be unjustified. Commenting on the remarks of the *Leader* on the order of the District Magistrate of Etawah *Al Khalil* says:—Bigotry has rendered the *Leader* so senseless that in criticizing the action of the District Magistrate it fails to see that the Queen's Proclamation promised the protection of law to the Muslims as well. The *Leader* sees the mote in others' eyes, but does not see the beam in its own. Cow-slaughter is forbidden throughout Rajputana and the Sikh States, but this encroachment on the birth-right of Muslims and Islamic injunction does not seem to have vexed the *Leader*. The *Leader* refers to the singing of the French National Anthem on the occasion of the inauguration of the Paris mosque. This is no justification for the playing of music before mosques elsewhere. In England most of the Hindus take beef under the influence of local custom. If the Muslims bring this argument before the Legislative Councils of India to prove that Hindus are beef-eaters, will the *Leader* support these Muslim members?

Election campaign.

The *Leader* strongly criticizes Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for "wasting his time in trying to set up another party with a new nomenclature, but with practically the same objects as those of the responsive co-operation party in the fond hope of bringing together on one common platform the Swarajists and other Congressmen who have not joined the party." It adds:—If Pandit Malaviya wants to help the *Swaraj* Party and through it the bureaucracy he cannot do better than persist in his morbid pursuit of sham unity. The *Aligarh Mail* deprecates the formation of the Independent Congress Party and says:—In spite of all the disguises that the party may choose to adopt it cannot be anything but communal in its policy and outlook. Its composition and the leadership that it is going to receive clearly foreshadow the nature of the programme that it is bound to follow. The name of the party should be "Knights of the Order of Lathi" or the "Sangathan Party." The *Sainik* exhorts the people to vote for the candidates of the *Swaraj* Party only and says that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai are advising the nation to lay down arms before the enemy. Exhorting the Hindus of the seven cities not to vote for Pandit Motilal Nehru, the *Bharat* says:—The fact that Mr. Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu are extremely dangerous for Hindu interests is not concealed from any Hindu child. The Hindu public is fully acquainted with Mr. Nehru's ideas, ways and manners, and if the Hindu electors still return him it would be their misfortune. Referring to the negotiations for compromise among political parties in India, the *Medina* says that Lala Lajpat Rai and other reactionaries of his way of thinking have been won over by the enchanting eloquence of the Benares wizard (Pandit Malaviya) and have become a source of embarrassment to the *Swaraj* Party in connexion with the coming elections. The Hindu *Sabha* and Responsive co-operation leaders are out to defeat the *Swaraj* Party simply because that party has so far steered clear of the communal quagmire. Pandit Malaviya & Co. are trying to win over the *Swaraj* Party because they are afraid lest their wranglings should weaken them and strengthen the position of the third party which would take away the game like the fox of the fable in the suicidal fight of the bear and the lion.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Discussing in a series of articles the causes of communal tension and its remedies the *Aligarh Mail* says that the abolition of separate electorates and ban on cow-killing would not prove very effective in bringing about better relations between the two important communities. On the contrary they might work positive harm to the best interests of India. The only just solution is toleration towards the practices and beliefs of other people who differ with us. A Hindu should not bother himself if a few more cows are sacrificed on Bakr-Id day just as he does not usually bother himself about cows being slaughtered on other days of the year. Similarly a Muslim should not insist that music should be stopped when passing a mosque just as he does not ask the din and the noise of traffic to cease when the time for prayers approaches. Of course care should be taken that nothing is done to wound wantonly the feelings of any community. Muslims should not make a special show of cows that are to be sacrificed, nor should Hindus make

it a point to stop before mosques to give an exhibition of the strength of their lungs by shouting "jai, jai" or the melodiousness of their musical instruments. The *Medina* takes the Arya Samajist propagandists to task for kidnapping Muslim and Christian children and hiding them in orphanages and says:—Kidnapping of minors is highly objectionable and tyrannical. Nothing can be more shameful and degrading than these incidents which are calculated to foster communal hatred in the country. It is, however, gratifying to note that Islamic missionaries are free from such blots. It is to be regretted that educated and respectable Arya Samajists are doing those very things for which they reproach ignorant and profligate Muslims. The Government must take steps to stop such movements. Under the heading "A dreadful conspiracy" the *Sada-i-Muslim* writes:—It appears that some mischievous Hindus of Cawnpore have established an association which is day and night engaged in tracing the whereabouts of newly-converted Muslim women, and whenever it is found that such women are under the protection of some weak Muslims they are forcibly kidnapped and after reconversion are sent to some other place. We also learn that Muslim children are missing these days. It is the duty of local officials to stop all this. Otherwise these incidents will destroy peace and order. It is the duty of Muslims also to organize an association of volunteers to check such mischievous activities and to look after the children more carefully. In the course of an editorial note the *Medina* says:—The unjustified effusions of Lord Olivier are bearing fruit. In order to remove the charge (of pro-Muslim bias) the saw of law and order has been set apart for the heart of Muslims. In Rewari poor Muslim labourers and agriculturists are being sent to jail. In Calcutta while Hindus are being released Muslims are being inconsiderately imprisoned. Now Muslim papers are also falling victims. The *fatwa* for the publication of which the editor of *Al Aman* is being prosecuted was only a harmless document and was not in any way calculated to foster hatred or animosity between the two communities. On the other hand, Government has shown its impartiality by withdrawing the cases against Dr. Moonje and Pandit Malaviya.

Kakori dacoity case.

A number of papers are vehemently protesting against the treatment accorded to the accused in the Kakori dacoity case. The *Bharat* says:—Such incidents cast a blot on the British justice and give rise to the suspicion that the Government wants to harass and ruin Indian patriots in every way. The *Vartman* compares the treatment meted out to the under-trial prisoners in the Kakori dacoity case with that accorded to Europeans in jail whose guilt has been fully established and says:—The Government is mistaken if it expects co-operation while following such a policy. Its deeds are not such as to deserve the co-operation of Indians. Referring to the hunger strike the *Medina* says that the accused have enhanced their self-respect by having recourse to this dignified method of ventilating their grievances. They have also exposed the blots on the morality and administration of Government officials. The extreme step taken by the accused shows that the harsh treatment accorded by officials was beyond human endurance. The *Haqiqat* remarks:—Those prisoners who have not yet been declared guilty should be treated like gentlemen. Although they are all educated persons they are treated like thieves and bad characters.

Political propaganda.

The *Republic* deplores that many extremist leaders have gone over to the Responsive Party and says:—The political emancipation of India can be effected only by extremist leaders who do not believe in moderatism which is nothing but begging in disguise. Rejoicing at the abolition of slavery in Nepal the *Shanker* says:—Nepal is an independent country. The slaves there were the slaves of their own people, but the thirty-two crores of slaves in India are the slaves of others. They hanker after the favours of others and are under the subjection of a people living across the seven seas. A handful of Englishmen drive these thirty-two crores of slaves like sheep. On account of their slavery Indians are not valued even like beasts. The *Aj* writes:—Under the present bureaucratic Government the manhood of the people has been seriously undermined. They have become short-lived and are always a prey to recurring epidemics. The condition of the people is simply deplorable now. For this the administration is responsible. It is possible that the administration may improve their condition, but it cannot restore their manhood which can be done only if villages again become the pillars of the administrative edifice and cultivators themselves learn the art of administration. This reform cannot be effected by co-operation or responsive

co-operation. It is possible only when we cease to co-operate with the irresponsible administration and prevent it from masquerading under the guise of democracy on the one hand, and fit the people for self-administration on the other. In another article the paper says that the agitation against Lord Olivier for his statement that there was a predominant bias in British officialdom in India in favour of Muslims is a good example of hushing up truth by howling and making a truth appear to be a falsehood. Events which are taking place today in India go to confirm Lord Olivier's statement. In view of the interference in the name of law and order with the celebration of an important Hindu festival, the refusal of Allahabad Hindus to take out processions owing to the unjust orders of local officers and the stoppage of Arya Samaj *nagarkirtan* it is impossible to prove Lord Olivier to be untruthful. It is the Muslims who are mostly responsible for the present communal wave in the country. By establishing the Muslim League they encouraged the growth of separate communal organizations in the country. They are the creators of the system of separate representation and special privileges. The authorities too, like the Muslims, are responsible for the communal feeling. Had they not supported the unjust demands of the Muslims this feeling would not have become so acute. Today the bureaucracy is following Lord Minto's policy of favouritism to Muslims and of separatism. The *Sach* reproduces a lengthy article published in *Al Islah* (Germany) written by Maulvi Barkat Ullah of Bhopal, now in exile. In the course of the article the writer says that India which was formerly rich and prosperous has been reduced to penury during British rule as the following four leeches have been sucking its blood:—(1) Foreign articles which take away millions of pounds from India and do not let Indian industries thrive. (2) Excessive and unbearable rent. (3) Foreign traders who purchase raw materials from India at cheap rates and sell them in the markets of the world at high prices. (4) The payment of interest on public debt to British capitalists. Agriculture, industries and trade, the three sources of income, are in the hands of foreigners. How can the people prosper in such circumstances? It is not surprising that 80 per cent. of the population does not get two full meals daily. The national leaders whether they be Hindus, Sikhs or Muslims are to blame as they do not take any advantage of the new movements going on in the world. The leaders should take up the cause of 250 millions of people who produce vast wealth by agriculture and labour, but are being robbed of the fruits of their work by foreign robbers. The world war made several small nations free, but Indian leaders having been deceived by the sweet words of the foreigners gave help to them and did not only strengthen the bonds of the slavery of their own country, but enslaved many new nations also. The agriculturists and the labourers should follow in the footsteps of the British labour and should send their own representatives to municipal and legislative bodies. The students should also in co-operation with peasants and labourers establish a league for the complete political and economic freedom of India. Its economic aim should be socialistic. It should also aim at the boycott of the service, both civil and military, of foreign rulers. If educated patriots in India make agriculture, industry and trade their vocation they will be able to explain political and economic matters to villagers and labourers. Once these men understand how they are defrauded of the fruit of their labour they will demand their rights in the way the British labourers are doing.

Indian States.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* publishes in its editoral article "the broad outlines" of "an atrocious case of mutilation and torture" in the territory of one of the ruling chiefs in the Punjab. The victim is said to be a young man named Onkarnath, a clerk in one of the offices of the State. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks:—If the account given by Onkarnath's relations is true it is a big blot on humanity. It is highly desirable that the Chief Minister of Jind should direct his attention to this matter.

The problem of unemployment.

Referring to the report that the Government of India has by means of a circular letter invited the attention of local Governments to the question of unemployment the *Najat* says that those who are aware of the ways of the Government and the opposition offered by it to the proposal made by a non-official member of the Legislative Assembly for tackling this problem cannot regard the circular letter as an effective remedy. The fact is that the Government of India does not deem it its duty to redress our grievances and like a foreign government has got accustomed to neglect our welfare. Otherwise it would not have rest content with

issuing a letter regarding a problem which has rendered two-thirds of the population half-dead.

Hindus in police service.

Quoting figures from official replies to Babu Vikramajit Singh's question in the United Provinces Legislative Council regarding the percentage of Hindus in the United Provinces police service the *Leader* writes:—Do the figures show that the Hindus who form nearly 86 per cent. of the population of the province are fairly represented in the police service? What is the reason that from the ranks of the constabulary upwards they are so inadequately represented in the service? Is there a policy behind it? If there is, let the Government have the courage and the candour to avow it publicly.

Indians in Berlin Zoo.

The *Leader* writes:—The news that a number of Indians are being exhibited in a Berlin Zoo by a European has naturally caused a sensation in this country. The Government of India ought to make inquiries and if the allegations prove true, act promptly and decisively in vindication of the self-respect of Indians.

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ALLAHABAD:
September 18, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 38 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 25, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

THE *Vivek* remarks that since the establishment of the system of mandates by the League of Nations the imperialistic countries of Europe can commit atrocities in the name of peace and benevolence which they formerly used to commit on the strength of their brute force and on their own responsibility. This system has been introduced in places where the major powers of Europe had interests but which they could not occupy in any other way. The system has deprived the weak countries of the protection which was formerly afforded by the political rivalries of European nations. Referring to the news published in *Jarida Shafaq Surkh* that the Iraq Government and the British Government are responsible for the disturbances in Persia the *Sarfaraz* says:—The British policy against Persia is condemnable and cannot be successful in the Middle East by creating a hostile spirit in the hearts of Persians. The history of the last few years shows what losses Britain has had to suffer through this policy. British statesmen should think over this delicate question and should try to change into love the hatred which is being created against Britain in the Islamic world. The British policy towards the Hedjaz and Persia is shocking to those who are loyal to Government and an early change in it is needed, otherwise the consequences will be deplorable. The *Hamdam* says that without the support of Britain it would have been almost impossible for Ibn Saud to conquer the Hedjaz. Under the impression that he would prove a fit person to safeguard British interests in the Middle East Britain gave him moral and material support in every way, but his friendly negotiations with France have now opened her eyes. Referring to Bolshevik activities in China, Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan the *Najat* wonders if Britain can face the Bolshevik danger and says:—Britain's condition within her own territories does not show that she is fully ready to face the danger because owing to her suspicions against her subjects she cannot be prepared to take any steps towards reforms. Along with the external danger she fears lest her own subjects should prove troublesome to her. It may, therefore, be said that this spirit of distrust on the part of Britain increases the gravity of the external danger and the Bolshevik bogey is in reality an indescribable danger for her.

The Allahabad disturbance.

The disturbance at Allahabad during the Dadhikando procession continues to receive prominent attention in the Press. While the Hindu papers lay the entire blame on the Muslims, the Muslim papers, with the exception of the *Haqiqat*, hold that the trouble was wholly due to the generally aggressive, uncompromising and provoking attitude of the Hindus and their insistence on playing music before mosques just at prayer time. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The Muslims, in spite of the daily pin-pricks and deadlier thrusts that they receive every day, usually keep up their balance of mind. During the last riot too nothing serious would have happened were it not for the fact that perhaps some boy, provoked beyond endurance, threw something on the mob—it could have hardly been called anything else—that was, because of its noise making it absolutely impossible to offer prayers. This was just what the Hindu processionists wanted and the rioting started. They threw the whole blame upon the Muslims and as the Hindus through their intense agitation on the previous occasion had already made the authorities dread them, they got the officials on their side. The authorities have succeeded in pleasing the Hindus, but have they gained anything in self-respect? Their show of this weakness

deserves strong condemnation and it is hoped that the Government would take strong measures to prevent the example from becoming contagious. In the course of a series of articles the *Abhyudaya* seeks to show that the Muslims were entirely responsible for the breach of peace and vehemently criticizes the authorities for not arresting on the spot the Muslims who attacked the procession. It says :—The Hindus were unarmed. Through the kindness of the Joint Magistrate the Hindu Sabha volunteers had been deprived even of their three-foot long staffs which were allowed by law. What protection did the authorities give to the Hindus after disarming them in every way? We do not think the authorities to be so mean nor do we charge them with this, but what would be their reply if one were to say that they got the Hindus beaten by first disarming them? If Mr. Zahur Ahmad's statement in the *Leader* that the authorities had assured Muslim leaders that they would not allow the Hindus to play music before mosques at the time of *namaz* is correct, then it must be said that Mr. Crosthwaite had already determined to create trouble in every way. Luckily, however, for him and the Hindus the Muslims committed folly, created trouble without any justification and thus took the whole responsibility on their own shoulders. They were not afraid of the authorities because they knew that the authorities were their helpers in every way. Mr. Zahur Ahmad's statement also shows that the police was stationed in order to prevent Hindus from playing music before mosques. It was for this reason that when there was aggression on the part of Muslims the police could not do anything and remained motionless like wooden statues. The Hindus did not entreat the Collector to permit them to take out the procession. The Collector himself wanted that it should be taken out. We ask whether in such circumstances the arrangement which Mr. Crosthwaite made did not amount to treachery against the Hindus. The *Hindi Kesari* says:—The reports which have so far been received show that the riot was caused through the carelessness of the authorities. Mr. Zahur Ahmad's statement, published in the *Leader*, shows that the authorities resorted to a policy of double-dealing. The *Surya* says that the Muslim attack on the Hindu procession at Allahabad in the very presence of the district authorities is a strong commentary on the administrative ability of these authorities. The Government should hold an inquiry into the conduct of the officials of Allahabad and punish them if they are found guilty of dereliction of duty. Justice demands that the Government should now give up the policy of supporting the Collector of Allahabad at all costs. The *Vivek* says that it is quite possible that the Allahabad disturbance may favourably change the attitude of local officials towards the Hindus, who may be able to celebrate their festivals in future under the protection of Government bayonets and machine-guns. But they should bear in mind that the celebration of their festivals in this manner will render the task of the establishment of real communal unity impossible and will always compel them "to rub their foreheads against the feet of the rulers." They can welcome such a change of attitude only if they banish from their minds all thought of freeing their country. They should know that the rulers favour one community or the other only to serve their ends. The *Sainik* supports the *Leader's* criticism of the attitude of the Allahabad authorities and says :—There is no doubt that if Government wants the disturbances can be stopped to a considerable extent. But this cannot be expected of a Government which is based on the policy of divide and rule. It knows very well that the day the Hindus and the Muslims unite that very day its administration will come to an end. The *Pratap* writes :—It is clear that the authorities fear the Muslims and could not protect the Hindus. If the Hindus merely seek the assistance of the authorities for the protection of their ordinary rights as they are doing now they will commit a great mistake and will weaken themselves still more. They should learn to stand up and die for their ordinary rights. The Muslims are fanatical, foolish and lawless, but the authorities deserve to be placed in a worse category. If they cannot protect common citizens and are unable to suppress those who are bent upon making mischief they have no legal right to levy taxes and to regard their courts and police as custodians of justice and peace respectively. Now the question before the country is whether, when the authorities either do not or cannot protect the people anybody, who in self-defence or in order to keep his community on the alert does something which is culpable in ordinary times, can be regarded as a delinquent morally. The authorities do not protect the people and at the same time when people happen to do anything in self-defence they are ready to punish them. This is the height of high-handedness and deserves the severest moral condemnation. The *Vartman*

insinuates that Government officials encourage the communal disturbances in order to weaken the Congress party in the election campaign. It says:—The new Viceroy is either so simple or is so kept in the dark by the bureaucracy that he could not yet be convinced that Government officials can have a hand in the communal disturbances. If those officials deliberately allow the disturbances to take place what is their object? We have not forgotten those incidents of Bengal which have led us strongly to suspect that behind the Hindu-Muslim disturbances there was, in league with the Government party, a secret communal group which spread the communal fire to destroy the influence of the Congress and that this group received rupees fifty thousand from certain Europeans of Calcutta . . . At the Dadhikando procession at Allahabad the police did not restrain the rioters. It must, therefore, be said that the authorities might not have deputed the police to stop the disturbance. In order to remove the doubts of Lord Irwin we wish to inquire if the Allahabad disturbance was also a fortuitous event and had not at the bottom the desire to influence the Council elections. The *Hamdam* says that if the Dadhikando procession had passed by the mosque before the time of the prayer as intended by the local authorities there would have been no disturbance. It is said that some mischievous persons in the rear of the procession threw brickbats and blew a conch before the mosque. It is strange how so many Hindus received *lathi* blows when there is no mention anywhere of Muslims coming down from the mosque. Perhaps the Hindus were wounded by their own men. The disturbance demonstrates the folly and imprudence of the residents of Allahabad and establishes the advisability of processions being taken out before *maghrib* prayer as was formerly done. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that it is difficult to imagine the depth of the grief with which the Muslims have received the news of the arrest of Maulana Vilayat Husain and Maulana Fakhir and a large number of other Muslims at Allahabad. It says that as no disturbance is possible without the participation of two parties it is impossible to understand why Muslims alone are being arrested and the arrested Hindus are being released. The Government is not unaware of the way in which arrests are made after a disturbance and therefore we urge upon it to act with caution. Any carelessness on its part at such a time will prove ruinous to thousands of Muslims. The *Haqiqat* condemns the action of the Allahabad Muslims in attacking the Hindu procession without any provocation. *Al Khalil* remarks:—The mischief-makers do not deserve any sympathy whatever whether they be Muslims or Hindus. So long as the causes of these riots are not removed and the mischievous spirit continues to prevail it will be difficult to stop the riots. In the present atmosphere insistence on music before mosques and the arrival of huge processions there just at prayer time are likely to lead to riots. *Al Aziz* seeks to throw the entire responsibility for the disturbance on the Hindus and the local authorities and contends that no riot would have taken place if the usual time had been observed. It says:--For the last few years the number of processions at Allahabad has multiplied and the Dadhikando procession was given undue importance. Possibly the Magistrate was influenced by the fact that the Hindus had abandoned their processions on account of the imposition of restrictions and decided that this procession must be taken out at all costs. If this is true there can be no stronger proof of the weakness of a responsible district officer. Muslims had no desire to cause a riot, otherwise it would have been impossible to quell it so soon. We believe that some bad character was tempted to enter the mosque. It is very difficult to distinguish between a Hindu and a Muslim on such occasions. The Muslims were not fools to do what they are reported to have done in the presence of the authorities. In these circumstances if the Muslims are blamed for causing the riot it is murdering justice openly and encouraging violence. *Sadhus* had been brought before the mosque to practise *satyagraha*. The procession was hurriedly taken before Shubrati's mosque where it became distinctly slow and the processionists intentionally and loudly shouted "*jaikaras*," lifting their hands towards the mosque where Muslims had assembled before the appointed time to protect it from outrages. The *sadhus* came round the mosque again and again. One of them did an indecent act which provoked the Muslims. It is just possible that in religious frenzy some boy or mischievous Muslim did a thing which he ought not to have done, but the statement that the Muslims took the initiative is incorrect. The Superintendent of Police had no right to enter the mosque with shoes on. He could have arrested the criminal and got him severely punished, but this illegal action for recovering lost popularity is an ugly blot on the impartiality of a British

officer. It is reported that a certain person was arrested on the stairs of the mosque and handed over to the armed police who cowardly belaboured him with the butts of the gun. The riot had not yet become widespread when the *sadhus* who were present in the vicinity of the mosque commenced attacks with their tongs which were duly returned. The Hindu sepoys of the armed police cruelly beat the Muslim *ekkawalas* who were there to earn their livelihood. Are not the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police responsible for this? We believed that as His Majesty's subjects Hindus and Muslims were equal in the eyes of a British official but now we shall have to hold the opinion that Britain has entrusted the responsibility of administration in such weak hands as do not hesitate in being influenced by some party or personality. In another article the paper vehemently protests against the arrests of Maulana Vilayat Husain and Maulana Shah Muhammad Fakhir and says:—If such cruelty had been done to Muslims in the barbaric kingdom of Russia or under the blood-sucking Government of Germany we would have had no cause for complaint. But in this case an officer of a constitutional Government, either through his weakness or perturbed state of mind, has got the Muslim leaders arrested in order that the Muslims may be taught a lesson.

Election campaign.

Condemning the "electioneering tricks" of the various parties the *Republic* writes:—We never believe that the work in the Councils, however sincerely undertaken by the moderates or however indifferently undertaken by the Swarajists will hasten the days of *Swaraj*. The Congress by entangling itself with the Council problem has committed a great blunder . . . Pandit Motilal Nehru made a denationalizing statement utterly unworthy of the great leader and completely antagonistic to the interests of the premier national institution which he represents. The *Sainik* severely criticizes the action of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in forming the Independent Congress party and says:—During the last eight months Pandit Malaviya has changed colour like a chameleon. Like a political mimic he has appeared before the people at least in four colours. Whatever Lala Lajpat Rai and Malaviyaji and the motley army of traitors relying on them will do will serve to increase the power of Government and those who want to secure their selfish ends by cringing to it will find a unique opportunity. They will strengthen the chain of our slavery and ruin the country. The *Aj* condemns the formation of the Independent Congress party when its objects do not differ at all from those of the responsive co-operation party and says that Pandit Motilal Nehru is justified in maintaining the obstructionist policy and refusing to work out the reforms so long as the Government takes no further step in the constitutional advance and does not release the political detenus. The comparative effectiveness of the obstructionist policy is proved by the bureaucracy's fear of it and the official jubilation at the strength of the forces now arrayed against the *Swaraj* party. Pleading for union among the various parties the *Vartman* exhorts the people to forgive the sin committed by the Liberals in helping the Government in crushing the non-cooperation movement and suggests that they should now be taken within the fold of the union. The *Hamdam* is surprised that the Independent Congress party wishes to work in the name of the Congress, although it does not act upon the Congress programme and thinks that there is not much difference between this new party and the old moderate party. In another article the paper wonders why Hindus are opposing the Swarajists and how the latter have injured the interests of the former. It is the Muslims who have cause for complaint against the Swarajists in the matter of the grant of reforms to the Frontier province. Referring to the secession of some prominent Muslim Swarajists of Bengal from the Congress the *Medina* writes:—The Muslims of Bengal had most earnestly and sincerely cooperated with Mr. C. R. Das in making the Congress a success, but owing to the communal bigotry of the Bengal Hindus they have been constrained to sever their connexion with it and to form a separate party for safeguarding their interests. To ruin the Congress by opposing the Bengal pact is a shameful demonstration of Hindu mentality. The Hindus themselves are responsible for the attitude which the Muslims of Bengal have been forced to adopt.

Political propaganda.

The *Hindi Kesari* contends that with a view to make the Empire stable Englishmen act in collusion with Muslims. It quotes some passages from the account of Lord

Reading's administration, as given by the correspondent of a Paris journal who visited India in 1925 and interviewed Lord Reading, to show that "Hindus and Muslims were so skilfully worked upon that they began to suspect each other and national unity was brought to an end" and that "Lord Reading did not even attempt to conceal the partiality he felt for Muslims." Proceeding it invites the attention of the present Viceroy to the alleged statement of Lord Reading, "Our bad days are over: Hindu-Muslim unity is no more," and says:—Before asking us to regard the statement of both the ex-Viceroy and the ex-Secretary of State for India as incorrect, irrefutable proof of the impartiality of the Government should be furnished; mere assertions would not do. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the conviction of the people that the Government being a foreign one depends much upon the "divide and rule" policy has been confirmed by the recent speech of Lord Olivier and Lord Reading's conversation reproduced in the *Kesari* of Poona from a French monthly magazine. So long as a policy calculated to end Hindu-Muslim and Brahman-non-Brahman quarrels is not adopted Government cannot be exonerated of the charge of following the policy of divide and rule. Referring to an article of an English publicist contending that owing to the Hindu-Muslim quarrels it is impossible for British Parliament to grant at once India's demand for self-government the *Hamdam* writes:—This argument confirms the view held by some persons that English officers are responsible for the Hindu-Muslim quarrels as they seek to impress Parliament with the necessity of the existence of the British Government in India in order to prevent the various communities from flying at one another's throats. If the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims had been cordial it would not have been impossible for our masters to find out some other excuse. When India gets self-government the Hindus and the Muslims will themselves develop a sense of joint civic responsibility like the people of north and south Ireland who have been living in peace since the severance of their connexion with England. In the course of a lengthy article under the heading "Our knives at our throats" the *Desh Bhagat* says:—The foreign Government and its poisonous policy is the chief cause of our present adversity but this cannot absolve us of our own responsibility. If a sufficient proportion of the community were determined to put an end to this slavery and to live like free nations it is certain that their endeavours would prove fruitful. Reviewing the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly during the three years of its existence the *Medina* says:—The object of the Reforms was merely to cool down the political agitation by deluding the people and not to confer any benefits. Every transaction of the Assembly and every Bill passed by it during the years 1925 and 1926 have made the condition of India go from bad to worse.

Indian States.

The *Aligarh Mail* says that the Government of India's "ultimatum" to the Nizam is *ultra vires* and that its claims are based on sheer force. It adds:—In what way does the treatment of the British to her allies (Indian Princes) differ from that accorded by Germany to Belgium? To a layman, with no pretence to statesmanship there is no material difference between the two. The note to the Nizam was an insult to Indian princes and may lead to serious consequences. In another article reviewing the administration of the state the paper tries to establish that there has been an all-round general improvement in all departments and that "the charge of inefficiency against the state administration is a mere hallucination or a concoction of certain rather imaginative brains and cannot be supported by actual facts." Concluding, it says:—The fact of the matter is that the real reasons for the notorious note to the Nizam were never given out because it did not suit the policy of the Indian Government. The effects of this note are very far-reaching and the issues raised by it quite grave. A number of other Muslim papers have also written in a similar strain on the attitude of the Government of India towards the Nizam.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the comment of the *Leader* on the reply of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to the address presented to him by the Anjuman Islamia of West Khandesh regarding the appointment of Muslims in the services of the province the *Hamdam* says that the injustice done to the Muslims for a long time in the past can be remedied only by giving special preference to qualified Muslim candidates in future appointments as long as their recognized proportion in the public service is not made good. We do not say that the Bombay Government was ever partial to the Hindus but there is no doubt that the claims of qualified Muslims used to be overlooked there as in other provinces because the Hindu

heads of offices do not allow the applications of the Muslims to reach the Government The *Sarfaraz* is sceptical about the success of the proposed Hedjaz Conference at Lucknow on the ground that it will consist of persons having divergent aims and objects.

Kakori dacoity case.

In the course of an editorial article under the heading "Bureaucratic sophistry" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The statement which the Governor in Council has chosen to publish in regard to the Kakori under-trials on hunger-strike is a fine essay in sophistry. The *communiqué*, instead of explaining the position of the Government or extenuating the action of the officers concerned who have been punishing the under-trials by putting fetters on their bodies, only shows how jails are surcharged with that evil which, the poet says, "is wrought by want of thought as well as want of heart." The *communiqué* has made confusion worse confounded. It makes us doubt the honest anxiety of the Government to come to a fair and reasonable settlement of this wretched affair. A number of vernacular papers have also commented more or less on similar lines.

Communal representation.

Referring to Bhai Parmanand's opposition to Mr. Asaf Ali's nomination to the Assembly on the Congress ticket from the Delhi mixed constituency and to his remark that it would be a suicidal policy if the Hindus voted for a Muslim the *Aligarh Mail* says:—After this clear announcement of policy on the part of a responsible Hindu leader, the last vestige of any illusion that some misguided Muslims might have entertained regarding the attitude of the Hindus if separate electorates were abolished, ought to disappear. The deplorable fact about the matter is that this morbid communalism is not confined to a mere handful of the so-called Hindu leaders but is generally shared by the Hindu public. Commenting on the statement of Pandit Motilal Nehru regarding separate Muslim representation the *Hamdam* regrets that a responsible and popular leader like Pandit Motilal Nehru should have opened the question of communal representation at this juncture as it will give to the enemies of the *Swaraj* party an opportunity of injuring it and will create distrust in the minds of the Muslims against that party. The present Hindu-Muslim quarrels are in no way due to communal representation. It is the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements which are responsible for them, for they have created an aggressive spirit in the Hindus and have incited them to commit all sorts of high-handedness on the Muslims. Thoughtful Muslims do not look upon the system of communal representation as a permanent arrangement, but in view of the present mentality of the Hindus it is impossible for the Muslims to give it up.

Jhusi riot.

Commenting on the sentences passed in the Jhusi riot case the *Leader* writes:—Without meaning any disrespect to the learned judge who pronounced the sentences, we are constrained to say that six capital sentences and thirty transportations for life do appear to us to be far heavier sentences than should have been imposed.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:

September 25, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 39 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 2, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

SUPPORTING Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer in pressing the claims of Indians for larger employment in the office of the League of Nations the *Leader* says:—We greatly desire that Indians should take more interest in the affairs of the League than they do at present. The League has great potentialities for the good of the world. But as Sir Ramaswami pointed out the employment of Indians will be one of the means of creating such interest. Referring to the treaty between France and Ibn Saud the *Haqiqat* says:—The parties had lost their confidence in British officials and this was the reason for their keenness about this treaty. The London papers apprehend a dangerous war as a result of a dispute between France and Britain in this connexion.

The Allahabad disturbance.

In the course of an article under the heading "Justice wanted" the *Aligarh Mail* attributes the disturbance at Allahabad to the "provocative gestures" of the processionists and to the throwing on them of something by "some one in the mosque, a Muslim or Hindu disguised as Muslim." It charges the authorities of Allahabad with showing partiality to the Hindus and says:—Any talk about fairness and justice to the Muslims of Allahabad is useless. The authorities have been cowed down by the intense propaganda and lies that have been regularly and systematically conducted by the Hindu Press for some time in the past. They have, therefore, resolved to please them at any cost. Maulanas Vilayat Husain and Fakhir, who had done all in their power to avert a disturbance of public peace, were arrested simply to please Hindus and to insult and wound Muslim feelings. These gentlemen, as is known to everybody, are not the kind of men who go about preaching rowdyism and making threatening demonstrations before a place of worship. The Superintendent of Police entered the mosque booted and spurred and quite indiscriminately administered kicks and blows to the occupants of the *Masjid*. The Muslims exercised wonderful restraint otherwise the Superintendent had furnished them with more than enough provocation to make an assault on him. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that after Calcutta and Dacca, Allahabad has now made it perfectly clear that the Government has become powerless to protect the lives and property of the innocent. A handful of riff-raffs can themselves do and by means of threats make the Government do whatever they like and the Government cannot make the least protest. All this shows that the Government is acting treacherously towards the Hindus. We cannot congratulate the Government on this policy because by following this it may achieve temporary gains but when the peace-loving Hindus realize that everything lies in hooliganism and rowdyism the Government will find itself in hot waters. The *Anand* writes:—The fact that the authorities did not arrest the hooligans and the police did not raise its hand even though it saw people being belaboured will make the Hindus think that the Government does not care to protect them. Can the Allahabad authorities support this action of theirs in any way? Is this a specimen of the firmness which the Government *communiqué* issued in June last stated would be shown in suppressing disturbances? The *Arya Mitra* says that the recent riots at Dacca and Allahabad have enabled the authorities to see with their own eyes the extent to which the Muslims oppress the peace-loving Hindus. Those who always blame the Hindus and teach them the lesson of peace should peruse such painful accounts carefully. It is due to the want of self-reliance among the Hindus that the *goonda* party does not allow them to sit with ease. *Al Khalil* takes strong exception to the attitude adopted by the *Leader* in publishing reports of the Allahabad riot and says:—The duty of an editor is to describe the facts and not to beat the breast like women. Had the editor of the *Leader* been a police officer, he would have

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demolished the mosque and shot the Muslims indiscriminately. When an ex-Minister and the distinguished editor of a well-known paper like the *Leader* turns mad on the occasion of Hindu-Muslim riots who can expect other leaders to think over these problems coolly ? How can India attain *Swaraj* when such is the mentality of the over whelming majority of the educated Hindus? In another article the paper says:—Government should take steps for removing the causes of the riots and to check the activities of the leaders who are at the bottom of these disturbances, who have trampled under foot the law of the Government and dealt a death-blow to its prestige. *Al Aziz* says that every one at Allahabad is anxious to know what the attitude of the authorities towards the revered *Ulema* will be and wonders why the securities taken from them have not been cancelled. The paper tries to show that Maulanas Vilayat Husain and Muhammad Fakhir are innocent and says that perhaps the district authorities have not yet realized the mistake they made in treating the *Ulema* contemptuously and thereby incurring a grave responsibility. The Muslims of India are carefully watching the activities of the district authorities. Mr. Crosthwaite should now adopt a policy which will remove the Muslim complaints which are the results of the measures adopted by him through inexperience.

Dasehra at Allahabad.

Under the heading " A confession and a warning " the *Leader* criticizes the telegram of the District Magistrate of Allahabad that " procession will be allowed subject to such restriction regarding music and time as necessary to prevent riot " and says :— Is the conclusion to be drawn that Mr. Crosthwaite does not hope to be able to make such arrangements as may be calculated to prevent a riot, that he can only maintain " law and order " by depriving one community of its ancient right? The telegram very probably is a message of despair for the Hindus and also a warning to them that they may abandon all hope under the present régime of this district. In the circumstances it appears to us that few things are more probable than that for the second time in two consecutive years Allahabad will have to go without the grand and imposing Ramlila celebration which has delighted the hearts of generations of people. We could wish that at least some of the officers clothed with power had the imagination to realize what deep resentment such a policy as is being followed is bound to produce in the minds of a very large section of the population and what bad policy it is which has such a deplorable effect. The *Abhyudaya* says that the Hindus of Allahabad will accept no restrictions regarding music, time and the carrying of sticks. So long as the administration of the town remains in the hands of the present authorities it would be a great mistake for the Hindus to lay down their sticks. We can never advise the Hindus to unarm themselves completely and rely for their protection on the wooden police and be beaten. It would be better for them to abandon their Ramlila and other processions. They can resort to *Satyagraha*, but they must understand that during the time of Mr. Crosthwaite they will never be able to carry it through inasmuch as they will be exposed to the blows of both the police and the Muslims. After their experience on the occasion of the *Dadhikando* procession Hindus cannot place their necks in the hands of the District Magistrate and relying on his protection lay down their sticks. In another article the paper writes :—The correspondence between the President, Ramlila Committee, and the Collector and the Joint Magistrate of Allahabad, shows that certain restrictions regarding music and time will surely be imposed on the Ramlila procession. This means that the peace of the town lies at the mercy of the *goondas*, that the British power has been cowed down by them and that it has surrendered its functions to them. These processions have been taken out for centuries past, but now it has been found necessary to impose certain restrictions on them. In view of all this, we urge that Mr. Crosthwaite should go. Allahabad does not want him. The situation in the town has never been so bad as in his time. It has been proved that he has no administrative capacity. What sort of justice is it that the Hindus should not be allowed to celebrate their festivals because the Collector cannot restrain the hooligans. *Al Aziz* apprehends that on the occassion of the coming Dasehra the procession will be deliberately brought before the mosque just at prayer time and therefore asks the authorities what their attitude in future will be.

Election campaign.

Supporting the formation of the Muslim party in Bengal the *Aligarh Mail* exhorts the Muslims of other provinces to form similar parties and says :—The cow-protection party and the *Sangathan Maha Sabha* party, otherwise known as the Congress

Independent Party, are in the field to put up candidates not by any means friendly to Muslim interests. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that Muslims of these provinces should elect to the councils only those who are best able to safeguard the interests of the community and to serve the country. In the course of an article explaining the reasons which have led it to appear as a daily paper the *Sainik* says:—The paper will strive to protect the Congress which the officials, their flatterers, the Liberals, and the Independent Congress Party are out to destroy. The *Sainik* would rather die than throw down arms before, and become part of, the foreign bureaucracy whose jubilation at present knows no bounds. The paper is vehemently attacking the leaders of the Liberal and the Independent Congress Party and championing the cause of the Swarajists. The *Vivek* deplores that new political parties like the Responsivists, the Indian National Party and the Independent Congress Party want to drag down the country from its high ideal of non-cooperation and make it follow the path of constitutional agitation. Referring to the rescission by the Jamiat-ul-ulema of the *Fatwa* relating to non-cooperation with Government the *Hamdam* says:—Perhaps like the Hindu *Maha Sabha* the Jamiat also wants to return such candidates to Legislatures as may care more for the interests of their community than of the country. We disapprove of the elections being fought on communal lines and we consider it as a great misfortune for the country, but we cannot blame the Jamiat, because after the activities of the Hindu *Sabha* the Jamiat had no alternative but to cancel the *Fatwa* and thus protect Muslim interests in the council. We would, however, advise the Muslims to send only their best men to the councils. The *Medina* supports the action of the Jamiat-ul-ulema and writes:—We still regard the councils as children's playground and the Reforms Scheme as a toy. But when a section of Hindus is bent on making the councils arenas for exhibiting their hostility towards Islam it is the duty of Muslims to go forward to protect their interests. Condemning Pandit Malaviya's sangathanist activities in the Assembly and council elections *Al Khalil* says:—It is now essential that Muslims should also turn their attention towards the protection of their rights. If Muslims lag behind in pressing their claims before the Royal Commission which is expected to visit India in 1929 it is probable that India may get freedom without the Muslims having any share in it. Muslims have, therefore, decided to organize a Muslim Liberal party in each province which will protect their rights in and outside the councils and while supporting the Congress in its demand for the freedom of India will also protect Muslim rights and compel Hindus to let the Muslims share the benefits of *Swaraj*. In another article the paper writes:—The election campaign carried on by Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is an open political war against the Muslims. It is clear that when an attack is made by an opponent the other party, howsoever peaceful it may be, has no alternative but to try to ward it off. When Hindus having a large majority cannot allow a few members of their community to keep off from communal questions how far would it be proper for Muslims to stand aloof from places where a war is carried on against their community, on which their life and death depends in India. The suggestions made by Sir Abdur Rahim on the point in his manifesto are commendable. The *Zulqarnain* says:—The bitter experiences of the past have led to political awakening in our countrymen who have decided to derive advantage by making a proper use of their franchise. So long as we do not start constructive work for making the present constitution a success our political progress will remain at a standstill. The fixed policy of British Parliament cannot be changed by resorting to unconstitutional methods. If we had sincerely cooperated with the Government during the last six years in order to render the present constitution successful, there would have been a hundred openings for our advancement and prosperity.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* publishes a contributed article in which the writer, B. Sampurnanand, says that though the Government issues *communiqués* to repudiate charges of its connexion with communal tension, yet the divergence between its professions and practice cannot be concealed for long. The Government can never welcome freedom for India and it is therefore no matter for surprise if it considers the Brahman and non-Brahman question, the conflict between the higher and the depressed classes and the Hindu-Muslim dissensions as advantageous to itself. The Government disavows its hand in these dissensions. Even if this be admitted that it does not foment trouble, we cannot concede that it does not strive to take advantage of it and that it maintains an attitude of neutrality with regard to it. The Allahabad riot and the Muslim attack on the Rajrajeshwari procession in Calcutta fully

bear out this contention. When the Hindus took out the processions unarmed with the permission of the authorities, why did not the latter protect them? If they cannot do so they had better leave the country at once. If in these circumstances the people charge them with partiality they are not in the wrong. If Government wanted to get the Hindus beaten under a delusion what other course could it follow? If these riots are to continue till the advent of the next Reforms Commission to prove the unfitness of Indians for further reforms the Government should bear in mind that it is easy to raise a spectre, but very difficult to quieten it. If the riots continue a few days more the Government will find it impossible to control the resultant anarchy and lawlessness and it will have no alternative but to leave the country. If it likes to do so, the Government may well commit suicide, but the Hindus should beware. Muslims may well cooperate with the Government but we Hindus cannot do so. The Government does not trust us. It cannot, therefore, side with us. The cry of responsive cooperation in these circumstances only provokes laughter. If our religious rights are interfered with, we should reply with *Sangathan* and *Satyagraha*. Both Hindu *dharma* and Aryan culture demand that whatever may happen we should not cooperate with the Government, but should make the country free. The *Pratap* warns the Hindus of the consequences of the decline of nationalism among them and says that no community can gain by cooperating with the Government. It is said that the Muslims have gained and their number has increased in services. History will, however, curse the community which for the sake of its temporary gains cooperated with the rulers and in doing so hampered the liberation of not only its own country or Asia, but of the whole world. The policy of divide and rule is a part of the system of the Government of India. The day the Hindus thought of cooperating with the bureaucracy and benefiting thereby like Muslims there was jubilation in the bureaucratic circles. The magic wand of the bureaucracy has manifestly affected us. After winning over the Muslims they are trying to captivate the nationalistic but weak hearts of the Hindus. The nation should beware of this. We will not allow the Government to gain victory over our hearts. The Government cannot protect our communal interests, it is we who shall have to protect them. The *Aj* says that Muslims may well regard their communal interests to be different from those of the country, but the Hindus as the original inhabitants of the country cannot do so. It is a most heart-rending and shameful spectacle that the Hindus, bidding good-bye to patriotism and nationalism, should for the protection of their imaginary communal interests seek shelter with those who hold the reins of autocratic government over the country. From considerations of self-interest Muslims are opposing the Congress and are supporting the bureaucracy. The astute rulers have won them over to their side to seduce the Hindus also from their path of duty and it is most deplorable that a section of the Hindus is playing into their hands and thereby postponing the day of the attainment of *Swaraj*.

The Hedjaz conference.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regards the Hedjaz conference as a success. It recognizes that "there is a strong feeling against Sultan Ibn Saud, and there can be no idea of a truce, let alone peace, with him and his intractable councillors," but is "left in a state of harrowing suspense as to the adjustment of means and ends to achieve a common purpose." The *Aligarh Mail* recognizes that the conference has done some good by bringing together some elements that were considered to be irreconcilable but thinks that the promoters of the conference can do very little in finding a solution to the Hedjaz problem. It thinks that they could have done much more good if they had directed their attention to a consideration and formulation of a common programme with regard to Indian problems. The *Hamdam* writes:—The Indian Hedjaz conference was a greater success than its organizers and supporters had expected, but now it is the duty of Muslims to carry out its proposals and thereby regain the freedom of offering their prayers in the centre of Islam, assure themselves regarding the protection of the green dome and completely remove the danger of non-Muslim interference with it. The *Haq* draws attention to the difficulties of Indian Muslims in adopting some effective programme for rescuing the Hedjaz from the domination and excesses of Ibn Saud and says:—The Muslims of India are unarmed while their adversary with the help of his supporters is equipped with the best of weapons and has a trained army at his command. A war with Ibn Saud is bound to create difficulties for the Indians on account of the distance and the obstructions which can and are likely to be thrown by others. Affairs

will go from bad to worse if we seek the help of those who while posing as embodiments of innocence are gloating over the whole affair. The *Sarfaraz* suggests that the first thing the conference should do is to send deputations to all Islamic countries to impress upon them that no good can be expected from the so-called Motmar and that active steps are needed for the expulsion of Ibn Saud from the Hedjaz. Effective measures should be taken for the postponement of the next *Haj* and in this way a complete non-cooperation with Ibn Saud should be observed all over the Islamic world.

Indian States.

The *Hamdam* publishes the proceedings of a meeting held at Kabul to protest against the attitude of the British Government towards the Indian princes in general, and the Nizam in particular. During the presidential address, it is stated, " frontier brethren" in general excitement exclaimed " We are ready for every service. Khan Sahib Muhammad Zakria Khan Popalzai is our representative. We are ready to sacrifice our lives and property in the path of God." The president said:—" Muslims should bear in mind that the weakening of the Nizam is the weakening of Islam in India." While moving a resolution Agha Syed Ali Wajid Bukhari said:—" In pursuance of its old policy the English Government wants to weaken all the Native States situated in India or on the border and to divide the free border tribes into small batches. We want to say in clear terms that if the Government does not discard its policy of interfering in the internal affairs of the Nizam the frontier tribes will not mind even sacrificing their lives and property in support of the Nizam."

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the order said to have been issued by the Patiala Darbar prohibiting instruction in the *Quran* and *Hadis* throughout the state the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—If the report that has reached this office is correct, then this order covers religious lectures, as well as the instructions given in mosques. No administration, even if it attempted, could have issued a more foolish order than the one issued by the Darbar. The *Medina* regards the institution of the case against the editor of *Al Aman* (Delhi) for publishing a *Fatwa* as extremely imprudent and as an undue interference with religious liberty and says:—If it was intended to punish some one for the religious *Fatwa* and thereby put fetters on the publication of Islamic injunctions the authors of the *Fatwa* and not the poor editor should have been arrested. Does the Government think that its past actions were insufficient to bring home to the Muslims that their religion is not safe under British Government and that the infliction of a fresh wound was necessary? *Al Barid* takes strong exception to the pamphlet entitled " Din Islam aur Uski ishaat " (Islam and its propagation), published by an Arya preacher named Lakshman and printed at the Star Press, Delhi. The paper says that it contains very insolent and objectionable passages against the prophet Muhammad and is bound to wound the feelings of Muslims and to enrage them and therefore it urges the Government to take proper steps against the author and to stop its publication.

The Najibabad disturbances.

The *Medina* admits that the Najibabad disturbance was initiated by Muslims but attributes it to the aggressive, intolerant and retaliatory spirit engendered by the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements and the local boards elections. It goes on to say:—Najibabad is the cradle of these movements. Seeing the activities of the Hindus the Muslims also inaugurated *tabligh* and *tanzim*. These communal activities produced extreme tension between the two communities and left no room for forbearance, tolerance and sobriety. There are in both communities people whose aims and aspirations can be fulfilled only through disturbances. The disturbance in question was as sudden as it was unexpected. It is a matter for pride for us that the Muslims did not allow the fair name of their community to be sullied by making cowardly attacks on women, old persons and isolated pedestrians. The attacks on Muslims were cowardly, so much so that a Muslim municipal servant who was lighting lamps in the streets of a Hindu muhalla was cruelly beaten to death by a few sangathanist heroes and thrown into the river. On the other hand Muslims suffered injury in their efforts to save helpless and innocent Hindus. In this way Muslims gained a decisive moral victory. It is for fair-minded persons to judge which community has a monopoly of cowardice, aggressiveness, hatred and enmity. We cannot say whether Malaviyaji and Company's *Sangathan* has been successful or not, but if success can be achieved only through the blood of innocent people we say the murder of the municipal servant has rendered the life of Malaviyaji successful and he can boast of it throughout his long life.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Emphasizing the need of organizing a Muslim party the *Aligarh Mail* says that the disorganization of Muslim forces and the disintegration of their collective life has, time and again, resulted in their just and legitimate claims being ignored and their rights trampled on by other aggressive and dominant communities of India. What was it if not organized protest that scared the Bengal Government into not arresting Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje when they entered Calcutta in spite of the ban put on them by the Calcutta authorities? Why did the authorities at Allahabad dare arrest two such leading Muslim religious leaders as Maulana Vilayat Husain and Maulana Rashid? In the course of an editorial article the *Abhyudaya* attributes the present growth of communal hooliganism in the country to the policy of divide and rule and says that in its foreign policy towards Muslim states the British Government also seeks to meet the demands of communal hooliganism in India. All that is being done has rendered the position of the Hindus very critical. On the one hand the Government is displeased with them because they take part in *Swaraj* agitation and on the other the Muslims are angry with them because they neither yield to Islamic communal prejudices nor take part in the pan-Islamic movement for handing over India to other foreigners after liberating her from the British.

Music before mosques.

Referring to the comments of Hindu papers on the remarks made by Miss Zakia Sulaiman, the Egyptian educationalist, that there were no "such silly question" in Egypt as music before mosques the *Aligarh Mail* remarks:—No people in the world are possessed with such an inordinate desire of disturbing others while at prayer as our Hindu friends appear to be and, therefore, there is naturally "no such silly question in Egypt." It is not "political Maulanas" but thoroughly communal Pandits, morbid Lalas and reactionary Swamis and biased journalists who have indefatigably worked to give the utmost prominence to the question so as to consolidate Hindu forces for aggression against Muslims.

The Kakori dacoity case.

Referring to the Government *communiqué* on the hunger-strike of the accused in the Kakori dacoity case the *Pratab* wants to know why special treatment cannot be meted out to them and says:—The points dealt with in the *communiqué* are so weak, hollow and silly that it is useless to comment on them. We know that the jail diet is worthless. All the vegetables grown in jails are in the first instance supplied to European officers in *dalis* and the residue is consumed by the jail employees. The prisoners get only grass and leaves. The flour can be called flour only by courtesy. However, all that we want is that those educated youths who are of good character should be accorded at least the same treatment as is meted out to Europeans and Anglo-Indians convicted of robbery, theft, bad-livelihood, deception and adultery. Everybody knows that the Government holds them to be political prisoners. It should, therefore, treat them according to their status.

Jhusi riot case.

The *Sainik* holds the sentence passed in the Jhusi riot case as extremely harsh and asks if the award of capital punishment to six Hindus for the life of one Muslim is of the nature of a remedy for the Hindu-Muslim disturbances. The *Anand* regards the sentences as unprecedented in their severity and asks whether all rioters will henceforth be dealt with very severely or that this severity was meant only for the Hindus of Jhusi?

Indians in Berlin Zoo.

The *Vivek* says that it is on account of their subjection that a hundred Indians are being exhibited in a zoo in Germany. We have not the strength to adopt practical measures against this disgrace. Liberty is the only means to put a stop to this shameful insult.

Foreign ghee.

The *Arya Patra* says that if it is correct that the foreign *ghee* which is sold as vegetable *ghee* in the market is an admixture of paraffin and nickel the Government should take immediate steps to stop its import. The *Oudh Akhbar* also makes a similar complaint and suggestion.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,

Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:

October 2, 1926.

MAILS BRANCH
26 OCT 1926
INDIA OFFICE

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 40 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 9, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Hamdam* strongly protests against the treatment accorded by Japan to her "distinguished guest" Raja Mahendra Pratap and attributes it to her desire to please the "Foreign Power" which considers him to be its enemy. In another article, denouncing the massacre of even non-combatant peaceful citizens in the Syrian war, it remarks: Has the life of an Asiatic Muslim no value at all? The callousness evinced by the French in Syria is an ugly blot on the entire civilization of the West. After such attitude of France and the silence of other European Powers can feelings of love and sincerity exist in the hearts of the Asiatic people for the standard-bearers of Western civilization? Condemning the attitude of British mine-owners in rejecting the "most reasonable and just" demands of the workers the *Mansur* writes: The oppressions of the capitalists are exceeding all bounds and it is therefore incumbent on the Administration to nationalise the mines.

Dasehra at Allahabad.

The orders of the district authorities regarding the Dasehra procession at Allahabad have evoked strong comments in the Hindu press. The *Pioneer* writes: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has received from the Government of the United Provinces the only reply which he could reasonably expect.... It is difficult for the impartial observer to understand why the Hindu leaders should suggest that the people should again rob themselves of the joys and happiness of the festival because of the simple conditions that have been laid down. Supporting the resolution passed at the public meeting held at Allahabad to protest against the attitude of the district authorities regarding the Dasehra procession, the *Leader* writes: There is no evidence that the Local Government have done anything to impress upon these authorities the necessity of regulating their actions in accordance with the sound principles enunciated by Lord Irwin. It is the duty of the Viceroy to see that the policy laid down by him is faithfully followed in the interests of just, strong and impartial administration and consequently of peace. Not only at Allahabad but at a number of other places the local authorities have been, in the name of law and order, placing unprecedented restrictions on Hindu processions because of the fear of the breach of the peace by a rowdy section of a community which feels emboldened, as is but natural, by every concession to unreasonable and untenable demands. The demand of the Hindus is just and reasonable. It is a demand which no self-respecting Government which wants to govern should ignore. The mere fact that a section of a community has shown proneness to take the law into its hands in several places to establish novel and untenable rights can furnish no justification for restricting the legitimate rights of a law-abiding community. The clear duty of the authorities in such cases is to restrain the would-be law-breakers, vindicate the majesty of law and uphold the rights of citizenship. If they fail to do so, they will be encouraging, however unwittingly, the lawless and forfeiting the confidence of the law-abiding. The *Abhyudaya* says that far from punishing the offenders Mr. Crosthwaite "hangs" justice. He thinks that if the Ramlila procession is taken out and music is played before mosques, the hooligans will certainly commit breach of peace. If a man possessing common-sense had been in authority he would have either arrested or bound over to keep the peace those from whom breach of peace was apprehended or he would have made some special arrangements to keep them in check. Riots take place through the incapacity and weakness of officials and especially when they yield to the demand of the ruffians and thus encourage injustice. Now the *goondas* have become so emboldened that the authorities cannot do anything without propitiating them. This is why

we say that Mr. Crosthwaite is "hanging" justice. In another article the paper contends that the reply given by the Superintendent of Police, Allahabad, to the President, Ramlila Committee of the town, is an admission of the former's inability to manage the affairs and says that there would have been no harm if Mr. Hollins had said in plain words that if the Hindus wanted to take out the Ramlila procession they should obey the orders of the Muslims. Mr. Hollins asks the Hindus to act according to the advice of the authorities. We ask whether after the Dadhikando experience the authorities still deserve the confidence of the people. The paper regards Mr. R. N. Basu's reply to the superintendent of police as irrefutable and says that Mr. Basu is right in declaring that the Hindus have begun to think that the reign of law has ceased and that of intimidation has taken its place. The reason why the Hindus have not yet taken the law into their own hands is that they are peace-loving and are afraid of even killing an ant and that their leaders prevent them from doing so. At present the Hindus of Allahabad are very excited. Voices are being raised on all sides that the Ramlila procession should be taken out in the usual manner whether the authorities permit the Hindus to do so or not. The Hindus also say that they should take out the Ramlila procession even if it costs them two or four thousand men in dead and injured. But even then they are quiet and the only change that has come over them is that they have lost all confidence in the local authorities and have begun to think that they will not be able to celebrate Ramlila so long as the present collector and the kotwal remain here. The replies of the collector and the superintendent of police show that the Government is unable to prevent the mischief and the excesses of the ruffians and therefore it wants to maintain peace by coercing peaceful citizens. The *Aj* says that every citizen in general, and every Hindu citizen in particular, will be grieved to read the contents of the correspondence between the President of the Ramlila Committee and the district authorities of Allahabad. There is no doubt that a breach of peace is very likely in case no restrictions are imposed. But neither the collector nor the superintendent of police states who is likely to commit breach of peace and trample upon the law and the rights of citizenship. The authorities are preventing the Hindus from performing a religious observance which is not unlawful. This is a triumph of *badmashes*. This is a victory of those who take the law into their hands and trample upon the rights of citizens and the authorities are siding with them. This is a terrible situation and it is the duty of every citizen and not only of Hindus to protest and take measures against it. This can be accomplished only by peaceful and non-violent *satyagrah*. The *Deshbandhu* writes: We want to tell Mr. Crosthwaite that the Hindus of Allahabad are not timid. They can offer *satyagraha* for asserting their rights. If the Hindu *Sabha* has been established really with a view to protect the rights of the Hindus and not only to secure seats in Councils for its members, why does it hesitate to take out its religious and sacred processions? The Government is foreign. It only wants to strengthen its hold and does not care about the Hindus taking out the Ramlila procession or the Muslims saying their prayers. We fail to understand why the Hindu *sabha* is supplicating for the help of the authorities. One's religion can be protected only by one's own strength and it loses its greatness if it is protected with the help of others. The *Vartman* writes: No one is prepared to believe that the Government has really become so weak as to be obliged to bow down before a handful of persons throwing brick-bats. We ought to ponder over the question why the Government is not as anxious to protect Hindu interests as it is to protect the religious liberty of other communities. It has become evident that the Government does not hesitate to ignore the sentiments of lakhs of Hindus in favour of those of a few hundred non-Hindus. Why have Hindus become so hollow and yielding that it has become easy to ignore them? They ought to make it clear that there can be no compromise in their religious matters and that they cannot tolerate a blow on their religion. Their religion is in danger. In another article the paper says: Through their short-sightedness or negligence or weakness of policy the local authorities allow such a situation to be created as to lead to a riot when none would have taken place. The administration of the District Magistrate of Allahabad has been proved to be full of gross partiality and injustice. If the collector is thus bent on trampling upon the civic rights of Allahabad the Hindus should also make up their mind that they will not allow the unjust policy of the authorities and the arbitrariness of some Muslim *goondas* to have their way. It is useless to take out the Ramlila procession or to celebrate any other festival of this kind so long as officers like Mr. Crosthwaite are at Allahabad. All Hindu *sabhas* of the province should help the Hindus of

Allahabad by holding meetings and should not sit quiet until the question of music before mosques is dropped altogether. *Al Bashir* complains of the obstinacy of the Hindus of Allahabad regarding the playing of music before mosques during the Dasehra procession but advises the "helpless Muslims who have no organizer, no wealth and no protector and who have already suffered enough from these riots," to try their best to keep aloof from all quarrels. It says that Muslims will be provoked in every way but they should calmly represent their just grievances to the authorities and carry out the orders passed by Government.

The Allahabad disturbances.

The *Medina* writes: We are convinced that the Government's autocratic officials can never do justice to Muslims in connexion with the disturbances and that the Government will always remain afraid of the majority, the propaganda and the wealth of the Hindus. In reply to the excesses committed by the Hindus on Muslims at Allahabad, Farrukhabad, Najibabad and other places even the Muslim theologians have been arrested. This shows conclusively that far from expecting any concession or help the Muslims should not hope for even bare justice at the hands of the Government and should never initiate a riot. If the Hindus give vent to their brutal propensities on the strength of ephemeral powers you should watch it quietly and patiently and get your claims adjudicated on by the so-called courts of law. How is it that fiery speakers like Pandit Malaviya and Moonje should be released in spite of their breaking the law and an old and aged theologian like Maulana Fakhir should be arrested? Fie on this justice! The *Mashriq* says: The arrest of Maulanas Fakhir and Vilayat Husain is a disgrace to the Muslim community, as unfortunately it does not command the power enjoyed by the Hindus which humiliated the Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal in Pandit Malaviya's case. These are inauspicious signs for the Government. The riots at Fatehpur, Shahabad, Saharanpur, Lucknow, Allahabad, Jhusi, etc., conclusively prove that the Hindus and the authorities are more to blame than the Muslims. Things are becoming more and more intolerable. Protesting against the proposed expulsion of vegetable-sellers from the Municipal market of Allahabad *Al Aziz* says:—The Hindus are for the third time making the experiment of opening a new *sabzi mandi* and are making their co-religionists take an oath that they would not purchase vegetables from any other *mandi*. We cannot imagine the seriousness of the trouble which will befall the city if, being overawed, the Commissioner accepts the resolution passed by the Municipal Board.

Election campaign.

The election campaign has suddenly brought into being a number of new papers. The *Abhyudaya*, the *Sainik*, and *Haq* have become daily and the *Vartman* of Cawnpore is being issued in Urdu also. The *Deshbandhu* has been started to champion the cause of the *Swaraj* party. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, the *Sainik*, and the *Aj* are vigorously supporting the Swarajists and carrying on an incessant and vehement campaign against the Liberal and the Independent Congress Party. The *Leader*, the *Abhyudaya*, the *Surya*, and the *Anand* are among the most powerful opponents of the *Swaraj* party. The *Abhyudaya* is the chief organ of the Independent Congress Party. Muslim papers have begun to advocate the formation of a solid Muslim party to safeguard Muslim interests in the Legislature. Many of them regard the Independent Congress party as a tool of the Sangathanists. The party organs are indulging in a good deal of recrimination. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: Co-operation does not appeal to the Swarajist because he is not concerned with the crumbs which fall to the few. "Nations by themselves are made" and, thanks to the Swarajist propaganda, the dry bones in the open valley are becoming instinct with life. What attracts the forward school in Indian politics to the electors is not the results but the opportunity for campaigning. The *Anand* says that the Congress by falling into the clutches of the *Swaraj* party has been drifting into a deplorable condition and the members of the Independent Congress Party who have determined to effect reforms in the Congress from within are the true servants of the country. All well-wishers of the country will do well to join the new party, if they are anxious to purge the Congress of party divisions and make it a really national body fit to lead the country in the struggle for *Swaraj*. Commenting on the formation of the Independent Congress Party in the United Provinces and on the manifesto recently issued by it the *j* says that it is impossible to find another instance in which the name of an institution has been prostituted to nullify its objects and discredit it in the public eye.

The aims and the programme of this new party which abuses the name of the Congress are those which were followed by the Liberals. The name of the Congress has been added to the party only to take advantage of its prestige and to secure entry into the Councils by throwing dust in the eyes of the people. For ourselves we think that *swaraj* will be attained only through the efforts of the people, through their sacrifices, and sufferings and not through work and speeches in Councils. The *Medina* takes Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to task for utilizing the Independent Congress Party for furthering the aims of the Hindu *Sabha* and says: If the Muslims are convinced that the Congress has become a Hindu organization and that their interests cannot be safeguarded by remaining in it, they should organize a solid Muslim party striving whole-heartedly for the freedom of India and their religion. They should also send to the Legislatures representatives who while fighting for the liberty of India will also strive to safeguard the rights of Muslims. In another article the paper supports the action of the *Jamiat-ul-ulema* in rescinding the *fatwa* against Council entry and appeals to Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, and other Muslim leaders to move with the times and serve the country and their religion through Councils. It says that as the place of Legislatures in politics has become inevitable there is no reason why they should not be utilized. Referring to Lala Lajpat Rai's address to the Muslims at Patna in which he appealed to the Muslims to draw up a programme and then ask for the support of Hindus, the *Hamdam* says: We also believe that if the Muslims organize themselves and lead a truly religious life they can achieve success in their efforts to attain *swaraj*, but during the last century the policy of the Government and the callousness and selfishness of their Hindu brethren have so much weakened the Muslims that it is difficult for them to traverse alone the thorny path of *swaraj*. Muslims should respond to Lala Lajpat Rai's appeal and along with communal reform they should draw up a vigorous and effective programme for the freedom of their country and invite the Hindu disciples of the Lala Sahib to co-operate with them. The *Azad* regrets that as an adverse result of the recent political awakening a considerable number of inefficient and selfish men have the audacity to oppose the best men. The *Swaraj* party has already acquired notoriety for preferring, out of party feeling, ordinary men to able and honest persons. These defects are to be seen even in the new Independent Congress Party.

The Hedjaz Conference.

The *Aligarh Mail* supports the resolution passed by the Hedjaz Conference regarding the postponement of the Haj and suggests that strong and organized efforts should be made to persuade the Muslims to postpone their pilgrimage until some settlement is reached on the Hedjaz question. It also suggests that all the Muslim bodies that have been formed to watch over the extra-territorial interests of the Indian Musalmans should at once be amalgamated and the Khilafatists and Harmainites should put forth their united efforts if they have any wish to achieve their end. The *Medina* ridicules the proceedings of the conference and remarks that its promoters were quite indifferent when during the Great War the holy places of Islam were being subjected to the tyrannies of the foreigners. The reason was, says the paper, that then it was dangerous to do anything in the matter as they would have been deported or otherwise summarily punished by the British Government. Now, however, they can indulge in lamentations with impunity. The major portion of the presidential address was devoted to impracticable propositions and has rendered the solution of the Hedjaz problem more complex. There are no doubt certain innocent proposals which would have deserved the practical support of Muslims if they had no other work in view. But the problems relating to Indian independence, the efforts of the Hindus to gain supremacy, and the disorganization among Muslims call for all the powers and resources which Muslims can command. *Al Bashir* remarks that it is wiser to set one's own house in order before meddling in the affairs of others. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says: Everyone in touch with current politics understands what Faisal's visit to London and the grand reception accorded to him mean. The fact is that both Britain and France are anxious to increase their influence in the Hedjaz and so they are always ready to help Ibn Saud. In these circumstances it seems almost impossible to establish an independent Government in the country unless its financial condition is very much improved. Therefore the best thing to do would be to establish an organization which the Muslims all over the world could join. Every member of this organization should be a servant of Harmain and should devote a portion of his income to the protection and safety of the Hedjaz. This is the only means by which Britain and France can be compelled

to abandon their machinations in the holy land. The *Sadaqat* is gratified at the representative character and success of the conference and hopes that if India utilizes all her resources in giving effect to the resolutions, its object will be fulfilled.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an article contributed to the *Hindi Punch* the writer, Kshemanand Rahat, writes: There are two ugly wounds in the body-politic of India, namely, Muslim hooliganism and Hindu cowardice. This hooliganism is not much to be condemned as it shows that there is life in hooligans though it follows wrong channels. If it is diverted in right channels it can become a force in the country. But, alas! in what terms is that shameless cowardice to be condemned which impels people to leave their children, mothers, and sisters to the mercy of cruel *goondas* and conceal themselves in latrines. Such a man is a disgrace not only to the Hindu community but to the whole country. Owing to centuries of slavery the Hindu community has lost altogether its manliness for the sake of false peace. Even under Muslim rule the Hindus were not so cowardly. Hindus are only wanting in manliness. They will have to be taught to die. We shall have to love death. The day the Hindus imbibe manliness all evils, all sorts of hooliganism will disappear. The *Aziz Hind* remarks that some of the Hindu leaders taking advantage of H. E. the Viceroy's anxiety regarding communal tension are trying to impress upon the Government that the riots are due to the system of separate communal representation and are thus seeking to deprive the Muslims of their rights. The Muslims, having no good leaders, look up to H. E. Lord Irwin for the preservation of their rights and request him to adopt the reassuring and pacific policy of Lord Minto regarding Indian States and Muslim claims. The *Agra Akhbar* exhorts the Muslims not to join the Dasehra or similar Hindu processions. The *Medina* commends the action of the Bengal Government in providing that eighteen of the candidates for the competitive examination held by the Department of Revenue and Trade should be Muslims and says: The experiences of Muslim students under non-Muslim teachers in Government schools are painful. The paucity of Muslim boys in Government schools is mostly due to the narrow-mindedness, inattention, bigotry, and callousness of Hindu teachers at the time of examinations. The difficulties which Muslim candidates have to encounter in departmental examinations or securing employment, on account of the array of Hindu officials, are indescribable. If the examiners are Muslims the Muslims will have no complaint regarding the holding of competitive examinations.

Indian States.

In the course of a letter to the *Himalayan Times* on the alleged suicide by Tika Raghunath Singh of Patiala State the Maharaja of Nabha writes: Undoubtedly a great mystery surrounds this tragic occurrence and in view of the fact that several other well-known prisoners are also rotting in Patiala jail, would it be too much to hope and expect that H. E. Lord Irwin will see that full justice is done? The *Trishul* contains a letter in which the writer, who signs himself as "A Resident of Gwalior," complains that the condition of the Hindus of the State is getting worse every day. As the Regent-Maharani acts according to the advice of Hashmatullah Khan the administration of the State is being virtually carried on in accordance with his wishes. We want to ask the Government of India whether it has tested the qualifications of Hashmatullah Khan for the post of "Membership"? The people of Gwalior are greatly pained at the doings of the Maharani. The *Medina* takes the *News of the World* severely to task for circulating false reports against the Nizam, especially the one that he is not popular even among the Muslims of India. It says: The real fact is that by his intelligence, love of Islam and of his subjects, justice and benevolence, the Nizam has won over the heart of every Muslim. There is no Muslim in India who does not regard the Nizam as a relic of their past glory. To-day the question of the relations between the Nizam and the Government of India is being commented upon even in Afghanistan and Turkey. As a matter of fact the entire Muslim world stands by him.

Political propaganda.

The *Hamdam* deplores the absence of nationalism among Indians and urging them to unite together says: If Indians, inspired by patriotism, adopt a national or political creed there will be an end of Hindu-Muslim riots and the slavery of the mother country. To achieve this end it is not any "pact" but self-sacrifice which is needed. Commenting on the news published in the *Bhishma* (Punjab) that on medical examination about one-third of the students of a certain girls' school in Lahore were found to be

pregnant. *Al Khalil* says that if the report is correct it will produce a very bad effect on the spread of female education in India and regrets that in the departments controlled by Government no attention is paid to morality. Proceeding, the paper refers to the corruption in Government offices and courts and says that the Government is directly responsible for the brazen-faced bribery which is rampant in Government departments, as it deliberately connives at it and does not accord any recognition to the man who does not take bribes. The general effect of the present constitutional Government has been that respect for elders, regard for religion, and fear of God have been destroyed.

Music before mosques.

The *Aligarh Mail* complains that by their noise and *jaikaras*, always made at the time of evening prayer and just in front of the mosques, the Hindus make it practically impossible for the Muslims to offer their prayers in peace. Their insistence on playing even louder music and making more noise just when they reach a mosque, has no other meaning but that the Muslims should either change their time of evening prayers, or shift their mosques outside the limits of a city. Both these demands the Muslims are unable to accept.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Haqiqat* welcomes the assurance given by the South African deputation regarding the treatment of Indians in South Africa and exhorts Indians to render all possible help to the deputation in studying this intricate problem. The *Medina* wonders why Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Andrews, and Mrs. Naidu, who are the true representatives of India, are not being included in the Indian deputation which will visit South Africa in connexion with the Round Table Conference. It adds: Does not this show that the Government of India does not want to put any pressure on the Government of South Africa? Indifference towards the tale of the woes of Indians has characterized the attitude of the Government of India from the very beginning. It has always betrayed partiality to the white-skinned people. We have to say with regret that this indifference and apathy of the Government of India will tax the patience of Indians in the extreme.

Translation of the Agra Tenancy Bill.

A good deal of animated controversy is going on about the Hindi translation of the Agra Tenancy Bill. Muslim papers complain that the translation contains difficult Sanskrit words and expressions and regard this as a move against the Urdu language. The Hindu papers refute this criticism and say that the translation is quite suitable for the Hindi-knowing tenants and contend that Muslim papers are not competent and have no business to criticize the translation.

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ALLAHABAD:
October 9, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

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CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 41 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 16, 1926.

Foreign Affairs.

Advising Turkey not to join the League of Nations, the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—There is little doubt that after entering the League, Turkey would find herself forced to follow the League policy, which is decidedly and quite naturally anti-Russian. The question that should be considered in this connexion is, who would prove a better friend to Turkey, the League or Russia? The lords of the League are incapable of giving Turkey a better treatment than that already granted to other nations of Asia. Why should Turkey reject Russian friendship for the doubtful advantage that she would receive by her League membership? From a review of the census of religious belief conducted by the *Nation and Atheneum* the *Aligarh Mail* comes to the conclusion that Christianity is no longer a factor in the every-day life of the millions of so-called Christians and writes:—The Church dignitaries want them to subscribe to a religion which is not only inconsistent with every dictate of nature and reason, but the acceptance of which is simply an insult to one's intelligence. They want them to believe in dogmas which are on the face of them ridiculous . . . We hope our Muslim brethren will avail themselves of this psychological wave pervading throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, and try to bring them one and all into the fold of Islam and thus carry out the dying injunction of our beloved Prophet who enjoined upon us to spread the "word of God all the world over." The *Aj* says that the admission of Germany to the permanent council of the League of Nations has made it clear that the League has now openly become a clique of European imperialists aiming at world-wide domination. Indians will do well to keep an eye on international affairs so that they may be ready for self-defence when necessary. Commenting on the disputes between Arabs and Jews the *Vivek* writes:—The internal conditions in Palestine show how the snare of the mandate has been spread there to promote the interests of Britain. There was no racial animosity there formerly, but it was desirable in the interests of British trade to create the racial question so that the British might strengthen their hold over the country. This shows what devices European countries adopt to promote their commercial interests.

Dasehra at Allahabad.

Hindu papers of all shades of opinion are vehemently protesting against the restrictions imposed with regard to the Dasehra procession at Allahabad and the extremists among them are exhorting the Hindus to resort to civil disobedience. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—One need not be a Hindu deeply to sympathise with the Hindus of Allahabad whose Ramlila rituals have been frustrated by the bungling of the authorities. We wonder if the authorities realize the gravity of the situation. If fanatical or hooligan demands threatened to disturb a usage gratuitously, it was the duty of the Government to use the provisions of the law and check the menace. The authorities have in these circumstances committed a blunder in truckling to a section that threatened encroachments on existing rights. How can the Government dare frivol with established practices to please new-bred sentiments of communalism? By their blunder the Government have set the two communities at loggerheads. If the machiavellian policy of "divide and rule" were their motive, the Government could not have done better. Civic status consists of the sum of claims and forbearances, and by interfering with established relationships the Government have sown the seeds of trouble. The *Leader* writes:—The reply of His Excellency the Governor to the message of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya conveying the resolution passed at the protest meeting of the Hindus held at Allahabad on October 5 amounts to nothing

less than a support of the policy which the local authorities have been pursuing and of the untenable Muslim claim and to a declaration that the position taken up by the Hindus is unjustifiable and unreasonable. Such a reply cannot but intensify their resentment and deepen their sense of dissatisfaction. "The Hindus will be betraying their rights of citizenship if they yield to novel demands which have been sought to be backed up in several places by force, and which, it now appears, have also the support of Government. The fight for an important principle which affects the every-day life of the Hindus and a surrender of which must lead to endless trouble must continue along constitutional lines until Government come to realize their mistake. The policy which the Government are upholding is indefensible, short-sighted and unjust, and cannot, therefore, be accepted by the Hindus." The paper says that the Hindus of Allahabad do not admit the correctness of the record said to have been prepared in 1912, and adds that those responsible for organizing the Ramlila processions and many old and respectable citizens who have witnessed them deny that there was stoppage of music before mosques at prayer time. In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—The reply of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on behalf of the Ramlila committees to the Chief Secretary to the United Provinces Government effectively exposes the hollowness of the plea urged in defence of the attitude of the local authorities. It ought to convince any impartial judge that custom, law, justice and reason are on the side of the Hindus. If a section of a community seeks to curtail or interfere with this valued right by resort to undesirable and barbarous methods, it is the clear duty of a Government which claims to be civilized to take strong measures to check it and not to take shelter behind pleas of law and order, and to plead its helplessness to prevent a breach of the peace if it allowed the exercise of this right in contravention of the will and pleasure of the rowdy section. The issue is plain, but it is very regrettable that instead of facing it boldly Government have supported a policy which is essentially unsound, unjust, and one not calculated to enhance the prestige of the administration. Sooner or later, in their own interest, if not those of the Hindus, the Government will have to abandon their policy of drift and to assert the authority over the forces of lawlessness. Commenting on the suggestion of the Superintendent of Police of Allahabad regarding the Dasehra procession the *Aligarh Mail* writes :--No suggestion can be more reasonable or can better serve the cause of public peace in Allahabad on the occasion of the coming Ramlila, but Hindu communalism is unbending and does not appear to listen to reason. Mr. Basu's reply to the Police Superintendent reveals the typical mentality of the Hindu communalist whose creed it has become to create as much musical nuisance as possible before mosques just when prayers are being said. Hindu musical processions have often been made to pass mosques with a view deliberately to annoy the Muslims, disturb their prayers and, above all, to manifest that Sangathanized Hindus are a power to reckon with. Such is the criminality of our Hindu communalist countrymen. In another article the paper writes:—The Governor of the United Provinces has sent a crushing reply to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in answer to the resolution passed by the Sangathanist meeting at Allahabad. As every reasonable and sane man would see, it was the only answer that could have been given, but in their religious frenzy and intolerance and blinded with their lust for political domination the Sangathanist press and public are absolutely incapable of taking a sane and rational view of anything. Their real aim is to cow down the Government and to break the spirit of the Musalmans so that in future they may usurp all the political power without meeting any protests from the Muslims or any check from the Government. This is their game and who can say that they are not playing for high stakes? Commenting on the abandonment of Ramlila celebrations at Allahabad, Aligarh and Etawah and referring to the telegrams which have been sent to His Excellency the Governor, Sir Alexander Muddiman and the Viceroy, the *Pratap* deplores that the assistance of Government bayonets is being sought for the protection of Hindu rights, and says :--The order of the Superintendent of Police of Allahabad shows that the right of the Hindus to play music at all times has been trampled under foot. But the leaders of the Hindus of Allahabad say that they will not do anything this year, but if the authorities do not change their attitude next year they shall see. There can be no more striking instance of impotent rage than this. It is vain to expect anything from constitutional agitation. Hindu interests can be safeguarded by self-help and suffering alone. We appeal to all the Hindu leaders to adopt some such policy of direct action as may enable them to prevent the repetition of the infringement of their rights on such

occasions. They should turn the sacred city of Prayag into a field of fighting for their rights. These orders of the Government will have to be infringed. The welfare of the Hindus and non-Hindus does not lie in worshipping the officials but in organizing themselves and cultivating soul force. In the course of an impassioned article the *Vartman* takes the Hindus of Allahabad and specially Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to task for submitting to the orders of the local authorities regarding the Dasehra procession and not resorting to *satyagraha* at once. It says :—Although the lives of unarmed Hindus were twice exposed to danger Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya still expects something from the bureaucracy. Had the Government meant to do justice and to protect the rights of Hindus who out of respect for law allow their heads to be broken, it would have dismissed the Collector and other officials of Allahabad the very day the *Dadhikando* procession was attacked in their presence . . . The action of the Government on this occasion clearly shows that in future it will not discharge the duty of making and enforcing laws and that it will be a few *goondas* who will make and violate them. The Government which defeated Germany cannot have the Ramlila procession taken out for fear of three or four hundred *goondas!* Do the Hindus of Allahabad attach any value to the laws of such a weak Government? The British bureaucracy does not grant rights through mendicancy. Hindus of Allahabad! Can't you think of the weapon of *satyagraha* in order to remove the obstinacy of the Collector of Allahabad? Today the whole province is with you. Young men of Allahabad! Standing at the banks of the Ganges think of the ascetics of Jhusi and of their self-sacrifice. In the name of the protection of religion, in the name of the Hindu community, in the name of the Motherland, raising the cry of " Har Har Mahadeva," relieve the authorities of Allahabad of the fear inspired by a few *goondas* by holding out the threat of creating disturbances. First purge the law and then obey it. The honour of three crores of Hindus of these provinces is in your keeping. Commenting on the reply received from the Local Government to the resolutions protesting against the orders of the district authorities of Allahabad in connexion with Ramlila, the *Aj* remarks that no sensible man can now doubt that the Hindus have no course left for them but to resort to peaceful non-violent *satyagraha*, and to complete non-cooperation with the authorities. It is impossible to describe the shock which the action of the authorities has caused to the Hindus. The duty of the officials is to restrain those who create disturbances during lawful and customary celebrations. But here things are quite the other way. The bureaucracy siding with rioters, restrains those who wish peacefully to perform their time-honoured religious functions. This policy cannot be countered by mere resolutions. By stopping their religious functions the Hindus can never compel the bureaucracy to discharge its duty. The only remedy is peaceful and non-violent *satyagraha*. The Hindus should be ready to suffer and if need be even to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their religion and their civic rights. The *Abhyudaya* challenges the accuracy of the official record prepared in 1911 regarding the practice of stopping music before mosques at prayer time and says:—Hundreds of thousands of people used to witness the playing of music before mosques at prayer time. Thousands of respectable Hindus and Muslims can give evidence to this effect. Secondly, if the Kotwali diary says this, what do the records of Katra and Daraganj police stations say? No one can object to the Governor supporting his officials, but the world will surely say that he is not upholding justice and that he has regard only for the record of the Kotwali and not for the country's voice. In another article it says that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's reply to the Government's telegram regarding the Dasehra processsion at Allahabad is unanswerable. It is incomprehensible to us, says the paper, why the administration has become so weak that the rowdies have ceased to fear it and peace can now be maintained only by fearing the hooligans. What the authorities have said and done so far has instead of restraining the rowdies and the Muslims only encouraged them. By displaying so much zeal for stopping music the authorities have proclaimed that the new Muslim demand is just. We repeat that the Hindus may be repressed now, but some day the authorities will themselves have to bear the consequences of the growing anarchy. It will, however, be too late when their eyes open. The playing of music before mosques will not lead us to heaven. What the Hindus contend is that they will not bow down to high-handedness, as its results will be most dangerous and there is no knowing where this will end. The *Vartman* writes:—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's reply to the Government's letter is an object of pride for Hindus. We warmly thank him for administering a smart slap on the face of the crooked policy of the authorities. The *Vivek* says that as

the Government thinks that its stability lies in communal quarrels, it is altogether futile to look up to it for help or to create trouble by offering *satyagraha*. The people should remember that there is an enemy in their midst who stands to gain by the communal fire being kept up. They should, therefore, not think of mutual head-breaking, but should make up their minds to extinguish this fire. It is no real victory or glorious thing to get the Ramlila procession taken out under the protection of British bayonets or by means of *satyagraha*. This will not only keep the thorn in its own place, but spread its poison throughout the body. The *Surya* remarks that if the authorities of Allahabad cannot make such arrangements as to enable the people to exercise their rights of citizenship without accepting restrictions or if no procession can be taken out there without a riot, they had better resign to make room for other officials who can make such arrangements. The *Anand* says :—The Hindus of all strata of society should raise their united voice for removing this injustice and should let the Government know that they cannot allow their religious rights to be trampled in this way. The *Sainik* writes :—If anyone has profited by our mutual quarrels it is the bureaucracy. As the cat lies in ambush for the mouse, so does the bureaucracy lie in wait for Hindu-Muslim disturbances in order to take undue advantage of them. . . When Muslim leaders like Khwaja Hasan Nizami and Maulana Mahomed Ali have declared that Islam does not enjoin the compulsory stopping of music before mosques, why do bureaucrats like Mr. Crosthwaite wish to compel the Hindus to stop music? We think it is not Hindus and Muslims but the limbs of the bureaucracy who are wholly to blame in the matter. The officials have some ulterior object in view. The *Hamdam* regards the Government's reply to Pandit Malaviya as tactful and reasonable, and regrets that in spite of the sufferings of the last two years the Allahabad public has not yet been able to settle the dispute and the Hindus remain bent on hurting the feelings of Muslims. Pandit Malaviya should have tried for a compromise by asking the Hindus to abandon their imprudent and mischievous attitude, but far from doing so he has patted them on the back. Is there any harm if the procession reaches the bank of the Jamna before sunset? Are there religious injunctions regarding time for the Dasehra procession as there are for the *Maghrib* prayers? Deploring the decision of the Hindus of Allahabad to abandon the Dasehra celebrations the *Khadim* remarks :—The abandonment of the procession will continue to agitate the feelings of the public and will have a bad effect even outside the district. Pandit Malaviya's conduct has led some men doubt his sincerity and to suspect that he and his party wish to keep the struggle going in order to ensure success at the coming elections. In another article the papers says :—Our apprehensions regarding Panditji's mistaken policy have been confirmed. We are confident that if instead of challenging the Government to arms Panditji had extended his hand towards the Muslim public, particularly towards Maulana Vilayat Husain, Dasehra would have been celebrated through compromise. We apprehend that the postponement of the Dasehra will have dangerous consequences and hence we are still anxious for a compromise. While deprecating the obstinacy of both the communities the *Haqiqat* says that Pandit Malaviya's speech at the Hindu public meeting has made the situation worse and has rendered the solution of the problem more difficult. The *Sada-i-Muslim* warmly commends the reply of the Local Government to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya' s letter and says :—The Government has proved that the demands of the Hindus are actuated by obstinacy, malice and animosity. The Government's decision is just and must command the support of all fair-minded persons of every community.

The Allahabad disturbances.

The resolution of the Allahabad Municipal Board regarding the expulsion of Muslim vegetable-sellers from the municipal market has evoked angry protests in the Muslim press, and is regarded by some papers as a step towards the gradual expulsion of other sections of the Muslim community as well. In the course of an article the *Sada-i-Muslim* says :—We cannot find in India any parallel to the troubles with which the Muslims are faced at present on account of mischievous Hindus. Those Hindus who used to consider it a privilege to take part in Muslim functions are to-day, as a result of the activities of a few mischievious Sangathanists, thirsting for the blood of Muslims. Muslims, however, while strengthening their unity should act cautiously so that the feelings of the Hindus may not be hurt. They should not give way to despair owing to the attitude of the Hindus in general, for they are the victims of their mischievous leaders. It is the duty of the Government to watch the conduct of the Sangathanist Hindus so that the Muslims may not be driven to feel that India is under the rule of Sangathanist Hindus and not of the

British Government. Are not the evil intentions of mischievous Hindus of Allahabad more than sufficient to show that they wish to shake the prestige of the Government? Does not the resolution of the Municipal Board regarding the expulsion of Muslim vegetable-sellers from the municipal market show that the Municipality is solely under the sway of Sangathanist Hindus and that they have the power to expel Muslims from any part of the city they like. If this resolution is not vetoed by the authorities the Muslims are bound to come to the conclusion that the Muslims have been removed from the aegis of the British Government which was the protector of their lives, property and religion and that they are now under the rule of the Hindu Sangathanists. The Government should know that the Muslims cannot willingly tolerate this and at the risk of their lives they will oppose this tyrannical resolution of the Hindus. We would, therefore, warn the Government that before the Muslims having lost all hopes from it are driven to the last resort, it should realize its responsibility and throw the resolution into the waste-paper basket and bring home to the Hindus that the British are still ruling over India. The *Mashriq* exhorts the Allahabad Muslims to act with extreme care and caution in the critical and trying situation in which they find themselves at present and says:—The unanimous resolution of the Hindu members of the Municipal Board for the expulsion of the *Kunjras* from the municipal market has endangered the Muslim interests in that Municipality, and it is now high time for the Commissioner of the division to direct his attention to this state of misrule. The Muslim members did well in walking out of the Board. They should now resign their seats and should carry on a propaganda throughout the province to persuade Muslims of every district to come out of the Boards and not to return to them unless the Government provides for the equal representation of the two communities. This is the only remedy which can bring the Malaviya family to its senses. The *Khadim* says:—Next to the Moplahs, Frontier tribes and the *goondas* of Calcutta, the body of the Muslim vegetable-sellers of Allahabad is being looked upon as barbarous and blood-thirsty and their punishment and banishment are considered indispensable for maintaining public peace. It is quite possible that after the vegetable-sellers, the turn of butchers and *ekkawalas* may come and gradually the expulsion of the entire Muslim community may be regarded as necessary for preserving public peace. Deploring the Allahabad riot the paper says:—Are these riots not a disgrace to India and an ugly blot on its distinguished citizens like Pandit Malaviya, Pandit Motilal, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Chintamani and others? It will be unjust to blame the authorities and connive at the mean and selfish tactics of the so-called leaders who are really responsible for the Allahabad riots.

Election campaign.

The press is pre-occupied with electioneering propaganda which in most cases is degenerating into personal controversies and recriminations. The *Vivek* compares the policies of the *Swaraj* and the Independent Congress parties and says that the policy of the latter party is calculated to weaken the country and lead the national political agitation into wrong and fatal channels. It urges that the people should vote in favour of the candidates of the *Swaraj* party which inculcates honourable principles for the attainment of freedom. The *Vartman* vehemently condemns the principles and policy of the Independent Congress party and says that the party has acquired such a bad reputation in the United Provinces that the success of the Swarajists is assured. That party contains moderates and taluqdars who cannot stand up for Congress principles. We do not think it will do any good to the country. The *Sainik* warns the electors against voting for candidates belonging to the Independent Congress and Hindu *Sabha* parties which are led by men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was all his life an opponent of Mr. Tilak, and by Raja Narendra Nath, who was one of those who presented a farewell address to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The Hindu *Sabha* has among its members other title-holders also like Raja Narendra Nath. The Government will serve its selfish objects by setting them against other communities. It is waiting with open arms to receive them because in order to win popular applause they will fight over trifles, but in important problems relating to *Swaraj* they will most loyally support the bureaucracy. The electors should, therefore, vote for Swarajists only who while protecting the communal interests of the Hindus will help in cutting the fetters of subjection. The *Desh Bhagat* compares Pandit Motilal Nehru to General Hindenburg, and recalling his patriotic services and sacrifices during the martial law régimé in the Punjab and the non-cooperation movement in United Provinces says:—In

order to save the country from big official toadies, Rai Bahadurs and nationed traitors who take shelter behind Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Malaviya people should do their best to help the Indian Hindenburg in every way and return Congress candidates to the legislatures. *Al Bashir* remarks that the nomination of the Hon'ble Rai Rajeshwar Bali and the Hon'ble Kunwar Rajendra Singh by the Hindu *Sabha* as its candidates for the Council shows what sort of views these gentlemen possess. To put such persons in charge of important departments of the province means that Government is placing the Muslims at the mercy of such persons as are anti-Muslim. This is why we have always cursed the Reforms scheme and considered it to be fatal for the country and especially for the Muslims. If these gentlemen are elected as members of the Council on the Hindu *Sabha* tickets, would they be eligible for the post of Ministers? No person elected on the tickets of the Hindu *Sabha* is suitable for the post, as it has amply been demonstrated that the *Sabha* is extremely bigoted and anti-Muslim. The *Sada-i-Muslim* thanks Maulana Hasrat Mohani for forming the Independent Muslim party and says:—The greatest benefit from the party will be that it will stop the waste of Muslim money and will secure the return of candidates of firm character only who will not echo the voice of other communities while disregarding their own communal interests.

The Hedjaz Conference.

The *Medina* vehemently criticizes the resolutions passed by the Hedjaz Conference and says that they are calculated to expose the entire Muslim community and religion to ridicule and disgrace. When foreigners see these resolutions they will laugh at our arrogance and selfishness and gloat over our disorganization. If Ibn Saud is sought to be coerced by means of economic boycott, he will be compelled to seek and is sure to secure the help of some of the European Powers. Ibn Saud, no doubt, has done certain things which he ought not to have done, but the best way to deal with him is to create public opinion in Islamic countries in favour of compelling him to hand over the administration of the Hedjaz to the Hedjazis themselves and to serve them as their true servant. Referring to the uneasiness felt among the Muslims of India at Ibn Saud's excesses in the Hedjaz the *Sarfaraz* urges the Shias of India to establish closer relations with Persia and exchange views with their Persian brethren as now the pointed dagger of Wahabism is cutting the arteries of Islam and Shiaism.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* takes the *Abhyudaya* to task for placing the Congress and the Councils on an equal footing and says that the former is a national institution, while the latter owe their existence to foreigners. Proceeding it says:—The Reforms Act is not merely useless but also detrimental to the interests of India. We, therefore, want that the children of the soil should blacken its face and carry on their struggle for *Swaraj* with the help of labour, tenantry, the youth and the educated class of the country. We do not want that by vainly striving to make these Reforms a success our revered leaders should present themselves for test before the coming Royal Commission and thus humiliate India in the eyes of the world. We cannot bear to see in these legislatures the fat-salaried servants of the bureaucracy, who eat our salt treating our elected representatives like children or servants.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,

Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:

October 16, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 42 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 23, 1926.

Dasehra at Allahabad.

THE Hindu press continues to protest vehemently against the restrictions imposed with regard to the Dasehra procession and in the extremist section of it appeals for resort to civil disobedience are becoming insistent. Very few Muslim papers have commented on the subject this week. The *Aligarh Mail* says that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's letter to the Government of the United Provinces in reply to the communication sent to him by the Government furnishes ample grounds for the study of the Sangathanist mentality. The paper justifies the action of the authorities in imposing restrictions and says: "There is a grave danger to the public peace of Allahabad if the Hindu processionists are given unrestricted permission to take out their processions. Drunk with their double victory against the Government and the Muslims these processionists are bound to commit excesses that would surpass even their own record of the past." The paper deprecates the suggestion for a further inquiry about the timing of the Dasehra procession and says: "The report prepared in 1912 was compiled after due and thorough investigation by impartial people. The contention that the investigation should be re-started is unwise and inopportune. The tension of feelings that now exists at Allahabad makes it practically impossible to get at the truth of the matter just now." Concluding, the paper says: "The shrewd Pandit offers a thousand volunteers to the Government to maintain peace. In other words, he wants to establish a Hindu Raj immediately." Commenting on the *hartal* observed in Allahabad on the occasion of Dasehra the *Abhyudaya* says: Today every home will be cursing the Collector and the Government and saying that the Government's policy has so changed that the Hindus cannot enjoy even their ordinary rights. The Chief Secretary to the local Government thinks that it is easy to suppress the Hindus as they are forbearing, docile and peace-loving. The present policy of the Government seems to be to crush the public opposition in such a way as to render the people incapable of raising their heads again. Now the question is whether the Hindus are prepared to abandon their Ramlila for good and to allow their human rights to be murdered. The celebration of Ramlila does not depend upon the will of the Government. If you want to celebrate it no power on earth can stand in your way. The article concludes with an impassioned appeal to the Hindus to prepare for offering *satyagraha* like the Akalis. The *Sainik* says: The reply which the local Government has given in connexion with the Allahabad Ramlila is full of injustice and partiality. A number of big Muslim leaders have characterized the demand for stopping music before mosques as foolish. It was, therefore, the duty of Government to restrain those who continue to break law and order over this frivolous question. But it has betrayed its utter shamelessness by depriving the law-abiding persons of their civic rights. The decision of the Hindus of Allahabad to sit quiet after abandoning the Ramlila cannot be commended either. Such cowardly protests can have no effect on Government nor can they protect Hindu interests. If the Hindus want to protect their interests they should be prepared for the greatest sacrifice. The *Aj* commends the reply of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the telegram of the Chief Secretary to the United Provinces Government and says: Every word of the letter shows how the Hindu heart has felt lacerated at the attitude of the authorities who are wounding the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus, If the Governor of these provinces had followed the example of Lord Lytton the Hindus of Allahabad and of other cities in these provinces would not have been in mourning on the joyful occasion of the Dasehra festival. . . . . Lord

Irwin had pledged himself in his Chelmsford Club speech to protect the rights of citizenship. All see how this pledge is being kept. This being the case, will it not be proper for the Hindus of the whole of the province to take a vow not to welcome the Viceroy in their province and in their respective cities. At any rate Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya should not welcome the Viceroy in the Hindu University, Benares. The *Abhyudaya* disapproves of this suggestion and says that a boycott of the Viceroy's reception will afford the provincial and local officials an opportunity of prejudicing him against the Hindus. The *Vartman* takes the Hindu leaders of Allahabad severely to task for not inaugurating *satyagraha* against restrictions imposed on the Dasehra procession and says: The hearts of the Hindus of the whole country have been agitated on account of the fact that the Ramlila could not be celebrated at Allahabad. Such a popular demand for *satyagraha* was not witnessed even during the days of non-cooperation. How meanly and cunningly the bureaucracy is taking advantage of Hindu-Muslim bigotry is known to every one . . . Even seeing all this the Hindu leaders do not act like human beings. The *Vivek* expresses surprise that the Government which could send thousands of non-cooperation workers to jail in 1921-22 under the ordinary law of the country on the plea of preserving public peace has not been able to control law-breakers effectively for some time despite the enactment of special measures. It says: The Ramlila procession cannot be taken out at Allahabad because in that event Government will not be able to preserve peace. For what purpose does the Government exist if it cannot protect the lawful rights of the people and check the tyranny of hooligans? The *Deshbandhu* takes Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to task for not appealing to the people of Allahabad to offer *satyagraha* and urging Indians to make all possible sacrifices for the sake of religion and the country in the name of Rama says: We know what a large number of Hindus have laid down their lives in the name of Rama and what a large number of them are ready to do so even now. Still God only knows what has become of us that for taking out Rama's procession we are thinking of seeking the support of a foreign Government which does not have the least respect for Rama. What can be a greater proof than this of our slavery? Up till now we were in subjection, but now our religion is also going to meet the same fate. The celebration of Ramlila will now depend on the sweet will of the Government and we shall continue to lick its feet. Should we not die of shame over this? It is difficult to find a more striking instance of cowardice than to pray to Government to protect Rama who overthrew a mighty enemy like Ravana. Commenting on the Ramlila controversy at Allahabad the *Shankar* remarks: Neither protest meetings nor correspondence with the provincial Government can avail the Hindus. So long as the country is not free, all their representations will be useless. They have, however, enough material in the Ramlila itself to console them. How did Ravan interfere with the religious observances of *rishis* and *munis* (sages)? If our bureaucracy, too, has begun to follow the footsteps of Ravan it will meet the same fate as befell him. Hindus, cheer up and learn to endure sufferings. Sita, the root cause of the destruction of Ravan, was born out of the blood exacted by him from the sages. It will be no wonder if some such good for you may lie concealed in your not celebrating the Ramlila. The *Medina* says that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's reply to the Chief Secretary's telegram exposes in its true colours the mentality and intentions of the chief promoter of *sangathan*. It is to be seen how the Government views this ultimatum which is incidentally calculated to incite the Hindus. The prestige of the Government will suffer if it murders justice through fear of the violent and aggressive activities of the Hindus. Commenting on the *Abhyudaya's* challenge to Government to prove that music was stopped before mosques or that the Dasehra procession reached the Jumna before sunset the *Khadim* remarks: Showering curses on Mr. Crosthwaite the *Abhyudaya* advises him to look for guidance to the papers of the times of Messrs. Munro and Porter, but it is not willing to acknowledge that twenty years ago the number of Hindus who joined the *tazia* celebrations exceeded that of Muslims. It should be borne in mind that times have now changed and toleration has disappeared.

Election campaign.

Opinion in favour of the Swarajists is gaining strength in the vernacular press and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is being attacked by the extremist papers for setting up even "loyalists" and moderates as candidates for elections. The *Leader* writes: The Congress election manifesto contains nothing but platitudes and political puerilities mixed up with familiar bombast. A careful perusal of it will show

that the Congress has no constructive policy of work in the legislatures and that it contains an admission of the failure of the policy of obstruction. And yet the electors are asked to vote for the Swarajists who still adhere to the policy of wrecking diarchy . . . The *Swaraj* Party has not injured the bureaucracy, but it has injured in numerous ways the vital interests of the country. Instead of developing a spirit of resistance and self-help, it has had a demoralising effect on the popular mind. If such men who intend to pursue a negative policy inside the legislatures and who, in spite of their loud professions, have shown that they are incapable of doing any constructive work outside, are returned in large numbers, the only result of it will be the triumph of the bureaucracy. The greater the success of the Swarajists at the polls, the greater will be the victory of reaction. Emphasizing the importance of protecting the Congress from the Independent Congress Party the *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: Say what they will, the conduct of Responsivists is meant as much to divide and degrade the Congress as to exacerbate communalism for the sake of transient gains. Once the electors grasp the trend of these two evils, they will know how to treat the destructive heresies of anti-Congress politicians. The *Vivek* says: Only those men should go to the Councils who can show to Government that they can have nothing to do with it and will have no rest until they have secured their full rights; those who think that they must undergo the necessary training for self-government should not be elected. In appealing to the electors to vote for the right sort of candidates the *Medina* writes: It has been established that these reforms are not meant for the progress and welfare of India, but are a hallucination and a hypnotic spell cast by imperialism and capitalism. The gifts, motives and intentions of the lords of India cannot be relied upon; they are a mirage and full of deceit. These lords will not give even a shell unless they are forced to give something. The foreign rulers can be compelled to give only when India acquires the necessary strength. The reforms have a poisonous effect in that they breed the slavish spirit. The *Zulqarnain* writes: The Swarajists who entered the Provincial Councils and the Legislative Assembly in 1923 did nothing but harm to the country. It is a good omen for the country that with the exception of a handful of Swarajists all the parties in the country are ready for co-operation. The electors should, therefore, vote for those candidates who are desirous of doing good to the country by working the reforms.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an invocation to Goddess Durga the *Bharat Jiwan* writes: Mother, you have again and again incarnated yourself and destroyed the wicked. But, mother, this time it seems that your sword which felled Mahishasur has either rusted or broken and this is why you are sitting quietly even though you are witnessing the naked dances of the demons in your play-ground. Mother, when you accompany us for offering worship and blows are showered on you, when you accompany us for performing your daily rituals and earthen jars and flasks are thrown on you, when together with us you will also be ordered to stop the celebration of your festivals and to weep with those who are already weeping, then, mother, you will realize what suffering is and how all-consuming is the fire of the heart. When you see with your own eyes temples being pulled down and your children writhing in agony under the knives of the assassins, then you will realize what pain is. Mother, for thousands and lakhs of years we welcomed you smilingly, blowing conches, ringing bells and playing upon musical instruments, taking out processions and shouting *jais*. Today we welcome you weeping. Today we will demand some reward for our services to you. What is that? Only this that you may lend us your sword and strength for some time. In the course of an article on the *Vijayadashmi* festival in the *Shankar* Durga Dat Pant says: Every year we see Ramlila and read the story of Ram, but now there are no heroes amongst us, otherwise efforts would surely have been made to recover the goddess of liberty who leaving us had gone away beyond the seven seas. One Ravan who lived far away from India had oppressed her. Now there are hundreds of Ravans here who want to commit outrages on the women of this land, destroy the religion of the people of this land and fatten themselves by sucking the blood of the inhabitants of this country. O traitors to the country's cause, O selfish *ji huzoors*, O unworthy sons of India, who look upon slavery as happiness, take pity on mother India and bring back the goddess of liberty. You should conquer the Lanka of bureaucracy by means of non-violent struggle for *swaraj*. Then alone can you celebrate *Vijayadashmi*. The *Desh Bandhu* says that it is useless to celebrate the victory

day (Dasehra) at present. We have yet to know who our enemy is and who it is who has taken away our liberty and whose injustice and crookedness have evoked cries of distress. We have yet to carry on our struggle, to awaken 31 crores of slumbering Indians, to strike terror into the heart of the enemy and to assure our true national generals that if they lead us on to the right path we shall sacrifice all we have for them, shall put out the eye of the one who casts angry looks at them and shall make rivers of blood flow where a drop of their sweat falls to the ground. We will celebrate our "victory day" on the day when our leaders are ready to sacrifice themselves at the altar of freedom and all Indians, knit together in the bonds of unity and filled with the excitement of war, move forward resounding the sky with the national anthem *Bandemataram* and striking terror into the hearts of the enemy. Concluding his statement in the *Aj* in support of the candidature of Mr. Sri Prakash, Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta of Benares attributes the economic distress in India to foreign rule and says: It is for the people to decide whether they want *swaraj* or like to remain under foreign rule. As for myself I tell them to arouse that spirit in their hearts which made Rana Pratap wander about in the Aravalli hills and caused foreign historians call Shivaji a robber. I tell them that I do not want the rule even of Ram if he is re-born in a foreign country and comes to rule over us. The *Vartman* draws a highly coloured picture of the luxuries indulged in by the rich and the oppressions committed by them on the poor and says: All the pomp and luxury enjoyed by the rich is derived from the labour, from the sweat and from the blood of the poor. The luxuries of the rich are extending in such a manner as to leave no room for the poor on the surface of the earth. A day will come when the rich will hate the very sight of the poor and will not bear to see them live above the earth. The poor will accordingly be housed underground where they will live and work like worms, while the rich will be indulging above in fairy dances and wine. Referring to an article of the Chinese representative at Geneva in the *Daily News* in which he complained of the oppressions of the foreigners in China and said that the Chinese could no longer bear the foreign yoke, the *Medina* asks if all this cannot be said on behalf of India as well. Calling attention to the large number of cases of drunkenness in Britain the same paper says: Such is the condition of the country which posing as the standard-bearer of Western civilization calls the East uncivilized, and for the propagation of its civilization considers it to be its natural right to enslave crores of people. But can a country which is so much addicted to drink justly claim to be the teacher and guardian of others? Such a claim can be based on force alone and not on any logical, philosophical or legal arguments.

Agricultural Commission.

Referring to the proceedings of the Commission and to the restrictions laid down in the terms of reference regarding the existing systems of "land irrigation charges" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: With such a restriction to exclude the real grievances of the tenantry, we may expect the Commission to load the ryot with prosaic wisdom regarding the purchase of improved machinery. English manufacturers seem, by the evidence of their trade circulars, agog about the prospect of selling agricultural implements in India according to the predilections of the new Viceroy's policy. The *Aj* contends that an Englishman cannot be a suitable president of the Agricultural Commission seeing that England is not an agricultural country and opines that an American agricultural expert should have been invited to preside over the Commission. It suspects that the proposed agricultural improvement is not solely inspired by the desire of benefiting Indian cultivators, but has been designed to serve political ends also by countering the village organization scheme of Indian politicians and thereby strengthening the foundation of the existing Government. It urges that educated Indians should meet this propaganda by a counter-propaganda impressing upon the Indian cultivators that this official agitation is intended to wheedle them and to postpone the day of the attainment of *swaraj*, and that they should not be satisfied with small reforms but should press their demand for *swaraj* with redoubled force. Educated Indians should themselves refuse to support this agitation by declining to accept ministership. The *Pratap* expresses a similar view regarding the object of the Commission.

The *Naiyar-i-Azam* has very high expectations of the Commission in view of its select membership and excellent programme and deprecates the scoffing and sneering attitude that has been adopted by certain short-sighted and irresponsible individuals towards that body. It is confident that its labours will conduce to the development of Indian agriculture along scientific lines. Lord

Irwin has hit upon the right method to make India rank among the wealthiest countries of the world, and instead of indulging in carping criticism the public everywhere should co-operate to the fullest extent with the Commission in its forthcoming tour. The *Hamdam* writes: The sympathies of Lord Reading with the agriculturists were based on conspicuous diplomacy and were devoid of sincerity. His anxiety to suppress the activities of the Congress Party was greater than his solicitude for the prosperity of the peasants. We are compelled to say that India can derive no benefit from a Commission founded on diplomacy.

Allahabad riots.

Under the heading "Miscarriage of justice" the *Aligarh Mail* strongly protests against the decision of the United Provinces Government in allowing the cost of the increase in the punitive police force of Allahabad to fall on its Muslim citizens. It contends that Muslims alone cannot be responsible for the riot and says: 'Sangathanist rowdies', though guilty, succeeded by their shrewdness to make a show of their innocence. "It is a double misfortune which Muslims have to face. They are being forced not only to bear the whole brunt of the cost of the increased punitive police force, but they are also subjected by its payment to the inevitable necessity of being branded as criminals or as the guilty party which started the riot. That such an inferential guilt can be imputed to the Allahabad Muslims by the above mentioned decision of the United Provinces Government and is sure to be trumpetted as a strong point in defence by the Sangathanist riot-mongers of Allahabad is highly deplorable in view of the fact that the Dadhikando riot cases are still *sub-judice*." *Al Aziz* says: The announcement that the Muslims only will have to pay the cost of the additional punitive police at Allahabad shows that the authorities hold Muslims alone responsible for the Dadhikando disturbances. We can, therefore, expect no justice for the Muslims during the time of Mr. Crosthwaite. It is admitted by all that a Muslim was murdered near *Gur ki mandi*. Why should then the residents of the place be exempted from the tax? The announcement will produce a bad effect on the public and the officers trying Muslim cases. The *Khadim* urges that at least the residents of Daryabad, Malacca, Rajruppur and Kasaria should be exempted from the punitive police tax as they have taken no part in the last riot. Justice demands that the special constables who have rendered valuable services in helping the authorities to check the riot should also be exempted.

Muslim affairs.

The *Aligarh Mail* strongly criticises the Moplah colonization scheme and is surprised to find that the Government of India should be anxious to colonise the Andamans with the Moplahs after the islands being declared as unfit for habitation owing to their uncongenial climate. The *Hamdam* points out that however criminal the acts of the Moplahs might have been in the eyes of the law, there is no denying the fact that they acted under the influence of a wave of religious revival and surely their courage ought to ensure for them better treatment. The *Aziz-i-Hind* and the *Haqiqat* urge that at least one of the seven settlement officers to be appointed in these provinces should be a Muslim. The *Medina* complains that although the author of the *Vichitrajivan* is being prosecuted by Government the book continues to be openly sold in the market and the *Tej* of Delhi is boldly urging people to buy the book. It asks whether there is no provision in law by which the further sale of this book can be stopped. Or is such a course against the policy of the Government? *Al Aziz* takes strong exception to the publication of a book entitled *Bhajan Sangraha* published at the Rajpali Press, Mutthiganj, Allahabad, in which the Arya Samajists have abused the Muslims and their religious heads and urges Government to take steps to proscribe such a blasphemous book which is sure to wound the religious susceptibilities of the Muslims and fan the prevailing communal fire. The *Hamdam* wonders why Sir Muhammad Habibullah's *locum tenens* is now going to be a non-Muslim when so many capable Muslims are available for the post. The Muslim element in the Government of India was already negligible, and by the appointment of a non-Muslim to Sir Habibullah's place it will altogether disappear. Such a situation would be highly undesirable and would be fraught with possibilities of grave injury to Muslim interests.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Vartman* publishes a poem contributed by one "Rasikendra" in which the following lines occur: 'Tabligh' is doing its work and spreading fresh nets for taking in the Hindus. It mocks at Hinduism and puts you to shame. It is every day taking away the modesty of our sisters and daughters. Does not a sense of shame come

over you at the sight of this downfall of your community? What a pity that the descendents of lions should now become cowards and be called jackals? The *Sainik* concedes the need for the protection of Hindu interests at a time when on the one hand "the foreign Government is using all its power to crush Hindu ambitions and aspirations" and on the other Muslims "actuated by foolishness, bigotry and selfishness are adopting all lawful and unlawful methods" to overpower the Hindus; but it contends that Hindu interests cannot be protected through Councils and says: It is a mistake to think that with the help of the authorities we can safeguard our interests from Muslim encroachments. The Hindu Maha Sabha must change its policy of seeking the help of the bureaucracy. The Sabha should come into the field with a few really brave men and prepare the country for *satyagraha*.

The Currency Commission.

Supporting the educative campaign inaugurated by the Currency League the *Leader* writes: The public has not forgotten that Government's attempt to stabilize the rupee at 2*s*. cost the country nearly 54 crores of rupees. With the memory of this colossal loss fresh in its mind it cannot repose any confidence in the superior wisdom of Government when it is declared that the stabilization of the rupee at 1*s*. 6*d*. is in the interests of the masses. The 1*s*. 4*d*. rate had stood the test of time and it would have been perhaps a sounder policy to have come to decision after more experience had been gained and avoided artificial methods to prop up the exchange at a new and higher level which, on the face of it, must lower the prices of imports and raise those of exports and thus prejudicially affect the Indian producers in the disposal in foreign markets of their surplus produce. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes that the campaign inaugurated by the Currency League is far more vital to the redemption of India's agricultural industry than the hackneyed discussions conducted before the Linlithgow Commission.

The Calcutta riots.

Quoting from the reports of the latest Calcutta disturbances published in Anglo-Indian papers the *Aligarh Mail* writes: After the perusal of these reports from impartial sources one would have thought that the Government would take steps to check the aggression of the Hindus, which is becoming more and more intolerable every day, but he would see much to his surprise that even the police is persecuting the poor Muslims of Calcutta who have already suffered a great deal at the hands of Sangathanists. It transpires that on Sunday last 40 persons had already been arrested, but strangely enough not a single Hindu was included in the number . . If the Government want to establish law and order and if they wish to see normal civic activities being pursued without disturbances, let them give up showing favouritism to the Hindu community. They should not fear the strong agitation that may be set on foot if this policy of favouritism is given up.

Music before mosques.

Referring to the controversy about music before mosques the *Khadim* says: If the *Leader* has gone mad to such an extent that it cannot appreciate our conciliatory words we would like to tell it that the opinion of Amir Faisal, the action of the Amir of Afghanistan or the verdict of a few Ulema and Muslim leaders cannot be binding on all the Muslims. The short-sightedness of Pandit Malaviya and his party is responsible for the conduct of the Muslims and the day is not far when disgusted with such an attitude the Muslims will put aside their national sentiments and national interests for good.

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:

October 23, 1926.

16 NOV. 1926

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 43 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 30, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the "capitalistic high-handedness" of Japan and Britain in China and to the possibility of an international conflagration over the Chinese affairs the *Hamdam* writes:—If Britain initiates military action Indian troops might be despatched there, as has been done in previous Chinese wars. But Indians will never brook that their country's troops should be utilized to deprive an ancient and honoured Asiatic nation of its natural right of freedom. The only honourable course therefore open to Britain is to restrain its imperialistic lust. Instead of meddling in the internal quarrels of China she should help Chinese nationalists to establish a stable national Government.

Election campaign.

The election campaign continues to absorb the attention of the Press which appears to be dominated by the *Swaraj* Party. The candidates set up by the Independent Congress Party are sought to be discredited as "office seekers" and "*ji-huzoors*." The chief anxiety of the Swarajist Press is to refute the charge that the *Swaraj* Party has betrayed Hindu interests. Commenting on the Congress manifesto the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The manifesto contains a sound exposition of nationalist principles and a full defence for the support of Congressmen in the elections. It abjures the exploiting of inter-communal rivalry for electioneering success. That alone ought to commend their case to patriotic voters. The spirit of the *Swaraj* Party is the key to domestic conciliation and through it to a combined fight against the forces of reaction. In the course of an article criticising the Independent Congress Party for supporting the policy of accepting office the paper tries to make out that with a few exceptions all public men, beginning from Lord Sinha, became corrupt as a result of holding office. It says:—They join office in the hope of fighting from within, but partnership in Executive Government does not permit of dual allegiance. Office does corrupt and no nationalist can willingly dream of countenancing Tambeism after this nightmare of experiences. The record of Ministers is an emphatic endorsement of the proposition. They professed consuming zeal for the welfare of the country, but the lesson of deterioration is terrible and irrefutable. The *Aj* says that though the opponents of the *Swaraj* Party stand for constitutional agitation, yet they do not see that there is no constitution at all in this country. If there had been a constitution in the country encroachments on individual liberty as evidenced by the imprisonment of political prisoners in Bengal without trial and the Jallianwalabagh tragedy and the utter disregard of public opinion as established by the colossal military expenditure, Lee loot, the enhancement in the salt tax and the wasteful exchange policy would never have been possible under any circumstances. All that goes by the name of constitution here is a farce of constitution, a mere toy to coax children, a mere instrument to make us serve the ends of the bureaucracy itself. When we have no constitution constitutional agitation is meaningless. The advocates of constitutional agitation really have their eye only on offices and on slight concessions which can be had only through the bureaucratic patronage, and this is why they want to co-operate with the officials. In the absence of a constitution the advocacy of constitutional agitation means nothing more than humiliating submission. The *Deshbandhu* exhorts the youth of the country to stand by the decision of the Congress, which is their mother's temple, even if their personal views may differ from it and says:—Young men, arise. You are wanted in your mother's temple. To-day some of your mother's children are bent upon pulling it down. You will have to fight with them. You will have to worship your revered *gurus* (who oppose you)

with arrows in the same way in which Arjun worshipped his *guru* 5,000 years ago. The *Vartman* draws a highly coloured picture of the tyrannies perpetrated upon the poor by the rich and warning the former against voting for wealthy candidates in the coming elections says:—For once give up fear and vote for those who are real well-wishers of the poor. The rich will be struck dumb. Officials and the Government will come to their senses in a trice. How long can these calamitous laws, these dissension-breeding regulations and these methods which make men dance like animals continue? They will vanish. All the pomp and vanity will be reduced to dust . . . Vote for those who are going to fight against the evils of the time, who feel for the poor, who are going to the Councils to destroy the strongholds of the rich and *ji-huzoors*. Warning the electors against voting for the candidates set up by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on behalf of the Independent Congress Party the paper says:—The candidates of this *ji-huzoor* party include secretaries of Aman Sabhas, officers who suppressed the non-cooperation movement and loyal zamindars. These are the men whose hearts begin to palpitate on the very mention of *satyagraha* and who begin to faint on hearing the talk of breaking laws. The tactics of the moderates have begun to fail while popular confidence in the *Swaraj* party is growing, for this is the only party which, carrying the life in the hollow of the hand, can serve the country and the Hindu community. The *Sainik* hopes that swarajist leaders will soon be able to overcome the opposition of their enemies—the liberals and flatterers of Government—and will soon carry the national flag to the very centre of the bureaucracy—the Councils—and offer strong opposition to it there with a view either to make it yield to the national demand or to break this Council toy. The paper has written a series of articles to show that far from betraying Hindu interests the swarajists have fought for them in the Councils. In the course of an article under the heading "Have regard for the voice of the Congress: Will you allow the lamp of *ghee* to burn in the palace of the bureaucracy?" the *Desh Bhagat* espousing the cause of swarajists writes:—Now the time has arrived when every child of India should be on the alert. It seems the magic of our enemy—the bureaucracy—has begun to take effect. The Hindus themselves were the first to lay the foundation of *swaraj* in India. Now the same Hindu community which had watered it with its blood and hard labour is ready to uproot it. It is an admitted fact that no person or society can do good to the nation by co-operating with Government. It should be remembered that by co-operating at present with the bureaucracy and by being proud of ordinary Government posts not only are the chains of slavery of mother India being tightened, but the axe is being applied to the freedom of all Asiatic kingdoms and their inhabitants. "Divide and rule" is the old policy of the British Government. Seeing Muslims raised to the skies the Hindu leaders have begun to covet the position. With a view to make the Hindus remiss with regard to the freedom of the country the bureaucracy spread nets several times, but the Hindu community never became so badly entangled as it is now. Owing to this change in the ideas of our Hindu leaders the bureaucracy is having a sound sleep to-day. Such a change in ideas is sufficient for the fall of a conquered country. It is only by entertaining feelings of distrust towards a foreign ruler that a conquered nation can dream of its freedom. Worthy sons of India! Be careful and do not allow this false and unholy charm to have its effect on you. The bureaucracy has come to rob your country and to enrich England and not to make India prosperous at the cost of England and America. The *Medina* deprecates the animosity that is being engendered among the various political parties and communities over the election campaign and tries to make out that the Legislatures have done no good whatever to the country. It says that if representatives are at all sent to these bodies they should be such as would wreck them instead of trying to make them successful. The Legislatures are a camouflage of British Imperialism where snares have been spread at every point. The Reforms are intended to further the imperialistic and militarist aims of Whitehall. So, if you really want to generate an atmosphere of freedom in the country you should break the hypnotic spell cast by these Reforms and work for winning true liberty. Commenting on Lord Birkenhead's references to the *Swaraj* Party the same paper says: The fear of the Secretary of State of the *Swaraj* Party is a feather in its cap. It is clear that this is the only party which is looked upon with fear in official circles and the new Independent Congress party is verily regarded as a guardian angel for Government. It is regrettable that overwhelmed by personal animosity, vindictiveness and communal bigotry Pandit Malaviya and Lajpat Rai are bent on wrecking a

party which is the only true representative of the feelings of the country and which has shaken the lofty mansion of the Secretary of State for India.

Dasehra at Allahabad.

The abandonment of *Ramlila* at Allahabad is being utilized by swarajist papers for carrying on a vigorous propaganda against the Independent Congress Party. They urge that by contenting themselves with the submission of memorials to the Government and not leading a campaign of civil disobedience the leader of the party, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and the *Abhyudaya*, its chief organ, have betrayed Hindu interests, and that this may be taken as a sample of what the country might expect from that party in other matters. The *Aj* and the *Deshbandhu* are also opposing the reception of the Viceroy at Allahabad on the plea that His Excellency did not protect Hindu interests in the matter of *Ramlila* in the city. Referring to Government's refusal of Pandit Malaviya's offer of a thousand volunteers in connexion with the *Daschra* procession the *Aligarh Mail* writes :— Perhaps the Government wanted to protect the Muslims against the aggression of the Hindu volunteers whom Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya wanted to use at the time of the *Dasehra* procession. The intention of the Government, if our guess is correct, was a laudable one, but the method adopted to carry out the intention is singularly objectionable. If the Hindu aggression has necessitated an addition in the punitive police, the cost ought to have been borne by the Hindus and not by the Muslims. The *Deshbandhu* takes Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya severely to task for his appeal to the people to welcome the Viceroy and says that Pandit Malaviya assured the Hindus of Allahabad that the Governor and the Viceroy would do justice to them. But what happened? The Governor replied that music had never been played at Allahabad in the evening. This reply lacerated our hearts still more and was in fact a challenge to Pandit Malaviya and the Hindus of Allahabad. We ought to have accepted it. Pandit Malaviya ought to have come out with a drum and insisted on playing music and we the people of Allahabad would have followed him. But far from doing this, he is doing his best to get us humiliated more and more. He is sprinkling salt over our wounds and is asking us to welcome the Viceroy. We say :—With what heart should we welcome the Viceroy ?—We insult our religion and Rama by co-operating with the Government under which we cannot celebrate our *Ramlila*. The people of Allahabad should not forget that Rama is greater than the Viceroy. Why should one who has not been allowed to welcome Rama welcome the Viceroy ? The *Aj* writes :—This year too *Ramlila* was not celebrated at Allahabad. So the day of rejoicing was converted into a day of mourning in every home. Possibly in other cities also of the provinces mourning will be observed on the Vijayadashmi day. This is the bitter fruit of our subjection. It is, therefore, necessary that we should propagate sentiments of liberty and thereby teach the people the lesson of self-help. It will be of no avail to send representations to the Viceroy and the Governor. The only means whereby the Hindus can protect their religious rights is to offer *Satyagraha*, and they should make preparations for it even now. In another article the paper argues that the authorities themselves should have opposed the untenable and unjustifiable demand for the stoppage of music before mosques, but that they are to-day betraying lack of a sense of duty owing to partiality. The Government which cannot protect the just and lawful rights of citizens and put down law-breakers has no moral right to govern. It is nothing but a travesty of government to rule over peaceful citizens by propitiating the strong section of hooligans. How are the Hindus to ensure the exercise of their religious rights ? Surely by means of *satyagraha*. But it is not practicable just now. The Hindus should therefore have recourse to non-cooperation or vigorous opposition. They should boycott the Viceroy's visit in these provinces. If they welcome His Excellency this will prove to the world that they have no manhood and are not prepared to non-cooperate with high-placed authorities even for the vindication of their religious rights. The *Abhyudaya* publishes a signed article in which the editor, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, proposes to establish a *Ramlila satyagraha* home and *Ramlila satyagraha* board at Allahabad in order to prepare the people for *satyagraha* and thereby to ensure the celebration of *Ramlila* in the town as usual, and urges people to offer their suggestions with regard to its working and to send in their donations and names. He wants that subscriptions should be raised in all cities of these provinces for this *satyagraha*. The *Medina* writes:—The Government of the United Provinces has given a decisive and extremely smart reply to the demands of Pandit Malaviya. It is to be hoped that the Pandit will swallow this, regarding

it as a bitter quinine pill. The fact is that all unreasonable demands meet with a similar fate. Mr. Malaviya should therefore thank his own mentality for this. He wanted that there should be a disturbance in the country, that Hindu-Muslims should come to blows, and that hundreds of innocent persons should go to jail. The magician of Benares wanted to quench his thirst with the blood of the martyrs; he wanted that the goddess of *sangathan* should have an opportunity of moving her bloody eyes. May we hope that the United Provinces Government will maintain peace in other cities also in the way it has done at Allahabad. The *Khadim* condemns the suggestion that the Allahabad *Ramlila* Committee should wait on the Viceroy to request His Excellency to reverse the orders of the local authorities regarding the *Dasehra* and says that any such action will further strain the relations between the two communities and poison the atmosphere of the city. The Viceroy's reply whether it favours one community or the other will open up old sores which are healing and it is to be hoped that wise Hindus will restrain their community from adopting such a wrong course. The paper deprecates the suggestion made by the *Aj* that the Viceroy should be boycotted during his visit to these provinces and says:—As this suggestion has been offered in connexion with the Allahabad *Dasehra*, it specially concerns the Hindus of Allahabad and we strongly oppose it as we believe that such a boycott will further intensify the tension between the two communities. The more the Hindus seek to boycott the Viceroy, the more cordially and enthusiastically will the Muslims try to welcome him. Boycott will only add to our disgrace and degradation.

Communal representation.

Referring to the Hindu opposition to the candidature of Mr. Asaf Ali to the Legislative Assembly from Delhi the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—Delhi is a joint constituency, but Hindu leaders are frankly trying to oppose him because he is a Muslim. Would there be any chance for a Muslim to get elected to Legislatures if all the constituencies were thrown open to mixed electorates? If not, then our self-constituted advisers must be simpletons to believe that Muslims would give up what little safeguard they possess and would throw themselves entirely at the mercy of Hindu communalists. If they, our advisers, are really sincere in their protestations of nationalism, let them first ask Hindus to be more fair to Muslims and to give them their legitimate share in the government of the country. If they succeed in persuading the Hindus to take this course, Muslims would guarantee that communal representation would be abolished. Strongly supporting the claims of Mr. Asaf Ali on personal merits the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Mr. Asaf Ali and none other deserves to be elected from the Delhi-Ajmer constituency. We are amazed at the hardihood of Pandit Malaviya in sponsoring a rival for the pleasure of testing his strength and demonstrating his communalist supremacy in scorn of the Congress. While we inveigh against the intrinsic evils of communal representation, we have in the Delhi arena an opportunity of proving the claim that a minority need not distrust the catholic instincts of a majority in the land. The *Hamdam* attributes the persistence of inter-communal tension to the exaggeration of petty differences for political purposes. Communities which have lived side by side in peace and amity for centuries can easily respect each other's religious sentiments, but the real struggle is for political rights and elective offices. Some protagonists of Hindu *sangathan* even go so far as to say that the quarrel would cease as soon as Muslims give up cow-killing and separate representation. The *Tribune* actually suggested on the occasion of the Viceroy's visit to Lahore that His Excellency should withdraw separate representation to bridge the communal gulf. We would, however, point out that it is Hindu narrow-mindedness that is responsible for separate representation, and as a matter of fact during a third of a century the Hindus never elected a Muslim to the Councils. So it is not by taking deputations and making appeals to the Viceroy, but by cultivating a wider and more equitable outlook that the communal question can be solved. In fact, if Hindu exclusiveness in the matter of paid posts continues, Muslims might be constrained to demand separate representation in regard to them also. Only trust can beget trust and the Hindus should set an example to Muslims before moralising to them.

Agricultural Commission.

Comments impugning the real aims of the Royal Agricultural Commission have been revived in the Vernacular Press. The *Vartman* says that the real object of the Commission is to benefit England by increasing the agricultural produce of India. Agricultural operations on a large scale on western methods are unsuitable for India, and

if they are introduced in the country the condition of cultivators will become worse as the land which they cultivate as tenants will pass out of their hands and they will be reduced to the position of mere labourers. If Government really wishes to do good to Indians it should permit the export of grain or raw materials only after Indian requirements have been fully met. The *Khadim* advises Indians to ignore any underlying political motives that Government may have in appointing the Commission and co-operate with it to the fullest extent so that it may be able to arrive at correct conclusions. Helpful suggestions for the improvement of the lot of the Indian peasants should be sent to the Commission and it should be enlightened as to the causes which have so far been impoverishing them. The *Najat* on the other hand opines that the Commission is only a diplomatic device to wean the peasants from the Gandhian movement for creating a political awakening among them through the *charkha*. It is inspired by the fear that Indian politicians might make the peasants the vanguards of the national army against Government and can therefore be said to be based only on patent selfishness.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

The *Leader* writes:—Lord Birkenhead's Guildhall speech has, of course, been well received by the Anglo-Indian Press; any utterance which does not give promise of an early advance is sure to be applauded. It is true references have been made to India's ancient civilization and her services to the Empire, but what is wanted is a sympathetic pronouncement in respect of the demand for a further instalment of reforms. The *Aj* says:—His Lordship has once again held out a threat to Indians . . . If it had been possible for India to attain *swaraj* through co-operation she would have got it before the partition of Bengal. Non-cooperation is the product of the deceit and hypocrisy of the bureaucracy and its masters. It is wholly wrong to say that the rulers of India do not give us further rights only on account of non-cooperation. What did India get for co-operation during the war? Jallianwalabagh, a moving Black Hole, the Black Act and these so-called reforms which have caused disunion among Indians, increased the cost of administration and while enlarging the powers of civilians have sought to humiliate Indians by making them Ministers without powers. Only fools can have the ambition to co-operate after receiving such a reward. Have we become so foolish as not to perceive that Lord Birkenhead who has described India as the greatest support of the British Empire would so easily allow such a pillar to be lost? It is an utter impossibility to get *swaraj* through co-operation even after a hundred years. Lord Birkenhead will never give us *swaraj* willingly. We should not lose our all by accepting Ministerships and making the Reforms a success. If it is not possible to boycott the Councils, we should enter them only to continue to obstruct the bureaucratic administration, the discord-breeding reforms, and outside them should teach the people to advance forward along non-violent lines.

Imperial Conference.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Lord Birkenhead's speech at the Imperial Conference was an essay in flatulent bombast, plus a minatory lecture for the benefit of India on the subject of renewed co-operation. As compared with the days when India was represented by Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha, the joint vociferation of Lord Birkenhead and the Maharaja of Burdwan looks a bad performance and a sad anti-climax. The *Aj* remarks that only the representatives of unfortunate India go to the Imperial Conference as slaves. They are the representatives of the Government of India and the latter is the slave girl of the British authorities. Even a school boy knows that the slave of the slave girl cannot be the representative of public opinion. It amounts to nothing less than an insult to India and her semi-independent chiefs that the Government of India should select their representatives to the Imperial Conference. India is undergoing the sufferings of subjection. She is groaning under various injustices and atrocities. Why then is this insult offered to her? Is it manliness to crush a fallen one and to sprinkle salt over a burnt person? If England cannot do justice to India she should at least not subject her to such inhuman disgrace.

Muslim affairs.

Complaining of the paucity of Muslims in the Railway Medical Service the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—We trust the authorities will consider the matter fully and see that justice is meted out to the claims of competent and qualified Muslims in filling up the future vacancies in the Medical department of the Indian State Railways. Vacancies in future should be fully advertised and the names should be obtained from medical institutions of such Muslims as have successfully qualified themselves for the medical profession. In the course of a lengthy article emphasizing the need for sustained activity on the part of the Khilafat Committee, the *Medina*

says :—The holy places are still groaning under the grip of foreigners and the Jazirat-ul Arab has not yet become completely free from the tyrannies of the strangers. Islamic countries are still undergoing the same trials and tribulations. From Morocco to Syria the mandatory chains of western capitalists and tyrants continue to stifle the spirit of freedom. The destinies of the Muslims of India are closely bound up with the re-instatement of the Khilafat. If the Kemalist Turks were the sole custodians of Islam and Islamic teachings, we should have acquiesced in the abolition of the Khilafat. But the re-instatement of the Khilafat will remain a duty for Muslims till doomsday, Referring to the Viceroy's reply to Sir Abdur Rahim's telegram urging the appointment of a Muslim as successor of Sir Muhammad Habib Ullah, the *Hamdam* points out that in view of the tainted atmosphere prevailing in the country it is essential that there should be a Muslim in the Government of India and His Excellency should not fail to appoint one if he can do so consistently with public interest. Vehemently protesting against the Moplah colonization scheme the *Medina* writes:—The callous and tyrannical manner in which the Government has tried to blot out the Moplahs from the surface of India needs no demonstration. Jails have been filled with a large number of innocent persons and a number of their leaders have been hanged. They have been killed by being suffocated in railway carriages. Not content with all this, tyrannical vindictiveness has assumed the form of the colonization scheme. The *Khadim* appeals to the Government to reconsider its decision and to give up the intention of settling Moplahs in the Andamans as the inevitable result of the scheme will be that this brave race will be gradually blotted out from India.

Indian States.

The *Najat* deplores the baseless propaganda being pursued by the Hindu Press against the Hyderabad State and says that if it does not cease the atmosphere in the Indian States will become as much tainted as it is in British India. Will the Government of India look into the matter? The *Medina* says that the latest budget of the Hyderabad State thoroughly exposes the hollowness of the propaganda of the Hindu Press which sought to create the impression that the affairs of the State were in such a chaotic condition that they could not be improved without the interference of the Government of India. The budget also shows that the administrative and the financial conditions of the State are better and more sympathetic than those of the Government of India. The savings of the Government of India are wasted in useless schemes, but those of the Hyderabad State have been utilized in railway expansion, famine relief, educational grants and the like. The encouraging and gratifying facts revealed in the budget should stop all agitation carried on to discredit the Nizam.

Allahabad disturbance.

Al Aziz warns the Commissioner against accepting the resolution of the Allahabad municipal board regarding the expulsion of the *kunjras* from Chowk Sabzimandi and says that the city fathers are now avenging themselves upon the poor *kunjras* for their refusal to close their shops during Lord Reading's visit to the city in 1924. Since then no subterfuge has been left unemployed to harass the *kunjras*. Sometimes the Hindu fruit-sellers have been set against them and sometimes they have been sought to be evicted under the pretext of enhancing rents. When these methods failed a well-organized attack was made on the vegetable sellers in 1924 and rival vegetable markets were set up but to no purpose. The municipal board's scheme for acquiring Allahabanda's Phatak, the abode of the *kunjras*, also failed and now they are being ejected from Chowk so that the rival Hindu vegetable market in Mirganj may prosper. Will the Commissioner allow the *kunjras* to be victimised for their loyal welcome to the Viceroy?

U. P. Labour Federation.

The *Bharat* contains a letter from one Anant Ram Shukla of the Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha who urges the labour workers all over the province to establish labour organizations in their towns and districts and to communicate for the necessary help in this connexion with the *sabha* which has decided to establish a United Provinces Labour Federation to organize and strengthen the labourers and thereby secure for them their lost rights, and appeals to them to represent their deplorable condition before the delegates of the International Labour Conference who are about to visit India.

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
October 30, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 44 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 6, 1926.

Election campaign.

The papers continue feverishly to carry on propaganda on behalf of the candidates belonging to their respective parties. Reviewing the present position of the election campaign the *Leader* writes: The outstanding feature of the situation is acute dissensions in the Congress organization, evidence of which has recently been furnished by the squabble between the secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committee, the progressive disintegration of the Swaraj Party and the growing strength and influence of the party led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai. The electors should without the least hesitation support candidates who are seeking election on a constructive ticket, namely, of making the fullest possible use of the opportunities offered by the present constitution of developing the activities of the nation-building departments and of carrying on a strenuous constitutional fight inside the legislatures for safe-guarding the rights of the people and securing a larger measure of national freedom, and not those who have espoused a negative policy, who have declared that the councils are a sham and who have made it clear that wherever possible they will resort to wrecking tactics. The paper holds Pandit Motilal Nehru responsible for setting up Raizada Hansraj as a candidate for the Assembly against Lala Lajpat Rai and says: Mr. Nehru's public services, mostly of a negative nature, pale into insignificance before those of the great fighter of the Punjab. By setting up opposition to the election of such a towering personality Mr. Nehru has not only proclaimed his own petulence but also his nervousness. If Mr. Nehru had not been in a very desperate plight he would not have probably sanctioned the taking of a step which is likely to intensify the prejudice against the Swaraj party among large sections of the Hindus. Commenting on the defeat of Mr. Asaf Ali in the election from the Delhi constituency the paper writes: The defeat of the Swarajist candidate in the Imperial capital is of happy augury and is likely to cause depression in Swarajist ranks. Coming events cast their shadow before. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: Nationalists throughout the country will be disappointed, though by no means dismayed, over the outcome of the Delhi election. To have represented support for the Lala-Malaviya nominee as a virtuous obligation of piety and to have represented the support of Mr. Asaf Ali as a betrayal of Hindu Dharma was a criminal fraud, and the sponsors of the measure are intelligent enough to know it. In the course of an article headed "Murder of joint electorate" the *Aligarh Mail* writes: It is gratifying to note that the Muslims have been saved the danger of being once more duped by dishonest Hindu politicians who profess what they do not mean. Much more pleasing is the fact that Mr. Asaf Ali's defeat has nailed to the counter their dirty lie that they are enamoured of common representation and common electorates because of their inherent spirit of nationalism. Mr. Rang Beharilal's success should serve as a reminder to the Musalmans of the fact, which has become an axiomatic truth, that in common electorate where the number of Hindu voters is preponderating as is the case in the Ajmer-Delhi constituency, there is not the ghost of a chance for the success of a Muslim candidate. Hindu voters of Delhi may feel elated at Mr. Rang Beharilal's success. Little do they realize that it is a death-knell to the existence of the Delhi joint electorate. In an interview granted to a representative of the *Aj* Babu Bhagavan Das of Benares said that he preferred the Swarajists to the Malaviya party. Swaraj could come only by Mahatma Gandhi's method, but Swarajists were better than the Malaviya party because they were nearer Mahatmaji. Swaraj would not come for ages by the Malaviya methods. Whatever the faults of the Swarajists might be they stood for the non-acceptance

of ministries and so they vindicated the manhood and the self-respect of the nation against an unheeding and alien bureaucracy. The *Abhyudaya* takes Pandit Motilal Nehru severely to task for setting up Raizada Hansraj as a rival candidate against Lala Lajpat Rai and says that this action of the Pandit is nothing short of deception inasmuch as he always assured his friends that he had no mind to oppose the Lala. The only reply which the country can give to this is that it should not vote for a single Swarajist candidate and thus show to Pandit Motilal Nehru how it can rectify the wrong done to its revered leader. The *Aj* expresses surprise that candidates seeking election to the councils, especially in the United Provinces, are not utilizing their election campaigns to educate public opinion with regard to the new currency policy of the Government, which is calculated to injure seriously the agriculturists of the country and which is indeed an attack on them in the dark. The bureaucracy is helping foreign manufacturers by throttling cultivators and Indian industries. Is it not the duty of those who ask votes from cultivators on the basis of co-operation with such bureaucracy to explain to them the real significance of the currency policy? In another article the paper says that although 99 per cent. of the questions dealt with in the councils are political, yet efforts are made to enter the legislatures by inciting communal feelings and passions. A scramble for a larger number of Government posts in place of efforts to attain liberty has become the sole politics of India. By committing suicide in this manner the people are helping the foreign rulers. Exhorting the electors not to vote for the Independent Congress party the *Deshbandhu* says that this party is really going to fight with those who are struggling for the country's freedom. It ought to have given battle to the bureaucracy which has fettered India in the chains of subjection but it is going to co-operate with it and is thus stabbing the Congress in the back. There is no difference between this party and those who lick the feet of the Government. It knows that if non-cooperation with the Government is abandoned to-day even this flickering lamp of the reforms will go out but still it is going to co-operate with it because it is a party of cowards who always keep their head bent before the enemy. It has given out that it would get the Hindu interests protected by flattering the Government. But we want to tell it that the notion that the Government shows partiality to the Muslims because they flatter it is mistaken. The Government would have shown partiality to them even if they had not done so because it is ruling India with the help of the policy of "divide and rule." The Independent party is a fictitious Congress party. It has the name of God on its lips but has a knife concealed in its armpit with which it is seeking to stab our nationalism. The *Bharat* says that in spite of his failure Mahatma Gandhi's creed cannot be said to be unreasonable but the views and actions of Swarajists are altogether misleading and no votes should therefore be given to them. The *Medina* says that the obstinacy of Malaviyaji is an unmitigated curse for the country and when he cannot have his way he sets about wrecking the national programme. The country knows how he strained every nerve to destroy the non-cooperation movement and how he took the Prince of Wales to Benares when everybody was busy organizing a boycott against him. In the Assembly also after a time he deserted the Swaraj party and it had to abandon its policy of damaging the prestige of Government and the effect of its walk-out was nullified. Still the Swaraj party can proudly claim that in spite of such adverse circumstances it had tried to serve the country and had vigorously put forward the united demand of the nation in the Assembly. The policy of obstruction was strictly adhered to and public interest was always kept in view. Still to the jaundiced eyes of Malaviyaji the Swaraj party could accomplish no good. The paper welcomes the formation of Muslim parties in various provinces and says that it is only by organization and joint action that the Muslims can make their voice felt. Muslim voters should vote only for members of these parties as sheep which stray from the fold fall a prey to the wolf and Muslim candidates who do not join the general body are sure to be influenced by the non-Muslim wolf. We hope the Muslims of the United Provinces will strongly support the provincial Muslim party. A number of papers strongly protest against the rejection of the nomination paper of the Maharaja of Nabha and show warm sympathy with him.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

The *Pratap* writes: Lord Birkenhead spoke and spoke well. "We are the trustees. We realize our responsibility." Well said. He realizes his responsibility. He also realizes the glory of ruling over India. He realizes how wide the field is which India

offers for providing English lads with livelihood. He also realizes all the advantages which he derives from Indian armies and he realizes the value of the jingling of sovereigns acquired by huge commercial contracts and exploitation of India because he is the custodian of his trust. . . How long shall we tolerate such mean and insulting remarks? Can any self-respecting nation quietly put up with these taunts of the Secretary of State and other arrogant and foolish politicians like him? If the almost cold and lifeless blood of our body does not boil it is our misfortune and the height of our degradation. The *Anand* says that the speech will not satisfy any Indian. After the resignation of Mr. Montagu did not the bureaucracy itself throw obstacles in the way of those Indian leaders who wanted to utilize the reforms, and is it not, therefore, unjust to throw the blame for their failure on Indians? Did not the British Government grant self-government to those countries which openly took up arms against it? Why then in the case of India alone should co-operation be made an indispensable condition for the grant of self-government? Vehemently criticizing the speech, the *Medina* writes: What shall we say about these haughty remarks except this that relying on your strength you can make any statements you like? Through the kindness of Malaviya and Company you are at liberty to make such haughty speeches. The remark that further reforms cannot be granted as Indians have shown no disposition to co-operate is merely a lame excuse. Your life depends upon India. Why should you willingly relinquish her? All this tall talk is merely political deceit. Throw the bait to the moderates; Indians in general cannot be taken in. The *Hamdam* says: The highest recognition of partnership which Indians have got is that new laws are always passed against them in the colonies, they are precluded from living there and are deported to India and are at all times sent to be sacrified at the altar of British Imperialism. The Swaraj party cannot be influenced by the threat of withholding further instalments of reforms if co-operation with Government is refused. . . Even after one hundred and fifty years of British rule India is still poor and the daily average income of her inhabitants is not more than one anna per head and crores of men do not get two full meals. Keeping in view what good has been done to India by the first instalment of the reforms and how the bait of ministership has shaken the footsteps even of the greatest servants of the country Indians will request Lord Birkenhead to keep back the second instalment.

Imperial Conference.

Strongly protesting against the exclusion of the Indian delegation from the meeting of the conference in which the question of Imperial foreign policy was discussed the *Aligarh Mail* writes: If India has no right to participate in the discussion of the Imperial foreign policy, why are her delegates invited to the League of Nations? What is discussed in the League if not the regulation of foreign relations between states and states? If India is there simply to register British vote, why should the cost of the Indian delegation to Geneva and India's contributions to the League of Nations be not borne by the British Exchequer? Referring to the demand of General Hertzog in the Imperial Conference for liberty to South Africa in international affairs the *Aj* fears lest the sacrifice of India should be one of the means whereby it may be sought to conciliate the General. The *Shankar* wonders whether India's representation in the Imperial Conference is representation or merely an exhibition of slavery and says: Every Indian will be grieved at the status of Indian representatives in the Conference. These representatives take part in the conference as slaves. The *Vivek* expresses surprise that though the colonial premiers are discussing in the Imperial Conference the best means of utilising the resources of India for strengthening the British empire there are men in this country who dream of good being done to it by that body. It remarks that the fact that Indian representatives were not allowed to participate in the deliberations of the conference regarding certain questions of the foreign policy of the empire disposes of the impression that equality of treatment is accorded to Indian representatives in the conference. Is such a treatment not the height of the disgrace and distrust of Indians?

The Calcutta Riots.

The *Abhyudaya* refers to the preparations made by certain Muslims of Calcutta to burn some Hindu houses in Kalabaghan (Calcutta) and says: This was a terrible and diabolical deed and was done in the name of religion. Surely God does not recognize this religion otherwise the affair would have been more serious than that of Kohat. It is a matter of great shame for the police that it could not trace the miscreants. There is yet time for the Government to beware and save India from becoming another Kohat or Malabar on a bigger scale. The *Aj* contends

that the Police Commissioner's report on the Calcutta riots confirms the view that the riots in that city were not caused by sudden provocation but were preconcerted and that there were brains behind this conspiracy which was sought to be carried out through the agency of ignorant and fanatical Muslims. It is to be regretted that the authorities in most of the places are not doing their duty in connexion with the question of music before mosques. Their attitude serves to encourage those who want to prevent forcibly the followers of other religions from performing their religious rituals. The *Vivek* says that the shameful inability of the police to detect the miscreants engaged in this conspiracy is a matter of no little surprise specially when the police officials had taken precautions against such contingencies. All this has taken place under the Government which declares it to be its sacred duty to maintain peace among the people and is never tired of proclaming that its withdrawal from the country would lead to utter anarchy in the country. This is a living example of the success of British rule in the task of the preservation of peace. Referring to the reports of a bomb being thrown on persons coming out of the Nakhuda mosque in Calcutta after prayers the *Hamdam* says: So far the anarchists used to throw bombs on Government officials only but now apparently as a result of Hindu *Sangathan*, the Muslims also have begun to be made their targets. The bomb is probably a spark of the peace-consuming flames of Hindu *Sangathan*. The *Sada-i-Muslim* writes: We have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government and Indian Muslims to the mentality which the wicked Hindus are now-a-days displaying towards Muslims simply on account of spite and animosity. In pursuance of the teachings of Pandit Malaviya Muslims were so far being honoured only with bricks and stones but the latest report from Calcutta shows that the bodies and lives of Muslims are now going to be exposed to bomb attacks. The attack must have been the work of a non-Muslim Bengali as Bengalis alone have been cultivating the cult of the bomb for a long time. Muslims should ponder seriously how to protect their lives and property if such attacks persist and while maintaining restraint and patience they should remain watchful. Of Government we would inquire whether if it does not put a stop to such dastardly and violent attacks the bombs which are at present being thrown on weak Muslims will not in the future be levelled against high officials? Every peace-loving person will then live in fear and there will neither be the British Government nor tranquillity in India. It is the bounden duty of the Government of India to utilize all its resources to get at the bottom of the affair and to reassure the Muslims by meting out adequate punishment to the guilty.

Political Propaganda.

The *Aj* says that there is no reason why Indians should support the Empire film movement. Help is given to a friend. To-day India receives proof of British friendship in the Black Act and in insults offered to her at every step. In these circumstances Indian support of the movement for the use of British goods in this country cannot be held to be anything better than selfish sycophancy and jihuzoorism. It will be a suicidal policy for Indians to import films only from Britain and not from America. Their well-being lies in enlisting the sympathy of all the influential and progressive countries of the world. Then alone can they break the chains of subjection. The *Trishul* publishes a poem which means: Organization, valour, love of one's community are required to remove the unrighteous arrogance of the enemy from the country. Efforts should joyfully be made to remove the blot of cowardice from the forehead. Women have been dishonoured. (We) have been robbed. (We) have been beaten. What worse treatment remained undone? By merely repeating the formula of peace we shall never get peaceful sleep. The *Najat* asserts that it was British diplomacy and not the sword which conquered India. The hidden hand of the British was always active and one by one the chiefs were set at loggerheads and their alliances broken up. When the chiefs had been thoroughly emasculated by internecine strife, the British completed the economic and cultural subjection of India by flooding her markets with Lancashire cottons. After capturing the cloth trade, the British adopted other methods of loot. Luxuries were imported in sufficiently large quantities into India and wines of various sorts dulled the discrimination of Indians and within a very short time they became confirmed drunkards and the joint family system became affected. Their hearts and minds not set at rest by these methods of draining wealth, the British adopted still other devices to continue their civilized loot and this sapped the physical strength also of Indians and they were rendered nerveless and helpless

by various diseases. They began to suffer from debility and diseases of the liver and the weakness of their spleens increased to such an extent that injuries to it have yielded hundreds of lives to foreign attacks every year. We have now plumbed the deepest depths of mental and physical deterioration. In short we are faced with ruin on all sides. In these circumstances we should take stock of our past and present state and taking our stand on the mighty principles of universal brotherhood should remedy our weaknesses and shortcomings by mutual aid. Referring to the proposed aerial passenger service between England and India the *Medina* writes: The pilots of the west coming by the sea long ago sank the ship of the freedom and prosperity of India into the Bay of Bengal, the coastal waters of Madras and the Arabian sea and it has to be seen what property has now been left to India that these aeronauts of England are going to cast to the winds.

Dasehra at Allahabad

The Hindi press is grievously disappointed at the Viceroy's reply to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's letter regarding Ramlila at Allahabad and opines that he has only followed the customary policy of supporting the man on the spot. The *Abhyudaya* says that the Viceroy produced a good impression on the country by his speeches on the communal question but two of his recent acts—the praise of the work of the Punjab Council despite its communalism, and the unjust support of the local officialdom and the provincial Government on the question of Allahabad Ramlila—are disappointing. Now that blows after blows are being dealt to the Hindu community it was a good opportunity for the Viceroy to do something which would have cleared the horizon of the clouds of communal politics and the policy of divide and rule. The *Vartman* strongly criticizes the action of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in making further representations to the Viceroy and says that the question should now be taken up by the people themselves and not left to the leaders alone. The question affects the entire Hindu community and not the Hindus of Allahabad only. If the Hindus wish to live as a community they should make the bureaucracy recognize the importance of protecting their religious rights. It is a matter for serious consideration for the Hindus why the bureaucracy which shows regard for the sentiments of minorities tramples upon Hindu interests. The Hindus should move forward like true Hindus and should not yield till the bureaucracy is forced to recognize the dangers of trifling with their religious sentiments. The *Desh Bandhu* takes the district board and the municipal board of Allahabad to task for their decision to present addresses to the Viceroy even though he is visiting the city after supporting the action of the United Provinces Government in connexion with the local Ramlila. If to-day these boards did not have a majority of *jeehuzurs* and Pandit Malaviya had felt in the least the insult offered to the town by the stoppage of Ramlila the situation in the town would have been different. If the electors of Allahabad do not awaken to their sense of duty even now and vote for the Independent party Ramlila will never be celebrated in their town and even if it is ever celebrated it would be on conditions not acceptable to us.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the appeal by M. Shaukat Ali for four crores of rupees for the Khilafat committee, the *Khadim* agrees with the *Muslim Standard* that the Khilafat does not now exist and this is only a device to waste public money. It was for Tripoli, the Balkans and the Khilafat that Indian Muslims spent crores of rupees, went in their hundreds and thousands to jail, closed hundreds of Muslim schools and courted war with Government. But what did all this avail the Turks or how far did they appreciate these sacrifices? We injured our national and political movements but the Turks did not even care to consult us before abolishing the Khilafat. How did Afghanistan treat the handful of Indian Mahajirs that sought refuge within her territories. India must be strong herself before she can think of helping others and it is only by winning freedom that Indian Muslims can best serve Islam. *Al-Khalil* has a communicated article in which the writer contends that progress is impossible in India unless Muslims are given equal representation with Hindus in all departments. How can separate representation be done away with or representation accorded on the strength of numerical proportion when one community regards it as its religious duty to interfere with the other in offering prayers or goes to the length of breaking heads over that community's taking meat or sacrificing animals. The *Mashriq* complains of the low percentage of Muslim clerks in various Government offices in these provinces and urges Muslim leaders to place statistics in this connexion before the local Government and to appeal to it to reserve posts

for minority communities just as has been recently done by the Government of India. The *Hamdam* contends that when Sir Fazle Hasan was called in from the Punjab during Sir Muhammad Habibullah's previous absence and when Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra was brought from the Military Finance department to officiate for Sir A. C. Chatterjee, Sir Abdur Rahim is quite justified in demanding that Sir Muhammad Habibullah's present vacancy should be filled by a Muslim. The *Medina* deprecates the official toying with the Punjab Money-lenders' Bill and says that though it has been altered out of all recognition and has lost most of its utility Sir Malcolm Hailey has refused to give his assent even to this shadowy measure of reform. The fact is that the officials have thoroughly fooled the Hindu and Muslim members of the Council for two years. Rather they have played a detestable joke with the people of the Punjab and now this bone of contention will again be cast into the next Council.

Communal representation.

Discussing the question of communal representation the *Aligarh Mail* contends that it is the Hindus and not Muslims who are communal in outlook and says: Those people whose social organization is based on caste and untouchability, the most undemocratic and separatist institutions that mankind has yet conceived, are the last to be non-communal in their outlook. Our Hindu countrymen are sectarians first, then they are castemen, then they are communalist Hindus and last of all they are Indians. It is all humbug and sickening cant for our Hindu brethren to assert that they oppose the principle and practice of separate representation simply because it is subversive of a national and democratic evolution of the Motherland. Referring to Mr. Shastri's recent speech decrying communal representation the *Hamdam* points out that Mr. Shastri must be aware of the reasons which have forced Muslims to demand separate representation. The truth is that the Hindus are much more communal and narrow-minded than the Muslims and if the former were to develop large-heartedness and toleration and view political questions not from the narrow communal but purely national standpoint, an atmosphere would very soon be created in India which would compel Government to concede the Indian demand for freedom. Anyway, it would be better to gain the confidence of Muslims than to knock at the doors of Government in order to do away with communal representation. If Muslims become convinced that Hindus as a whole have developed sufficient large-heartedness and toleration they will themselves give up separate representation.

Council rules.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* strongly criticizes the rules framed by the Government of India for the legislatures, and says: The rules have been framed by the Executive to cripple the paltry powers of the legislatures to a still greater extent. Turning our attention to the orders restricting the provincial councils, we find that the power, responsibility and initiative on which the seekers of office speculate, are a stupendous sham derogatory to the power, responsibility and initiative of the Legislature. The Ministers are ensconsed in the bureaucratic bosom . . . The officials will be able to shield an unpopular ministry from even a token censure in the form of a debate. It is an utter travesty of democratic principle and a sure guarantee for *jo hukmi* ministerships. We would earnestly ask Responsive Co-operators if it was not time for them to cease their disruptive propaganda and realize the resolve of the bureaucracy to employ them on the most humiliating terms for the purpose of reaction.

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ALLAHABAD:
November 6, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 45 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 13, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Hamdam* writes:—The persistent encroachments of European nations in the name of the spread of modern civilization have opened the eyes of all Asiatic Governments to their plight. They have realized how the League of Nations is being used as a screen to promote imperialistic designs and are now going to organize means for their protection. It is a very happy augury for the future of Asia if the *Times'* report about the initiation of an Asiatic League at Constantinople is true. May God grant success to this League and may it become so powerful with the co-operation of Japan that the European powers may be frustrated in their policy of annexation. The *Najat* sees in the growth of Bolshevik influence in China the materialization of the Bolshevik peril on the north-east frontier also. The Government of India's attitude in regard to the Punjab Money-lenders' Bill and its solicitude for Hindu good-will as further evidenced by the pardoning of the Hindu accused of Dera Ismail Khan and their indifference towards Frontier Reforms show that the danger is being fully realized by the authorities. The authorities are very nervous about Afghanistan and are persistently trying to cultivate Hindu friendship.

Election campaign.

The elections continue to be the chief topic of discussion in the Press and with the approach of the polling dates the tone of the party organs is increasing in vehemence and virulence. The names of the favoured candidates are being displayed prominently and considerable space is being taken up by recriminations which in some cases have led to the institution of defamation suits. The protection of Hindu interests has become the main issue. The supporters of the Independent Congress Party are trying their best to convince the electors that Hindu interests have badly suffered at the hands of the Swaraj Party and the swarajist organs are equally assiduous in their efforts to refute that charge. The majority of the important papers are the protagonists of the swarajist cause. Muslim papers are emphasizing the need of electing only such members as would be able to protect the interests of their community against the attacks of the candidates of the Independent Congress Party who are represented as radical sangathanists. The *Leader* believes that Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya have a majority of the Hindus on their side. "They do not command large election funds and are therefore considerably handicapped, but their strength lies in the advocacy of the Hindu cause and opposition to a barren and injurious policy. If they succeed in dishing the swarajists they will have rendered a great public service to the country. We wish all strength to their elbow." In another article, reviewing the election campaign in the United Provinces, the same paper writes:—Out of the total number of seats open to election less than half are being contested by the swarajists. Thus even if all of them are returned they cannot form a majority. But the likelihood is that a good number of them will be defeated . . . What did the swarajists achieve in the last Council? With a few exceptions they played the part of dummies. They created a new heaven and earth for the bureaucracy which was left free to follow its reactionary policy. The Ministers and Executive Councillors had a happy time. The swarajists have succeeded in setting back the hands of progress. . . For whom should the electors then record their votes? They should vote for those who are prepared and qualified to make the best use of the present constitution, who hold progressive views and who may be expected to fight to the best of their ability for safeguarding public rights, opposing unjust and reactionary measures and

enlarging the bounds of constitutional freedom. Among candidates seeking election who can come in this category are those who formed the progressive party in the first reformed Council and a number of those who have been adopted by the Independent Congress Party and a few others. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* challenges Lala Lajpat Rai to substantiate the allegation made by him in one of his speeches at Lahore that there was a conspiracy of several swarajist leaders who wanted to turn out the British from India, even if they had to replace the British Government by Afghan rule. It says:—When a citizen knows of the existence of such conspiracy, the option does not rest with him to talk like a fluent mountebank and reserve to himself the time and place of disclosure. A man who cannot prove allegations so serious volunteered by himself must be treated as a moral assassin and an imbecile wretch dead to all sense of reason and truth. Let Lalaji repel the reproach by behaving like a man. But then the present business is the elections, the elections. In the course of a letter in the *Vartman* addressed from Kabul to Indians "Raja" Mahendra Pratap pleads the cause of the swarajists and writes:—The Swaraj Party alone is serving or wishes to serve India. I am convinced that God wishes to make India free. This is why Englishmen are withering like a plant without water and India is moving forward like a healthy boy. The *Desh Bandhu* keenly regrets the defeat of Mr. Asaf Ali in the Delhi joint electorate and says:—Pandit Malaviya and the Lala have scored this victory by deception and as such deserve no praise for it. Like Abhimanyu's defeat in the Mahabharata Mr. Asaf Ali's defeat is in fact the harbinger of the triumph of the Congress. The *Aj* says that the victory secured by the Independent Congress Party against the Congress candidate at Delhi lays an axe at the root of nationalism. This is neither a victory of the Independent Congress Party nor of the Hindus. It is indeed a triumph of communal passions, of the misfortune of India and of the good fortune of the unbridled bureaucracy. Exhorting the voters to vote for Babu Sri Prakash, the swarajist candidate, and not for Mr. Birla, the Independent Congress Party nominee, the *Sainik* says that while the Swaraj Party stands for self-respect, the Independent Congress Party is for kissing the feet of the bureaucracy; on one side there is principle and on the other money; one way lies *swaraj* and the other slavery. The *Hindi Kesri* writes:—On behalf of the party known as the Independent Congress Party efforts are being made to secure votes in the name of Hindu interests, but if Hindu interests could be protected by begging and sending telegrams to the Governor Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya would have been able to get the *Dusehra* procession taken out. It is neither a party of the Congress, nor is it independent. It is in fact an organization of candidates having slavish mentality. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the fact that the Viceroy will be accorded a grand and hearty reception at Allahabad despite his upholding the decision of the provincial Government with regard to the local Ramlila shows that the Independent Congress Party which has undertaken to protect Hindu interests holds that the Hindu interests will be furthered by kissing the feet which spurn it. If it had not the strength to launch *Satyagraha* as a protest against the stoppage of the Ramlila procession, it could at least practise non-cooperation and demonstrate by the boycott of the Viceroy's reception that Hindus too have a heart susceptible of injury. What hopes can the country have from a party which has no self-respect? If the Independent Congress Party enters the Councils through such policy it will observe only *jeehuzoorism* there. It will be striking at the very root of self-respect to return such a party to the Councils. Refuting the allegation that the Hindus of Delhi voted on communal grounds during the recent election to the Assembly the *Abhyudaya* writes:—The fact is that out of the one thousand Muslim voters not one voted for the Hindu candidate, whereas a sufficient number of Hindus voted for Mr. Asaf Ali. It is possible to find Hindus who are opposed to their community, but not a single Muslim who does not stand by his co-religionists. The *Bharat* virulently denounces the Swarajists and says:—A Muslim, a Christian or any other non-Hindu who apparently opposes the Hindu interests cannot do so much harm to Hindus as a non-Hindu traitor in the disguise of a Hindu. It is, therefore, the duty of all those in whose veins pure Hindu blood flows to crush the head of all such snakes. The *Medina* writes:—The Independent Congress Party wants to send Hindus who do not believe that India's salvation lies in opposition to Government or that they should make sacrifices for the sake of freedom. It does not matter whether every moment of their past lives has been passed in rubbing foreheads on the threshold of the Government, whether their hands are dyed with the blood of the youthful sons of the

nation and whether their expectant eyes are always watchful to act at a sign from the white-skinned gods. The only qualification requisite is that their hearts and minds should be possessed of the evil spirit of animosity towards Muslims. They should have this lesson of the professor of *Sangathan* at their fingers' tips that this foreign race (Muslims) should not be allowed to live in peace. . . . . Brethren of Islam; such are the designs of the gods of *Sangathan* in regard to the coming Councils and unfortunately for the country they are succeeding to some extent in them. There are three parties at present in the Council—the Government, the Hindus and the Muslims. The Government is out to gain money and to maintain its domination and prestige. So long as these interests are not involved Government remains neutral. It cares little whether any law is injurious to Hindus or Muslims. So the Muslims will have to watch the Hindus next to Government. The Muslim representative should, therefore, be capable and possessed of a clean past. Such men can be only those trusted and tried soldiers who have fought against Government and can therefore easily combat the Hindus also. The voters should always prefer the Muslim party's candidates to nondescript gentlemen. The local Muslim Press, particularly the *Khadim*, has been strongly protesting against the inaccuracies in the electoral roll of Allahabad for the Allahabad-*cum*-Benares Muslim constituency and has been urging Government either to correct the roll forthwith or to postpone the elections. It is being openly insinuated that the electoral roll has been manipulated in the interests of certain candidates.

Communal representation.

The Muslim Press is unanimously and vehemently denouncing the narrow-mindedness shown by the Hindu Sabha leaders in securing the defeat of Mr. Asaf Ali in the Delhi mixed electorate, and says that by this action they have rung the death-knell of joint representation. Most of the papers are urging the Delhi Muslims to demand separate representation as they are helpless against the Hindu majority when it is guided by narrow-minded leaders. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—Our Hindu brethren are now carrying on a regular propaganda against separate electorates. It is therefore the bounden duty of every Musalman, and particularly of those gentlemen who are going up for Council election, that they should safeguard the interests of the minorities by strongly advocating, among other things, the present method of separate electorates. No Muslim should be elected as member of the local Council or Assembly who does not clearly express in the manifesto that he is in favour of separate electorates. In another issue referring to the report that the Muslims of Delhi are going to move the Government of India to grant them separate representation for the Legislative Assembly the same paper writes:—The demand of the Delhi Muslims is a just one because it is the only means by which they can guard against the political greed of the Hindus. We hope that the Delhi Muslims will rise to the occasion and through an intensive propaganda in the Press and on the platform will bring home to the Government of India the injustice which they have suffered in the common electorate of the Ajmer-Delhi constituency. The *Haqiqat* says that the defeat of a national veteran of the standing of Mr. Asaf Ali against a political nonentity like Mr. Rang Bihari Lal simply because the former was a Muslim shows that Muslim interests cannot be safeguarded in India in mixed electorates. In the presence of enemies of unity like Malaviyaji and Lalaji no Muslims could succeed against Hindus. The Muslims should, therefore, take heed from the Delhi incident and organize a vigorous agitation against joint electorates before the coming Royal Commission. The result of the Delhi election will also enable the Government to realize that it is not safe to leave the fate of Muslims in the hands of the Hindus. The *Hamdam* writes:—The opposition to Mr. Asaf Ali was not due to his being a swarajist candidate, but to his being a Muslim. Muslims of course want to work in co-operation with the Hindus, but it is futile to make any attempts towards Hindu-Muslim unity in the presence of *sangathanist* leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai as they control the ignorant public. The *Khadim* says that the defeat of Mr. Asaf Ali should open the eyes of those Muslims who had of late begun to favour the abolition of separate representation. When the Hindus treated a swarajist Muslim in this fashion, what would be the fate of Muslims if separate electorates were done away with throughout India? Not a single Muslim would be able to enter the legislatures, and if any one was perchance sent up he would be of the type of M. Liaqat Husain of Bengal. Muslims should now realize that the Hindu agitation for joint representation is a political move which would prove fatal to Muslim

interests. The *Hamdam* says that every just-minded person will urge Government to pay attention to the reasonable demand of the Adi-Hindu Mahasabha, Cawnpore, in regard to their representation in the Council and to allow them to elect a certain fixed number of representatives for each legislative body. Meanwhile only persons enjoying their confidence should be nominated.

Political propaganda.

The *Manorama* expresses surprise that despite the ever-growing number of outrages on Indian women for some time past the Government takes no measures to stop them. It refers to the provision of death penalty for criminal assaults on white women in East Africa and China and says that a similar penalty is not provided for outrages on Indian or Asiatic women by whites. So far the value of the life of an Indian or Asiatic was nothing as compared with that of a European, but now there is also a world of disparity between the honour of a white and a coloured woman. Is there any nation which can survive even after suffering such disgrace? The *Vibhuti* publishes a poem on *Dasehra* in which after describing the atrocities perpetrated by Ravan and his subsequent fall the writer invokes God to protect India by destroying Ravan's dynasty. He says: The progeny of Ravan has multiplied, the country is being ruined and atrocities upon atrocities are being perpetrated. The *Vir Sandesh* publishes an article on "Ideal valour" by Pandit Brij Mohan Tewari, M A., which concludes with a poem meant to be read to the Kshattriyas. It contains, among others, the following lines: Rise up, sword in hand, be like the God of Death. Evil-doers may be decimated through massacre; leniency towards the wicked may come to an end. In a leading article on the *Diwali* the *Vartman* remarks that the country cannot properly celebrate the festival as the wealth, the goddess of which is worshipped on the occasion, has passed into the hands of foreigners. The paper deprecates indulgence in gambling and calls upon the people to devote themselves to the task of removing the yoke which has been placed on the necks of thirty crores of Indians. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that Indians can celebrate the *Diwali* festival in its true spirit only when they improve the economic condition of the country. This can be done only by the development of indigenous industries through the propagation of the Swadeshi cult and the boycott of foreign goods, specially cloth. The *Aj* publishes a communication from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Kabul in the course of which he says that Islam is not responsible for the Hindu-Muslim dissensions in India and that it is the foreign rulers of India who foment them and pleads with Hindus for just and charitable treatment of Muslims who are sure to reciprocate it. Continuing, he remarks that it is the foreign rulers of the country who teach obstinacy to Hindus and publish writings sometimes in favour of the Hindus and at others in that of the Muslims. No act of Englishmen is free from some deep design and Indians are taken in by it. It is all a lie spread by foreigners that on their withdrawal Hindus and Muslims will oppress each other. It is only on the British leaving India that government on truly Indian lines will be established in the country. Hindu or Muslim favouritism will then become unknown and all business will be conducted on principles of justice and charity. The *Pratap* publishes an open letter addressed to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya by "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Kabul in which he says: "I am the same well-wisher of yours who, while in India, regarded you as a respected guide. You too used to say that if you had a hundred co-workers like myself India would become free in a day. You used to point out one special defect in me, viz, that I sounded the trumpet of war without preparation. You were engaged in preparations and used to say that you would declare war when preparations were complete." Proceeding, the writer deprecates the present activities of Pandit Malaviya and says that the *Sangathan* and the *Tanzim* movements are only helping the enemy. Complete success can be achieved only through Hindu-Muslim unity. Those who have been born in Indian soil are not foreigners. Foreigners are they who are pulling the wires from London and who sometimes make Indians dance and at others utilize them for their gain. Referring to the fire which broke out at Peshawar during the Viceroy's visit the *Medina* writes:—When the Viceroy heard of the fire he went to witness the spectacle of the burning of the houses of his subjects. We are certain that the residents of Peshawar will not for long forget this auspicious visit of the Viceroy. There was a time when the passage of emperors converted wildernesses into habitations and forests into gardens. Now things have come to such a pass that where the august representative of the King-Emperor stays prosperous towns are laid waste through fire.

Indian States.

While the appointment of Maharaja Sir Kishen Prasad as Prime Minister of Hyderabad has been so far favourably received, the entire Muslim Press has been vehemently protesting against what it regards as the attempt of the Government of India to interfere in the internal administration of the State by introducing the British element into its public services. The attitude of the Hindu Press is resented and appeals are being made for a vigorous Muslim agitation against the action of Government. A number of papers allege that in many respects the administration of the Hyderabad State is much better than that of British India and that the Government of India are actuated by vindictiveness and want to punish the Nizam for his spirit of independence, especially for his demand for the restoration of Berar. In the course of an article headed "The Hidden Hand" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—By all accounts the Nizam of Hyderabad has been coerced into accepting the conditions laid down by the Political department for the peaceful possession of his title. The situation as it stands does not redound to the credit of Lord Irwin's Government, and the least they can do is to declare without prevarication their reasons for so drastic, and apparently so undeserved, a case of suzerain interference for the humiliation of Hyderabad. The *Medina* writes:—The evil disposition of the Government is bent upon humiliating the independence and sense of self-respect of the Nizam, and for this various excuses are being resorted to. If the Government's object was merely to introduce reforms in the State, it ought to have been satisfied as the Nizam had accepted most of its demands but its heart is aflame with rage and vindictiveness. This is undoubtedly the worst kind of joke with morality and humanity. The Government has forgotten all the help which the Nizam has rendered to it during emergencies. Gratitude is a meaningless word in British traditions. It is the old policy of the Government of India to impart such education to Ruling Chiefs as would make them half British and their states sources of unrestricted income for the British unemployed. Where this is not possible wire-pulling and intrigues are resorted to, so that the Chiefs may become mere toys and the Government may find opportunities for undue interference. The Chiefs are placed amidst luxurious and sensual surroundings so that under the influence of a cup of wine or the smile of a captivating beauty they may make over their States into the hands of foreigners. Such wire-pullings and artful intrigues were resorted to to the greatest extent in the Nizam's State. The fact is that no self-respecting ruler of a State can tolerate such tyrannies and injustices. We appeal to Indian leaders without any distinction of caste and community to take effective steps to redress this deplorable state of things. The *Hamdam* writes:—It is said that the Government of India has again written insisting on changes in the staff and demanding a reply by November 5. We would inform the Government of India that His Exalted Highness the Nizam deservedly enjoys great popularity not only in his own dominions but throughout British India, and if owing to the exercise of undue pressure he is compelled to abdicate the feelings not only of his subjects but of British Indians also and specially Muslims, will be greatly pained. The *Najat* observes that if in spite of the past and present treaties Government interferes in the internal affairs of the State on the basis of its superior strength, it would not only be violating the principles of right and justice but also disgracing itself. The impartiality, simplicity, industry and sound judgement of the Nizam are well-known and the reforms and progress initiated by him in various departments of the State during his regime are well in advance of anything achieved in British India. From the administrative standpoint too Hyderabad is far superior to other States and also to British India in many respects, and that is why the Nizam is so very popular among all other Indians except a few *sangathanist* hotheads who are being consumed with the fire of prejudice. If Government is really bent on interference it should know that this matter is not like that of Nabha and Muslims will not be able to submit easily. When the Muslims of India and other countries realize that the British Government is bent on undermining their foundations they will surely resort to reprisals, and then their excitement will not be easily calmed. Government should, therefore, before adopting any such misguided course consider all its consequences, whether at home or abroad, as the question concerns not only Hyderabad but Muslims all the world over. The *Bedar* writes:—The Nizam who was the first to fix a pension for the dethroned Caliph, who revived the ancient learning of the Muslims is to-day prepared to free himself from the grip of autocracy and to perform *hijrat* to the court of the Prophet to bewail the helplessness of Muslims. The honour of the Nizam is the honour of seven crores

of Muslims, and at a sign from him we are prepared to sacrifice all. Muslims, this is the moment of your trial. If during the Khilafat movement you presented your lives and property as sacrifice for the Turkish patriots, then to-day you should show that each drop of blood of every Muslim is tied up with the only Islamic State in India.

The Viceroy's visit to the United Provinces.

The *Bharat Jiwan* writes :—It is our absolute duty to refuse to welcome the Viceroy on the occasion of his forthcoming visit to Benares as he is the representative of the very bureaucracy which tramples upon the interests of India at every step and which has begun to accord a very objectionable treatment to Hindus as evidenced by its crooked policy in regard to the stoppage of Ramlila at Allahabad. The *Aj* urges the municipal board of Benares not to offer welcome to the Viceroy on the occasion of his forthcoming visit to that city and thus to proclaim to the world that being the centre of Hinduism Benares cannot brook the suppression of the religious rights of the Hindus. In a subsequent issue the paper says that the decision of the Benares municipal board to welcome the Viceroy was an indication of degrading slave mentality, and points out that it has been possible to offer welcome to the Viceroy at Benares only through the votes of the two nominated or, in other words, Government members of the board. The *Khadim* offers a number of suggestions for according a really grand and impressive welcome to the Viceroy.

The Imperial Conference.

Referring to the Maharaja of Burdwan's remark that India was proud of her position in the British Empire the *Leader* writes :—If the Maharaja had screwed up courage to state that India was feeling a sense of humiliation at her position of dependence he would have been nearer the truth. How can Indians be satisfied with such a "representative?" The *Abhyudaya* publishes an article by one K. B. Dixit who says that the Maharaja of Burdwan holds the same position in the Imperial Conference as is natural for a Government nominee. His speech shows that India's real status in the Empire is that of a slave, and that her representative is a mere sycophant.

United Provinces Indian Christian Conference.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* strongly criticises the proceedings of the United Provinces Indian Christian Conference held at Allahabad and regrets that the Indian Christian community in this province has not acquired a greater degree of national consciousness and political wisdom than what has been exhibited in some of the resolutions passed at the present session. The paper specially deprecates the resolution asking for special representation and says that the "stiff communal fight for the loaves and fishes of office is distressing." The *Hamdam* hopes that the Government will have no hesitation in granting the demand of Indian Christians for separate representation as they are an important part of the population of the country and should be given a chance of representation in the Legislative Councils. Protesting against the demand the *Oudh Akhbar* says :—We consider the demand for separate representation to be detrimental to national unity. The Government of India and the Secretary of State for India realize that they have committed a great mistake in granting separate representation to Muslims. They should not, therefore, repeat it in the case of Indian Christians. If this policy is accepted to be right in the case of one community, there will be no end to the demand as there are numerous communities and castes in India. After the demands of Parsis, Jains and Buddhists different castes of Hindus will begin to demand the right of separate representation.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an article headed "Rama ! come ! come !" after describing in brief the life and adventures of Rama the *Vibhuti* says :—Lord Rama, behold the demons in human form who like the Ravan of that age make people weep at every step. Far greater injustice is being done. Atrocities are being perpetrated in the country in broad daylight. At that time only one Sita was kidnapped, but now thousands of Sitas are being kidnapped daily from our houses; our children are being stolen; our temples pulled to the ground and our religion is being defiled by those belonging to other religions.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Govenrment Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD :
November 13, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 46 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 20, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the British representative's opposition to the suggestion of the Mandates Commission that the inhabitants of mandated countries should be allowed to represent their grievances to it the *Vivek* writes:—If the mandatory powers are discharging their responsibilities as a sacred trust why do they fight shy of a thorough inquiry into their deeds? Imperialists may well suck the blood of others but why do they make the fruitless attempt of convincing the world that they are inspired by benevolence towards helpless countries? How long will this loot by the League of Nations continue in the name of justice and peace? The *Medina* writes:—Now the capitalistic governments of Europe do not find means for the satisfaction of their land-hunger anywhere except in Asia. So Asiatic nations are sought to be enslaved with the help of the League of Nations. Britain is the greatest champion of this policy of enslaving other nations. All free and subject countries of Asia are realizing this danger. The only means of defence is the formation of an Asiatic League of Nations. The meeting of Russian, Persian, Afghan and Turkish ambassadors at Angora is probably the first step in this direction.

Election campaign.

Most of the papers are now almost exclusively devoted to the election campaign and a number of them are freely indulging in vituperation. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Motilal Nehru are being bitterly attacked by the organs of the opposite party. The election results are being interpreted by each party in its own favour. The *Abhyudaya* is supporting Mr. Chintamani with the same assiduity with which it opposed him during the last elections. Muslim papers generally find little to choose between the Independent Congress party and the *Swaraj* party and regard both as essentially Hindu organizations bent upon injuring Muslim interests. They accordingly emphasize the need of voting for candidates of Muslim organizations alone. Exhorting the voters not to vote for Swarajist candidates, the *Leader* writes:—The Swarajists have failed to raise their voice in condemnation of excesses committed by Muslims against Hindus in several cases. They have condemned those who have been trying to organize the Hindus for self-protection. A section of Muslims has been trying by force to deprive the Hindus of one of their fundamental rights of citizenship, namely, the freedom to carry their processions with music on public thoroughfares. The whole Hindu community has been agitated over this question. But the *Swaraj* party has not thought fit or expedient to support the Hindus in the matter and to condemn those who have been making preposterous claims in this behalf. This is only one instance of the indifference shown by the party to legitimate Hindu interests. We want men in the councils who are not obsessed with a false or perverse sense of nationalism and we venture to say that the Hindus ought not to rely upon the representatives of the party to act as fair and fearless champions of their legal and traditional rights. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* publishes a series of articles to make a "surprising revelation of how a small but heroic contingent of thirty Swarajists in the total council of 123 fought and accomplished so much for the people of the United Provinces." Commenting on these the *Leader* writes:—The articles only establish the superiority and the fruitful nature of the policy which the Swarajists have been denouncing and how completely they repudiated in practice their election pledges. The *Advocate* writes:—It is a plain truth that our progress can be rendered safe and secure by using the Reforms. The voters should vote for

those who would utilize the Reforms for the purpose of securing national progress and advancement. The Swarajists have dug their own grave by adopting an attitude which was most dangerous for the Hindu cause in particular. The masses are disgusted with them and they are no more likely to be entrapped in the net. Commenting on the election results in the Central Provinces the *Leader* writes:—The Swarajist citadel in the Central Provinces has fallen before the assault of constitutionalists who have practically captured the legislative machinery. The plight of the Swarajists there conveys a lesson to the whole country and is indicative of the enormous change in the situation which has taken place since the last general election. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: If the Madras and Bombay election results constitute any reliable indication as to the political mood of the country then Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Jayakar have occasion to feel greatly chagrined . . . . If the Malaviya-Lala group thinks that North India is their stronghold they will have a rude awakening on the polling day. Indications are not wanting to show that despite the most unscrupulous attempts to exploit religious bigotry and communal animosity, the unquestionable record of work and selfless patriotism of the Swarajists will enable them to triumph over the opportunism of the Independents. Quoting from the election speeches of Pandit Motilal Nehru the *Aligarh Mail* says that the Pandit has given a certificate to the Congress in regard to the fact that practically it functions as the Hindu *Maha Sabha*. It goes on to say: "We are not concerned whether or not the Hindus vote for the Swarajists. But to the Muslims our advice is: Don't vote for the Swarajists. We venture to give—and we give it most seriously—the above advice to the Muslims because on Pandit Nehru's own testimony the Swarajists are like Hindu Mahasabhaists . . . A Hindu is after all a Hindu, whether you call him a Mahasabhaist or a Swarajist. It makes little difference." The *Gyanshakti* of Gorakhpur which has hitherto been an advocate of the Hindu *Sabha* contesting the elections has now taken a somersault and expresses the opinion that if the Hindu *Sabha* wants to thrive it should cease to participate in the elections and forthwith withdraw its candidates from the field. The *Surya* warns the voters that to return the Swarajists to the legislatures would lead to the ruin of the Hindus and the strengthening of the bureaucracy. The *Sainik* tries to make out that the new rules framed by the Government for legislatures have curtailed the powers of the Ministers to such an extent as to render them practically negligible. They have also made the Ministers less amenable to the control of the councils. The Reforms were already inadequate but these rules have rendered them still more unsatisfactory. Will the members of the Independent Congress party who have set their eyes upon offices see if the crumbs for the sake of which they are engaged in ruining their own brethren are capable of satisfying hunger? They should see if these crumbs are not a mixture of putrid and poisonous matter likely to endanger the life of those taking them. The *Aj* publishes an open letter from Chatursen Vaidya Shastri to Seth Ghanshyam Das Birla in which he dissuades the latter from seeking election to the Assembly on the ground that it will be humiliating for him, a man of independent means, to bow before Englishmen and to take the oath of allegiance. He says: How will you take the oath of allegiance before the power which has crushed the ancient culture and civilization of millions of men under its iron hand, which even today stands airily on its steel frame with the determined bloody intention to squeeze out the last drop from it, which even in this twentieth century—the century of the destruction of crowns—says that it has conquered India with the sword, that it will rule over her for ever with the help of the same weapon and that it will crush him whoever comes in its way. . . . It is heard that you have spent 3 lakhs of rupees for securing membership of the council. Are you doing this to demolish the satanic steel edifice or to strengthen it? Do you not realize that even the good works of the English, like education and agricultural development are proving sweet poison for our originality? The naked sword of the Moghals did not swerve us for seven hundred years so much from Hinduism as a hundred years of British rule have done. Do we not see through the achievements of British jugglers? Have the wounds caused by the showering of bullets in the Punjab healed up? Have you forgotten your crawling there? Your sisters were made naked there. They were dishonoured and beaten. Have you forgotten all this? The *Vivek* takes Lala Lajpat Rai to task for raising the cry of Hindu interests in danger and thereby fomenting communal feeling in the country and says:—He has surrendered his arms to the enemy. He has become a reactionary. It is to be hoped that the country will save itself from the miserable plight into which he in conjunction with

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is going to place it by his present policy. If the Independent Congress party comes out successful in the next elections, Government's hopes will rise by leaps and bounds. It is for the voters to decide whether in the next elections they are to furnish material for the Government's jubilation or for its opposition. The *Deshbandhu* condemns the election tactics pursued by the Independent Congress party in general and Messrs. Krishnakant Malaviya and Satyabrat in particular and remarks :—Perhaps these two gentlemen have cause to repent that they were not sent as exhibits to the German zoo in which human beings were recently exhibited as beasts for no other Indian can truly represent the savagery which exists in India. The *Mauji* calls names to Pandit Motilal Nehru for putting up Raizada Hansraj in opposition to Lala Lajpat Rai and urges that no votes should be given to the Swarajists as they are the very personification of deceit, treachery and crooked policy and form a satanic party against the interests of the country. Addressing young men the *Vartman* remarks : How insulting it is that the leaders of the moderate party are out to uproot, in the name of Hindu interests, the plant of *Swaraj* reared by you. You have not one or two but scores of instances before you which demonstrate that the Government never conceded anything through prayers or entreaties. These moderate leaders want to drive you backwards and abuse your resources by presenting a false and spurious ideal. Those who work against the Congress are rebels and those who worship personalities are traitors. Consider the rebels and the traitors to be the enemies of the nation and liberty and punish them. They are going to spoil the battle of *Swaraj* by allying themselves with the bureaucracy. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's statement that 'non-co-operation was dead' amounts to an insult of the nation and the murder of its soul and is a slur on the Indian youths. You should, therefore, as true soldiers of the national army come out of your houses and shatter the conspiracies of the rebels who are determined to attack the Congress, who are aspirants of official favour and who have allied themselves with the enemy. "War ! Conflict !! Slaughter !!!" these are the mottoes of the battle of freedom. You should die with him who dies for the country. Votaries of the country ! you should turn down the false banners of the rebels. In another issue, condemning the support of the candidature of Lala Chunnilal by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai the paper remarks : It has now become clear in the eyes of the world that the Independent Congress party is a caucus of unprincipled and unthinking persons devoid of political wisdom. Exhorting the labourers of Cawnpore to vote for Pandit Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi "the true representative of the poor" the paper says : The Bolsheviks will not come from Europe. You yourselves are the Bolsheviks, the communists and even the socialists. If you summon courage these capitalists and their Governments will kneel down to some extent at least. The *Hamdam* invites attention to Lala Lajpat Rai's silence in spite of Pandit Motilal's challenge to him to publish his information about the Swarajist conspiracy to bring about Afghan domination in India and says that there was really no meaning in the roaring of the Punjab lion and this tale of a conspiracy was concocted only to prejudice Hindu voters against the Swarajists and to pack the legislatures with anti-Muslim candidates. Recounting instances of elected representatives who are easily influenced by officials the *Khadim* writes :—All elected representatives are of course not of such low calibre but they are sufficient in numbers to justify the remark often heard from the lips of foreigners that India is not yet ripe for self-government. The only remedy for this is that the franchise should be confined to educated persons.

Communal representation.

The Muslim press continues to refer to Mr. Asaf Ali's defeat as showing the need for the continuance of separate representation. The *Rahnuma* regrets that by their attitude towards Mr. Asaf Ali at Delhi the Hindus have given a fresh lease of life to separate representation. Unity can be secured only if the majority behaves generously towards the minority and thus wins its confidence. Referring to the campaign against the election of Mr. Asaf Ali from the Delhi electorate *Al Adl* writes :—Will Muslims shake off their indifference after such instances or will they still be caught in the net of deceit of their compatriots and favour joint representation ? Muslims, do you still hope that Hindus will work in unison with you ? Gandhiji strikes the tune of unity to serve his purpose but at the same time Malaviyaji is putting an end to Muslims with the poisoned knife of *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan*. Muslims, open your eyes even now. *Al Khalil* says that neither has Mr. Asaf Ali been defeated at Delhi nor has the Hindu *Sabha*, as the *Hindustan Times* says, scored

its first victory there, but it is the first and the greatest success of separate representation. Our Hindu brethren used to attribute all communal tension to separate electorates. In a way this was true as when no Muslim would be elected from the mixed electorates the Hindus would have naturally no cause for grievance but no sensible person would say that the Muslims also would always remain satisfied with their exclusion from the elective bodies. What can we expect from the general run of Hindus when such chosen leaders of theirs as Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Malaviya betray such a narrow mentality. Delhi Muslims would now be quite justified in demanding separate representation. The *Khurshed* points out that while Hindu leaders always declare separate representation to be responsible for all communal troubles they themselves try to make Muslims helpless and to deprive them of all representation in Government and the legislatures. They are always in search of prey for their *sangathanist* lathis and when there is trouble they put all the blame on the Muslims and separate representation and always turn everything to their own advantage. Muslims should beware of their untrustworthy compatriots and should redouble their agitation in favour of separate representation in view of the impending Royal Commission of 1929.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Bharat Dharma* publishes a letter from one Sri Narayan Shukla of Bareilly who says that in the whole world and especially in India the Muslims have established an association for the destruction of Hindus and are carrying on a vigorous propaganda in their community to this effect by means of a secret conspiracy to circulate books, pamphlets and notices etc. From 1920 to 1927 there will be severe fighting between Hindus and Muslims. Temples and places of pilgrimage will be demolished and defiled and will fall into the hands of *mlechchas*. Cow-sacrifice will be carried on vigorously. Blood and bones will be showered on the occasion of festivals, the Vedas and the Purans will be burnt; the sacrificial pits and idols will be broken and burnt, the top-knots and sacred threads will be broken; Muslim raj will be established; the councils and the District and Municipal boards will pass into the hands of Muslims; Hindu religion will be destroyed; Hindu girls and women will be stolen, they will be led astray by being seduced or threatened with *lathis*, knives etc., in fairs, in bazars etc., men, women, boys, girls and old men will be murdered and the blood of cows, Brahmans and Sadhus will be shed. The Hindus should therefore take heed and practise *satyagraha*. The *Arya Mitra* says that if any Hindu publishes any book on Islam containing criticism supported even by authorities Muslims raise a hue and cry and legal action is taken against them but no Moulvi or Maulana speaks even a word against the indecent books which are published against the Hindus. Even the Government which boasts of impartiality and justice does not think it proper to pay any attention to this. Muslims have published a number of very filthy books. It is our intention to produce extracts from these heart-rending books and to ask Government why it does not do its duty in this connexion. Is it not the Government's duty to protect the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus from the indecent attacks of those belonging to other religions? Referring to Lord Olivier's statements that the Government of India favours Muslims *Al Khalil* inquires whether this is established by the numerous instances of its attitude that it has recently furnished. Compare the treatment accorded to the Maharaja of Kashmir (Mr. A) with that dealt out to one of its most loyal allies, the Nizam. Does the insult to which the Khairpur State is being subjected betoken a pro-Muslim attitude? The vetoing of the Punjab Money-lenders' Bill, the postponement of the Frontier reforms, the refusal to prosecute Dr. Moonje and Pandit Malaviya for their inflammatory speeches and the recent pardoning of the Hindu accused in the Frontier arson cases with the simultaneous conviction of the Muslim accused in the Saidpur, Ramkund and Rawalpindi cases all tell a different tale. Is this a pro-Muslim or a pro-Hindu attitude? Will Lord Olivier or his apologists answer this question? The *Najat* says that the systematic frequency with which news of Hindu-Muslim riots is being received from all corners of India shows that sooner or later there will be a general war between the two communities. The discord-breeding attitude of the Hindu *sangathanist* leaders has created an impassable gulf between the two communities and in spite of caste divisions and sharp differences they all unite against Muslims whenever occasion arises and all their camouflage about a united nationality and patriotism is exposed in its true colours. Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Malaviya and Messrs. Jayakar, Kelkar and Moonje are busy with their anti-Muslim campaign.

and there is hardly any town in India to-day where a magazine is not being stored against Muslims. But with all this, the trumpet of Hindu-Muslim unity is also always sounded so that Muslims may remain negligent and may not be able to concert measures of defence. Will Muslim leaders close up their scattered ranks? Muslims, ponder and see how the Hindus are working for a "Hindu Raj" under the aegis of "British Raj" and all their actions tend towards the subjugation of the Muslims so that they may be removed from the ranks of living nations like the Jews. Even if in spite of this, the Muslims stay in India they will be subject to two governments i.e. "British Raj" and "Hindu Raj". The Hindu peril is a very live danger for Muslims and has placed the question of life and death before them.

Indian States.

The entire Muslim Press continues to be exercised over reports of Government interference in the internal affairs of the Hyderabad State. The general comment is that in many respects the administration of the State is much better than that of British India and that the Government action is actuated by vindictiveness on account of the Nizam's demand for the restoration of Berar. The *Aligarh Mail* takes strong exception to the attitude of a section of the Indian press with regard to the Nizam and says:—The Government of India appears to have taken these papers into confidence for it is through them and not a Government communique that the general public is allowed to learn anything about the Hyderabad affairs. Because of this unwillingness on the part of the Government of India to allay the rumours, all sorts of stories, false as well as true, are gaining currency which are causing unnecessary amount of suspense leading to general discontent .... Rumours that are afloat are so disquieting and so diverse that the Government of India should at least now issue a communique explaining the so-called "friendly advice" that they have given to His Exalted Highness the Nizam. Maulana Fazlullah Khan, late editor of the *Risalat* of Bombay, writing in the *Haqiqat* appeals for the formation of a body of volunteers who would employ all peaceful means for the defence of Hyderabad if Government proposes to harm it. The *Medina* takes strong exception to the attacks made on the Nizam in Hindu papers and meetings and says:—Communal enmity has so permeated the Hindus that they cannot view with toleration anything connected with Muslims. Today there is no *sangathanist* newspaper from Madras to Lahore which is not behaving impertinently towards the Nizam and is not gloating over the tyrannical interference of the Government of India in the affairs of his State. We know that the Government of India is at present bent on humiliating the Nizam and in this the Hindus have found a rare opportunity. It is possible that in future the Muslims may feel the necessity of inaugurating a strong agitation and this trouble may spread in Hindu States. The tyrannies which have been perpetrated on the Muslims in Kashmir and Poonch and the insult which has been offered to the mosques in Bharatpur cannot be forgotten.

Music before mosques.

Referring to the resolution of the Sikh Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee regarding music before mosques the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The Sikhs have seldom been mischievous in the *sangathanist* sense, but the way in which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has wooed them by posing as their well-wisher leads us to believe that they are being used as tools by the *sangathanists* for the purpose of annoying and humiliating the Musalmans. Let our Sikh brethren note that it cannot be called a patriotic course of action to make foes of the Musalmans in order to befriend the *sangathanists* who are duping the Sikh community and using it as a shield against the so-called and imaginary aggression of the Musalmans. In another issue the paper takes the *Hindustan Times* to task for endeavouring to "excite the Sikhs against the Muslims and win over their support on the side of the *sangathanist* forces" on the question of music before mosques and says:—All this means that an alliance of the *sangathanists* with the Sikhs is being established in order to cow down the Government and show to them that they have to face the combined opposition of the Hindus and the Sikhs on the question of music before mosques. Let the *Hindustan Times* note that the Muslims are not afraid of any Hindu-Sikh alliance on this question.

Premier's speech.

Referring to the Premier's speech at the Guildhall the *Leader* writes:—The Premier is mistaken if he thinks that "no people" can help us in our difficulties. By discouraging those who create divisions for their own selfish ends, the Government can do much to promote unity. This much, however, can be said that even in

the country's present condition, we in India are better situated to deserve a further instalment of reforms than some other countries which obtained more than what we are asking.

Indian Church Measure.

Commenting on the Government of India's letter to the local Governments in connexion with the Indian Church Measure the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—A close examination of the measure will show that the gift of autonomy so ostentatiously paraded is to a large extent illusory and that in the desire for protecting the vested interests of the British Congregation the freedom of the Indian church is considerably curtailed by legislative restrictions. . . After the passing of the measure it is still proposed to keep up the huge body of chaplains to be maintained at the cost of the Indian tax-payer, while further disbursements will be made to the Bishops under the convenient heading of "Episcopal supervision." It has long been urged that the total expenditure incurred on this behalf which amounts to about Rs. 30 lakhs is inconsistent with the secular basis of a Government which is pledged to strict religious neutrality and grossly unfair to the non-Christian tax-payer.

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* says that the fact that a Hindu has not been appointed in Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah's vacancy can afford no satisfaction to Muslims as their demand was that the Viceregal cabinet should not be denuded of its Muslim element during any period of time. The situation in India at present is such that important questions may crop up at any moment and if wrong decisions are arrived at in the absence of effective Muslim advice the consequences to that community may be very serious.

The Patuakhali Satyagrah.

The *Vartman* takes the Hindu *Maha Sabha* severely to task for not helping those who are carrying on *satyagraha* at Patuakhali and says:—The *satyagraha* at Patuakhali is in every respect a battle for the protection of Hindu rights. The Hindu *Maha Sabha* should remember that religious rights cannot be protected without strenuous resistance and this will have to be offered not only at Patuakhali but all over the country. The *Maha Sabha* should explain why it has not taken part in this *satyagraha*-campaign.

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ALLAHABAD:
November 20, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
21 DEC. 1926
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 47 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 27, 1926.

Election campaign.

Elections continue to be the absorbing topic in the press. Party organs are, as before, engaged in running down the candidates of the rival party. Recriminations are increasing in vehemence and in many cases are touching a very low level. Exhorting the voters not to vote for the candidates of the Independent Congress Party the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Do they want as their representatives in the legislature full-blooded Swarajists who, standing four-square to the winds, will put up a straight fight against the bureaucracy, or do they want men with myopic vision, political chameleons and perpetual understrappers of officialdom? When the issue is between robust nationalism and narrow communalism, the voter can ill afford any room for the play of sentimentalism. It is the sacred duty of every one who places national interests before sectional interests to defeat the mischievous and ignoble campaign of unabashed communalism sponsored by Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai. In the course of another article replying to the various charges against the *Swaraj* Party the paper writes:—Among lies to disgrace Congressmen there has been nothing more infamous than the one coined by Lala Lajpat Rai about their implication in the so-called Kabul conspiracy. Lalaji is the president of a party that wants to accept office. The representatives of that party when in office will of course—indeed they are bound to—communicate the secret to the Government. When treason is afoot, Lalaji cannot suppress the information he professes to hold. Knowing the treacherous untruth of the allegation Pandit Nehru has voiced the demand of the Congress to name the culprits. Like the informer who is usually also a coward, Lalaji has been evading the challange. A number of other Swarajist papers also indignantly protest against the allegation made by Lala Lajpat Rai. The *Vartman* exhorts the voters of the Cawnpore district not to side with *jee hazoors*, but to vote for the Congress candidate who on entering the Council would roar like a lion and make those diplomats tremble who are imposing taxes after taxes, cesses after cesses and enacting one law after another. More than half of the hard earnings of the poor villagers are swallowed up by laws, taxes and courts .... Do not put up with tyranny when it becomes intolerable. Otherwise you will be wiped out and others will erect bungalows in the place of your cottages. In another article the paper condemns the campaign of misrepresentation and calumny carried on by the agents and hirelings of Lala Chunni Lal against his Swarajist opponent Pandit Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi and remarks:—The elections have polluted the atmosphere all over India, but Cawnpore represents the height of this pollution where the atmosphere is surcharged with falsehood, trickery, petty-mindedness and incivility. We ask Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya what good he has done to Cawnpore by creating such a vitiated atmosphere? Has not his visit to Cawnpore sown those poisonous seeds which will ultimately ruin the Independent Congress Party itself? His betrayal of the country at the present critical juncture may be excused, but the people of Cawnpore will never forgive him for setting up a candidate against Vidyarthiji. His political bankruptcy and obduracy are leading the country along with him to a deep abyss. The voters of Cawnpore have to choose between an apostle of truth on the one side and a mountain of falsehood on the other. The *Abhyudaya* contends that in his recent speeches Pandit Motilal Nehru has been talking of *satyagrah* merely for election purposes and says:—If he really believes in it, he should not only profess it, but practise it. At present there is a good opportunity for him. People of Allahabad are thinking of offering *Satyagrah*. If he comes they will readily flock under his banner and offer

satyagrah. Having known the Pandit so well we would never have asked him to do so if he had not been talking of keeping *satyagrah* alive. In another article the paper states that the Swarajists' refusal to accept ministerships has led to the growth of Hindu-Muslim tension in the north and of the Brahman and non-Brahman controversy in the south, inasmuch as on account of this refusal the ministerships passed into the hands of the communalists. It says that had Muslims possessed patriotism there would have been no harm if the Swarajists had not accepted ministerships, but the kind of pact which Muslims want with the object of maintaining Islamic hold over India destroys nationalism itself. The *Vijaya* publishes a message from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in the course of which he appeals to the Indian people to work for the success of the Swarajists in the elections and declares that the country cannot benefit by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's programme. He says that he regards them as enemies who forsake the country and support the Government whether directly or indirectly, and expresses the conviction that India will soon become free. The *Aj* contends that the persons who are to-day attacking the Congress under the cloak of Hindu interests are reactionaries who want to drag the country backward in the political field. Their views are identical with those of the Liberals, but finding that these views were impossible of acceptance by the people, Swarajist deserters, old Liberals and Aman Sabha *jee hazoors* have joined hands to attack the Congress in the name of the protection of Hindu interests. In another article the paper says that reports of the election results so far received constitute a happy augury for the Congress, the country and its future liberty. It remarks that the enemies of the Congress do not really want to attain *Swaraj*. They know that the people have not yet lost self-respect to such an extent as to be ready to co-operate with the bureaucracy. It is for this reason that they make so much of the protection of Hindu interests and try to represent the Congress as being opposed to those interests. They only want to enter the Councils to kneel down before the bureaucracy, to co-operate with it. The *Najat* attaches great importance to the forthcoming elections in view of the constitutional changes that might come up for consideration in 1929 and urges that only the best and most trusted representatives must be sent up. If our tried representatives enter the Councils they would force Government to concede our rights and its servants would not be able to make capital out of the incapacity of the popular representatives. Government would also be unable to say that as their elected representatives are satisfied with the present system, further rights should not be granted to Indians. The electors should not therefore prejudice the interests of their progeny to please the administration and its officials. Only Congress candidates can be expected to put up a stiff fight for the country. All others appearing under variegated names and quaint labels are traitors who have sworn to ally themselves with the bureaucracy. Many among them are Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs. These are the cowards who had proved our inveterate enemies in our war for freedom. How can those who place the interests of the administration above those of their brethren prove of any use to us? Their only concern is for their own honour and the advantage of Government. So do not vote for such traitors. No one knows what considerations are to-day influencing Malaviyaji and Lalaji to do exactly what Government has been doing. The only difference is that while Government works for its own benefit, Malaviyaji and Lalaji are getting their noses cut for the advantage of others. In short, it must be understood, that every vote cast for Lalaji and Malaviyaji would be a vote cast for the Secretary of State for India. The *Sarfaraz* complains that the Sunnis are showing the same intolerance towards Shias in the elections as the Hindus have been showing towards Muslims and their depressed classes and Shia-Sunni propaganda is so mercilessly pursued that Shia candidates now hardly dare to stand for election, being sure of defeat at the hands of the unscrupulous Sunni majority. Shias form about one-third of the Muslim population of these provinces. How can they be satisfied with one seat out of the 36 reserved for Muslims? Exorting the electors of the Meerut division to return the Congress candidates to the legislatures the *Desh Bhagat* says:—
Your future welfare greatly depends upon this decision of yours. Englishmen came here as traders from beyond the seven seas. Our forefathers received them hospitably, but these clever capitalists practised dishonesty, took possession of our country and brought us under their complete control. Now we are neither the masters of our houses nor of our land, and the Government can forcibly deprive us of our property whenever it so desires. Englishmen drain away to their country all that we produce by our hard labour. We neither get

sufficient good grain to eat nor clothes to hide our nudity in winter, but Englishmen live in bungalows and enjoy their life in every way. Pandit Motilal Nehru has decided to enter the Council with a host of Congressmen and to tell Englishmen that if they do not act according to the wishes of the people Indians, even though dying themselves, will not allow Englishmen to rest in peace. People should now decide whether they should vote for the brave people of the Congress or for those who talk of wheedling and cringing before Englishmen and are supported by Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Communal representation.

The entire Muslim press continues to emphasize the need for separate Muslim representation, especially in view of the defeat of Mr. Asaf Ali from the Delhi joint electorate. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—Malaviya-Lajpat Rai and company have rendered a distinct service, inadvertently of course, to the minorities, more particularly to the Musalmans by curing them of the last vestige of illusions that they were foolishly entertaining about getting a "fair deal" from the dominant Hindu majority that has for a long time enjoyed the monopoly of political power and privilege. By their attitude they have brought home to minorities in India that they will have to fight if they want to enjoy the rights and privileges that rightfully belong to them. To the coming generations Lalaji shall go down as the champion of minorities, for to him alone is due the end of joint electorates. To carry this fight to a successful conclusion separate communal electorates must be retained at all costs. If the minorities give these up they are sure to go down in the struggle that they will have to make if they do not wish to share the fate of the pariahs in the south. *Al Bashir* says that the Hindus in spite of all their deluding talk of a united nationality have been persistently trying to exclude Muslims from all places within their power. However undesirable separate representation may be on principle, educated Hindus have unfortunately shown themselves to be so short-sighted, narrow-minded, selfish and bigoted that it is inevitable in India, not only in the elective bodies but in the services also, and the time is not distant when the depressed classes also will have to be conceded separate representation and then, thanks to the policy of Malaviyaji and Lala Lajpat Rai, the question of Council representation will become as complicated as the Hindu caste system. In another article, referring to the emphasis laid by Hindu "National" leaders in their election campaign on the protection of Hindu interests, the paper writes:—It should be the first duty of the Muslim members of the United Provinces Council to raise the question of separate representation in the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities and the Intermediate and High School Examination Board and to produce the election speeches of the leaders of the Independent and Liberal Parties and their posters and manifestoes in support of their claim. *Al Barid* says that the defeat of Mr. Asaf Ali at Delhi by the Hindu majority has rung the death-knell of joint representation and given the lie to the Hindu contention that separate representation was responsible for communal tension. Muslims should be warned to safeguard their rights. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that the majority of Hindus are not prepared for co-operation with Muslims and want to crush Muslims with the aid of Government. High-caste Hindus are so intolerant that they are not prepared to concede equal rights even to their own depressed classes, and though joint representation is ever so desirable, the difference between the professions and practices of the Hindus is so great that Muslims cannot entrust their interests to the former and must elect their own representatives.

Political propaganda.

Exhorting the voters to return the Congress candidates to the legislatures the *Vijaya* says:—Subjection has paralysed the nation and made it lifeless. The country has lost all power, wealth and prosperity as well as all human qualities. The sons of India are starving for a morsel and they have to look up to England for their clothing. Subjection is the sole cause of all this. Demoniacal subjection! Perdition may catch thee. Thou hast converted the holy land of India into a coolie manufacturing factory. The *Pratap* urges the need for the production of a large number of political preachers in the country who may purge the political atmosphere of the contamination caused by the present growth of party politics and unfasten the bonds of the motherland. It says that these political preachers should be such as cannot be bought over by gold or honour and do not feel despondent even in adverse circumstances. When India is able to produce such brave men Mahatma Gandhi will come forward to guide them. The *Bharat Dharma* writes:—India is for Indians. Every work here should be done by Indians. There is no need to appoint a fat—salaried alien to a post which can be

held creditably by Indians. It is desirable that the Indian element should preponderate at least in the department in charge of the defence of the country for no self-respecting nation can like the idea of its defence being undertaken by foreigners. In another article commenting on the proposed establishment of an aerial base in India the paper remarks :—It is for its own selfish ends that the Imperial Government is saddling India with the expenditure involved in the establishment of the aerial base. The Imperial Government is omnipotent. Its scheme may or may not suit us, but we, subject people, are unable to reject it. However, we cannot help remarking that it is injustice. Like the maritime fleet the Government will establish the aerial base as well, with the result that the poor people of India will be unnecessarily sucked. Referring to the report of the killing of an Indian by a European fireman of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway the *Desh Bhagat* says :—The haughtiness of the white men is gradually rising to its highest point and like the killing of mosquitoes and gnats they regard the killing of Indians with kicks as an ordinary affair. Indian youths should devise some suitable antidote for this, because British justice is pledged not to prevent this oppression. Referring to the erection of Lenin's statue in Petrograd on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Russian independence the paper says that the anniversaries of independence always infuse young men with a new spirit of self-sacrifice. For the sake of India's emancipation Mahatma Gandhi also suggested that a national week should be observed every year in the memory of the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh, but how could the Government bear to see this? It fanned the flame of Hindu-Muslim tension in the country which consumed both the communities and now the number of those who talk of liberty is very small. The lovers of India's liberty have still time to take lesson from the anniversary of Russian independence.

Music before mosques.

The *Aligarh Mail* strongly criticizes the opinion said to have been expressed by Pandit Motilal Nehru that "custom or no custom, music could always be played before mosques." We unhesitatingly condemn the opinion as it is closely allied to that held by those Hindu communalists whose views are, unlike those of the Swarajists, not masked by the cult of Swarajism. The non-Swarajist Muslims should speak out because they have to save their community from falling into the snare of Swarajist politics which is based on deception and deceit. It is because the playing of music before mosques generally creates bad blood among the two great communities of this country that the authorities are forced to uphold the cause of law and order by legally prohibiting music before mosques which always leads to disorder. The *Aj* says that as the Bengal Government has not contradicted the report regarding the drafting of a Bill for the stoppage of music before all mosques at all times it is to be held as correct. The result of such a legislation is likely to be so fatal and terrible that the bureaucracy should take a warning in time and refuse to sow the seeds of ideas of revolution and disturbance in the minds of the two-thirds of the inhabitants of the country. There is no doubt that the Hindus, despite the passing of the Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council, will not accept it and bloodshed is bound to take place in Bengal. It will be impossible even for the leaders to control the people inflamed by religious bigotry. It is a question not only of Bengal but of the whole of India. The fire fanned by it in Bengal will spread thoughout the country and the bureaucracy will find it very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain public peace. The bureaucracy must be knowing all this, but it is dreaming of crushing the ever-growing spirit of nationalism among Hindus with the help of uneducated and semi-educated Muslims. Referring to the same report the *Abhyudaya* remarks :—We fear that if the Swarajists form the majority in the newly-elected Bengal Legislative Council before which the Bill will come up for discussion, its passage is assured concurrently with the deprivation of the Hindus of one of their birth-rights for ever. If, however, the Responsivists form the majority, the Bill will never find a place on the Statute Book. Hindus should, therefore, see that the Swarajists are not returned to the legislatures.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

One Shiva Charan Lal Sharma writing to the *Arya Mitra* enumerates a number of instances of abduction of Hindu women by Muslim hooligans and remarks :—Although the Hindu community has for a long time been the target of Muslim and Christian attacks as a result of which about one-third of the Hindu population has been lost to it, yet the present mean and cowardly attacks of the Muslims make the

blood boil not only of every Hindu but of every human being. Our political subjection has emasculated us to such an extent that we are now unable to defend ourselves effectively against miscreants. If we do not counteract these attacks the day will soon come when Hindu homes will become bereft of women. The *Chand* publishes a lengthy article under the heading "Hindu *Sangathan* and Muslim womankind" by Sri Beni Madhava Agarwala, M.A., in the course of which he remarks:—Licentiousness has a very alluring place in Islam. In the Islamic heaven youthful and handsome boys and delicate—bodied fairies are always ready to accord a reception. Religion permits four wives and other several mistresses to Muslims on the earth. In addition to this wives of other *kafirs* have been held to be mere objects of enjoyment for many Muslims . . . A Muslim is not held to be a sinner in the eyes of Islam by having immoral relations with a *kafir* woman. To rob a *kafir*, to convert him to Islam by force and to debauch his wife do not degrade a Muslim in the eyes of Islam. The *Medina* writes:—The *Hamdard* (Delhi) has published reports of two very shocking incidents, one of which shows how two Muslim women were not allowed to sit in a railway carriage by Hindu women and how the former were threatened by the latter with the power of twenty-one crores of Hindus. The second report shows how a few Hindu women tried to beat with shoes a Muslim male while he was seating his female relatives in a female compartment. These incidents are indicative of hatred, enmity and a universal aggressive movement and show that Malaviyan *Sangathan*, which wishes to see Hindu women armed with pistols and daggers, has begun to affect Hindu women also. May we ask our Muslim brethren what defensive measures they have adopted against this movement? It is altogether idle to expect that the railway officials or the Government would stop this danger. It is, therefore, necessary that Muslim women should be armed with defensive weapons during railway journeys and on other occasions, when there is a chance of their coming into contact or conflict with Hindu women.

Muslim affairs.

The *Aligarh Mail* quotes from the *Hamdard* of Delhi a letter said to have been written by Khwaja Hasan Nizami to an old friend in which the following lines occur:—"No wonder if the Government has written. I had explained in detail all the matters to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and had formally given information about the lessons on Pan-Islamism which were being taught to the Nizam. And I know that he (the Chief Commissioner of Delhi) also acquainted the Punjab Government with this danger." Commenting on this the paper (*Aligarh Mail*) writes:—We cannot help observing that the letter exposes the Khwaja Saheb as a man disgracefully ungrateful to His Exalted Highness the Nizam who has been too generous to him. Mean ingratitude can go no further. Khwaja Hasan Nizami is guilty of having backbitten his own patron. The mask of his religiosity which has abundantly benefited him materially is torn off. The *Medina* has also written in a similar strain. The *Medina* takes strong exception to the remarks made by the Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University in his convocation address against the use of the vernaculars as medium of instruction in the institutions having the status of universities and says:—Such a big demonstration of partiality for things western does not become a descendant of the Prophet and an able representative of Indian Muslims. What shall we say of an address based on English language a general education in which has not only bred the spirit of slavery in us, but has contrived on a big scale to keep our future generations deprived of real education.

Report of Currency Commission.

In the course of an article headed "Currency *zoolum*" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* vehemently protests against the acceptance by the Imperial Government of the majority of the recommendations of the Currency Commission without giving any adequate opportunity to the Legislative Assembly to discuss them and says:—Apart from the pernicious substance of the currency scheme the whole procedure of the Government of India involves a breach of faith with the public. What is it that actuates the Government in offering this deliberate affront to the country by going back upon their pledge and issuing a decree over the head of the legislature? It is the consciousness of guilty muddling and a determination to put in the Statute Book measures that will not bear scrutiny. Sir Basil Blackett or the Government have by sheer *zoolum* intervened and procured a decision by extra-legislative means to put down the surging opposition of the public; but they will not be able to evade the economic nemesis of their intemperate folly. The

Government have under the evil genius of Sir Basil Blackett flinched from the duty of implementing their undertakings and thrown this bombshell of an executive decision to mock the legislature and to outrage public decency. It is as much a challenge to the people as a striking commentary on the utility of the reforms. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks :—It is the white members of the Imperial Service of the Home Department of the Government of India and the white companies who reap a harvest of gold by the exchange rate of India being made artificial. The Western nations are unrivalled adepts in the art of enriching the rich whites by squeezing the poor Indians. But can it be called humanitarianism or love of subjects?

Indian States.

The *Najat* points out that Kashmir is the only Hindu State in which though Muslims form 97 per cent. of the population, the Hindus monopolize the public services and the destitution and ruin of the Muslims is on the increase. A perusal of the Civil List of the state shows that there are very few Muslim gazetted officers in any department. This proves that the Hindu rulers of Kashmir deliberately neglect Muslim interests.

Indian textile industry.

The *Aj* remarks that even if the Textile Tariff Board recommends the imposition of a protective duty on foreign goods and the Government accepts it, it will not really protect the indigenous textile industry. This will only lead to the establishment of foreign factories in this country. If the indigenous industry is to be saved, not only the importation of foreign goods should be checked, but obstacles should also be placed in the way of the establishment of foreign mills in this country.

Indian Mercantile Marine.

Urging Government to take early steps to better the condition of the shipping industry the *Aligarh Mail* writes :—Government's tenderness of foreign vested interests has been a chronic cause of serious dissatisfaction that has lately been such a prominent feature of India's political life. Let them show for once that they put the interests of India above everything else, even above the British vested interests.

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ALLAHABAD :
November 27, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 48 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 4, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the reports in the European Press about the formation of an Asiatic League of Nations, the *Hindustani* says that the League of Nations at Geneva is only out to register the decrees of the greater Powers and cannot protect the rights of smaller nationalities. This has made it necessary to establish an Asiatic League of Nations to bring together all the weaker Powers of Asia and to free them from their sufferings and slavery. Calling attention to British efforts to keep away Ibn Saud from the reported alliance between Russia, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, the *Hamdam* says that though an ambitious and pleasure-seeking person like Ibn Saud can expect no material advantage from Russia or Turkey while the English can give him gold and throw the bait of sovereignty over East Jordan, yet he should take warning from the fate of his predecessor, Sheriff Hussain, before falling into the snare of British diplomacy. At least so long as he is responsible for the peace and administration of the holy Hedjaz he should not promote alliances with non-Muslims which may enable them to penetrate into that land. Commenting on Rushdi Bey's contradiction of the report about his seeing Timur Shah of Persia and conferring with M. Chicherin on the question of Asiatic federation the *Medina* writes:—While it is just possible that the Turks may be indifferent towards an Asiatic federation, self-defence against Italy, Greece and Bulgaria is forcing them into an alliance with Russia, Persia, Afghanistan and China which is only another name of Asiatic federation. The day is not far when the West will leave the East bag and baggage. The *Khadim* apprehends a war between Turkey and Italy and hopes that the former will be able to teach the latter a good lesson. Prudence would dictate that Britain should not take sides with Italy as this would be putting too severe a strain on the loyalty of Indian Muslims. Though the sympathies of Indian Muslims would surely be with Turkey, they should not allow their attention to be distracted from their antagonists nearer home who are always anxious to injure them whenever they can find them off their guard. The *Hamdam* observes that Jaffar Pasha's maiden speech as Premier of Iraq shows that he is a tool of British policy He ridiculed the putting forward of impossible demands, but did not specify them. There is no reason why Iraq should not have an independent policy like that of Egypt and should not become prepared to assert its right of freedom which has been recognized by the League of Nations. The sentiments given expression to by Jaffar Pasha have made us lose all hope of Iraq advancing any step towards independence during his ministry.

Elections.

The high hopes raised in the Swarajist circles by the Madras and Bengal election results have been greatly damped by those of the United Provinces and the Central Provinces and the tone of their organs is pitched in a very low key now. Muslim papers have not yet commented on the results of the elections in these provinces. The *Pioneer* writes:—Whatever may have happened to Madras, the Swarajists have little cause to look with favour on the verdict of the electorate in other parts of the country, and particularly in the United Provinces and the Punjab where their party has been hopelessly defeated. . . . The results constitute a triumph for the veteran Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and in a less degree for Lala Lajpat Rai. The *Leader* remarks: - The results of the elections show that on the whole the country is opposed to the futile Swarajist policy and is in favour of working the Reforms. If the Gauhati Congress fails to face this incontrovertible fact, the result will most likely be a further schism and more revolts. Many candidates who have been returned to the Legislatures on the Sawarajist ticket are

responsivists or co-operators in disguise, and it is unlikely that they will continue faithful to the Congress unless its policy with regard to the acceptance of office is modified....No patriotic Indian can rejoice at the pass to which the Congress has been brought by short-sighted leadership. One of the essential conditions of its rehabilitation in public confidence is the dethronement of such leadership....The Sawarjists have been routed in the majority of provinces and we would not be surprised if, particularly in view of the opinions expressed by the no-changers in Madras, they are also routed at the next Congress. The *Advocate* writes:—On the whole, both in the new Assembly and in the Provincial Councils, the number of members having a broad national outlook will be larger than before and the Government will feel the force of public opinion for the acceleration of the pace of political progress. In the course of a letter to the *Pioneer* Mr. Muhammad Yakub, M.L.A., writes:—According to my information, of the correctness of which I have no doubt, corruption was rampant throughout, votes were openly sold and purchased and auctions were held in numerous places. Polling stations are said to have been converted into markets. I propose that the Government should immediately appoint a commission to institute a thorough investigation into the matter, and in the meanwhile the district officers be asked to hold local inquiries without any loss of time and submit their reports to the Government for action. Commenting on this the paper writes:—It is to be feared that Mr. Muhammad Yakub's information is substantively accurate but the suggestion he puts forward for dealing with the evil practices he so pungently describes is hardly practicable. A general investigation by a specially constituted Government commission for the purpose of bringing offenders to book could not be expected to produce results commensurate with the expense and trouble involved. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Information which has reached us from independent sources confirms the allegations of Mr. Yakub that there has been open purchase of votes, especially in the provincial elections. They went to the highest bidders. It is said that the candidates paid as much as Rs. 5 for a vote in certain polling stations. In some places they could get it so cheap as 4 annas a vote . . . . This particular form of corrupt practice is difficult of detection and legal proof. It is, therefore, imperative for Government to move in the matter. Under the heading "The Lucknow Election Scandal" the paper denounces the "corrupt practices" resorted to by the party of Pandit Rash Behari Tewari in the election campaign against the Swarajist candidate Babu Ram Chandra Saheb, and advises the latter to challenge the election of the former. It says:—The last word has not yet been pronounced as to who is the victor and who the vanquished. In another article the paper says:—The news from Bombay that a sincere effort is being made there to bury the hatchet between the *Swaraj* Party and the Responsive Co-operation Party is very encouraging. The close of the election fight, it would appear, is opening in Bombay a new chapter in which propaganda against personalities has ceased to find a place. The supreme need of the present moment is a closing up of the ranks of all parties that are prepared to fight the bureaucracy. The *Surya* remarks that the secret of the Swarajist success in Madras lies in the immense unpopularity of the Justice or the non-Brahman Party. Both the contesting parties were undesirable and the people chose the lesser evil. The *Vivek* says that the results of the Council elections show that the country is not prepared either to follow communalism or old constitutionalism, and that the reaction against the non-cooperation movement has not been able to remove the hold of the Congress on the country which is still ready to follow its mandate in the struggle for liberty. The success of the Congress in the elections has been due to its programme being more forward than that of any other party and nearer the road to freedom. The *Aj* congratulates the Madras Swarajists on their decision not to accept ministerships, but remarks that if the Gauhati Congress decides in favour of the acceptance of office, Swarajists too should accept ministerships. It will be a bad day for the country if Swarajists too take advantage of the prestige of the Congress but trample upon its decisions. The paper says that whichever party may come out successful in the present elections, there is no doubt that the victory has been with the bureaucracy. The issue was not how to secure *Swaraj*, but how to secure favours from the bureaucracy by co-operating with it. Blinded by communal feeling people attacked the Congress in utter disregard of their permanent interests. The fulfilment of the hope for the attainment of *Swaraj* will be deferred at least for a centuryi f the advocates of communalism have their own way. The bureaucracy will continue to dance in this manner indefinitely on the bosom of the country by suppressing one community with the help of another. In another issue comment-

ing on the results of the elections in the various provinces the paper points out that the revolt of the Independent Congress Party against the Congress will benefit nobody except the bureaucracy. In the proportion in which this revolt has weakened the power of the Congress it has increased that of the bureaucracy. Now there is left not one party in the legislatures which can effectively oppose the undesirable acts of the bureaucracy which will consequently be able to act most autocratically and yet give it the appearance of representative government. The paper refers to the treachery of Jai Chand and Jai Singh to the country's cause in the time of Muslim rulers and points out that the non-Swarajists are following a similar course at the present time. The Hindu interests will be protected this time by following the same path which was trodden by able leaders like Jai Chand, Man Singh, Jai Singh and Todar Mal. The *Abhyudaya* hails with delight the election of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to the Provincial Legislative Council and remarks that it was necessary in the interests of the province and the country that he should have been returned. His presence in the legislature will considerably strengthen the opposition. The paper pays a tribute to the patriotism and self-sacrifice of Pandit Motilal Nehru and apologizes to him for the harsh things it said against him in the heat of the election propaganda. The *Anand* remarks that the Swarajist majority in the Bengal Legislative Council is an index of the success of Sir Abdur Rahim's tactics. With the refusal of the Swarajists to form the Ministry, which is but inevitable, there will be a Muslim Ministry in Bengal and Sir Abdul Rahim will have his own way. The *Hamdam* repudiates the *Amrit Bazar Patrika's* charge that the Muslim electors of Bengal betrayed a communal spirit in rejecting Congress candidates and asserts that the failure of Muslim Congressmen was due to the undesirable efforts made in Congress circles to annul the Bengal Pact. It is surprising, says the paper, that while the *Patrika* cannot tolerate the election of recognized Muslim leaders like Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Gaznavi and Maulvi Abdul Kasim, it approves of the election of such Sangathanist Hindus as Malaviyaji, Dr. Moonje and Messrs. Lajpat Rai, Jayakar and Kelkar. It is amazing that the *Patrika* dares to level the charge of communalism against Muslims after the display of their mentality by Lalaji and Malaviyaji during the Assembly elections in the capital city of Delhi.

Political propaganda.

The *Aligarh Mail* exhorts the elected members to compose their differences for the common interests of the country and to abandon the wrecking policy. It says:—It is a political blunder on the part of the Swarajists to keep on talking about obstruction and similar other things when they know full well the absolute futility of the obstructionist tactics. By resorting to obstruction they simply play in the hands of the reactionaries who wish to delay the appointment of the Royal Statutory Commission. They should adopt a courageous and statesmanlike attitude and categorically and openly declare in favour of discriminate co-operation with the Government. The *Aj* says that though talk for unity between the two wings of the Congress has been revived, there is little chance of unity being effected so long as there are left even a few patriots in the country whose ideal is self-government and not good government. These people will be satisfied and co-operate with the officials only when India gets the same right of self-government as is enjoyed by Britain and has already been granted to the Colonies. There can be no compromise between the non-cooperators and the advocates of the working of the reforms. There can be no co-operation between Swarajists and those who want the good administration of foreigners. We hold bad *Swaraj* better than good government by foreigners. Those who are eager to co-operate with the bureaucracy cannot co-operate with Swarajists. The *Pratap* publishes a communication from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Kabul in the course of which he says that in spite of the difference between his programme and that of the Indian National Congress he regards those who are anti-Congress to be sinners and mischief-makers. His programme aims at preparing Indians for a *Jehad* or holy war even though they may be defeated, for he sees victory even in defeat. He does not share the general apprehension that if the British left the country another foreign country would devour it. He wants the Congress to adopt a more advanced programme and wishes it to be the future Parliament of India. Referring to the tour of the Royal Commission on Agriculture the *Matri Bhumi* writes:—Every Indian should be on guard against the superficial help of the bureaucracy. By means of competition the foreigners have destroyed our arts and crafts and industries, and the result is that every commodity in our bazars from a needle to a motor car is of foreign make. Now is the turn of

agriculture. The Industrial Commission did no good to the country, but with the help of the Lee Commission, which is also called Lee loot, the salaries of high officials were increased. The *Bharat Dharma* opines that the object of Earl Winterton's visit to India is to secure an extended market for British goods and remarks that the loss sustained by Britain on account of the coal strike cannot be made good without sucking India. By launching out the Sukkar barrage and Bombay reclamation schemes and by emphasizing the importance of modern machinery for the improvement of Indian agriculture the rulers of India want to help the British capitalists. Indeed, Earl Winterton's visit will injure India rather than benefit her. Discussing Lord Ronaldshay's speech on India the *Oudh Akhbar* says that the British Parliament should not have the last say in regard to constitutional changes and Indians who know themselves best should be consulted. Lord Ronaldshay's certificate of perfection to the British administration in India cannot be endorsed by Indians, the majority among whom are dissatisfied with it. India wants full responsible government and cannot be content with progressive stages proposed by His Lordship.

Imperial Conference.

Referring to the resolutions passed by the Imperial Conference the *Leader* writes :--The recognition by the British Government of an almost independent status of the Dominions in the Empire should quite naturally lead us in India to feel even most keenly than before the contrast between the position of the Dominions and that of India in the British Commonwealth. India after 150 years of British rule continues to be a mere dependency. How one wishes that the British Government would also show statesmanship in dealing with Indian aspirations for a larger measure of freedom. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says :—The hollowness of Imperialist professions of love and goodwill towards India has been well illustrated by the report published by the Inter-Imperial relations Committee of the Imperial Conference. The self-governing Dominions are now admitted to a position of absolutely equal status. It is amazing that while this astounding constitutional advance is made in the case of the Dominions, the case for India is dismissed by the most casual of references to the Government of India Act of 1919. Our self-appointed trustees make no pretence about their intention to keep India as "a subordinate branch of the British Government." For the humiliating position in which India finds herself the country has to thank the Maharaja of Burdwan, who betrayed his position and honour as India's representative and proclaimed from housetops India's satisfaction with the grossly unjust decisions. India has to be ashamed of such spokesmen who taking their cue from Whitehall and Delhi compromise their country's vital interests. The report styles the Empire as an association for livelihood and defence, but Indians can think of the Empire only as an association for exploitation and aggression. The *Aj* writes :—While all the Colonies have been declared by the Imperial Conference to be completely free members of the British Commonwealth, India is the only country which will remain a slave as before. In spite of this a section of Indians is for pleasing Lord Birkenhead by working the Reforms. Our power of endurance of disgrace and our shamelessness are indeed extraordinary and unparalleled. The *Vivek* remarks that while the Colonies have become equal members of the Empire, India still occupies a helpless and subordinate position and her destinies are entirely in the hands of the British Parliament. There can be nothing more shameful than this for any country, and yet the Indian representatives in the Imperial Conference proudly claim that they sit side by side with the Dominion representatives and decide questions affecting the whole Empire. Commenting on the address presented to His Majesty the King-Emperor by the delegates of the Imperial Conference the *Medina* writes :—The existence of the British Crown is in fact the centre of the deception practised by imperialistic capitalists. From this centre radiate tentacles under the grip of which the lives of subject people are rendered inert. Though for Asiatic nations a monarch is still the centre of justice, the statesmen of Britain have utilized this jewelled crown which adorns the auspicious head of His Majesty the King-Emperor for furthering their cunning, selfish and high-handed designs, and since 1917 when they satisfied India with a bundle of promises which were really meant for robbing her, they have not given her even a broken shell which could carry any value in the bazars of the nations. India, which is the largest and the most precious pearl in the British crown, has been dimmed by the dust of despotic rule. The *Hamdam* regrets that the report of the Committee of the Imperial Conference makes no mention of

poor India which has been asked to remain content with her old position in the Empire. No political party in India has now a kind word to say of the Government of India Act, and even the Liberals, in spite of their eagerness for office, have condemned diarchy.

Indian States.

Quoting facts and figures from the Civil List of the Kashmir State the *Aligarh Mail* complains that although the percentage of the Muslim population in Kashmir is 97, they are the least represented in the State service and the administration is practically a Hindu monopoly. In the course of a series of articles in the *Vartman*, complaining of gross mismanagement and tyranny in the Bharatpur State, a correspondent writes :—Where have the eighty or ninety lakhs of rupees taken on loan been spent? The balance in the State treasury sometimes is reduced to a few pies only. The credit of the State has fallen so low that it has become difficult even to get loans. The State and its people have reached the limit of ruin. The tyranny of the officials is so great that no one dares to open his mouth. The *Anand* supports the demand of the Hindu subjects of the Nizam for the appointment of a commission to inquire into their grievances as voiced by them at a conference at Bombay and remarks :—It is the foremost duty of the Government of India to prevent oppression in Indian States, and no delay should therefore be made in removing the evils in the Nizam's administration and in doing justice to Hindus. Maladministration in the Nizam's dominion cannot be remedied unless responsible government is established there, and the Government of India should pay attention to this question. The *Aj* publishes a contributed article in which the writer, Paripurnanand, welcomes the interference of the Government of India in Indian States as showing that they are subordinate to "the Indian constitution." Such interference will make the position of Indian chiefs clear under *Swaraj* whenever it is attained. The *Mashriq* recalls the traditional loyalty of the Nizam's family and urges the Government of India to adopt a milder attitude towards the Hyderabad State. The Nizam too should not resent the appointment of a few Europeans and every effort should be made to revive cordial relations. The *Haqiqat* is gratified to note that the Government of India has allowed the Nizam to select his own president and heartily congratulates Sir Kishen Prasad on his appointment to that office. It is hoped that his tenure will prove in every way auspicious for the State.

The Viceroy's tour.

The *Aj* approves of the decision of the Calcutta Corporation not to present an address to the Viceroy and remarks that His Excellency has so far done nothing which could benefit the country. On the contrary communal tension and disturbances have increased during his régime. When the people are not satisfied with the acts of an official they are justified in not presenting an address to him. It is to be deplored that the Allahabad and Benares Municipalities have decided otherwise and are going to present an address to the Viceroy. The *Haqiqat* says that Lord Irwin has done a great favour to the Taluqdars of Oudh by postponing his visit to Lucknow this year. The idlers of Lucknow have no doubt been deprived of the usual sights, but the "indebted gentlemen" of Oudh (you may call them Taluqdars or debtors—both words have become practically synonymous) have been saved the necessity of currying the favour of money-lenders. If unfortunately the new Charbagh Railway station had been completed in time, His Excellency the Viceroy would surely have visited Lucknow in this very December, and along with election expenses the entertainment of Lord Irwin would have broken the backs of many Taluqdars. In our opinion the British Indian Association should hold a meeting and thank those masons, mistris, labourers and contractors owing to whose laziness the station building was not completed in time.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Arya Mitra* takes Mr. Mahomed Ali to task for condemning in his *Hamdard* the action of certain Hindu women who did not allow some Muslim women to sit in their compartment and says :—You have been able to find time to make a mountain of a mole hill and to fill the columns of the *Hamdard* over such a petty incident, but have you ever paid attention to those terrible happenings which are making the hearts of the Hindus palpitate with fear? Have you seen the black deeds of those co-religionists of yours who have committed brutal atrocities on Hindu women and tarnished their name for good? The *Hamdam* says that besides cow-killing the language question also has been made a basis of conflict between Hindus and Muslims. This mischief arose twenty-five or thirty years ago in the

Central Provinces and spread throughout the United Provinces under the patronage of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Till then the Hindus had no feeling that the Hindi language had anything to do with their nationality. Rather they regarded Sanskrit as their religious and Urdu as their national language, and this very Urdu and Persian were written in *Nagri* characters. There are even now lakhs of Hindus who are totally unacquainted with *Nagri* characters and speak ordinary Urdu or Hindustani. But since a political colour has been lent to the language question there has been a change in the mentality of most Hindus and they now not only try to develop Hindi but to injure Urdu as far as possible. Urdu has been the joint language of the united Indian nation for a long time. It is called Hindustani when written in the Persian script and Hindi when written in the *Nagri* script. The *Medina* publishes an article by Qazi Maqbul Husain who contends that if the Government and the people want that India should become an abode of civilization and get self-government, the principle of equality should at once be enforced in every department of administration. This would remove ill-will and dissatisfaction which are the outcome of the unsound principles regarding proportion in population and the lack of separate representation.

Indians in the Colonies.

Referring to the Viceroy's message to the South African deputation on the eve of its departure from Indian shores the *Hamdam* acknowledges that His Excellency's encouraging words will afford some satisfaction to Indians and the publication of the message and the reply to it in the South African press will exercise a beneficial influence on the white population and the Government of South Africa, but it says that it would have been much better if His Excellency had also made some reference to the anxiety which all Indians are at present feeling for the future of their fellow-countrymen. We hope the Viceroy will not rest content with this message but will also at the time of the round table conference impress upon the Union Government that the Government of India would support the demands of the deputation with all its power.

The *Pratap* defamation case.

Referring to the judgement in the *Pratap* defamation case the *Arya Mitra* says:—Those who have read the statements of the defence witnesses know well that a number of them definitely declared that the sub-inspector was bribed. The good faith of the editor cannot therefore be doubted. The *Trishul* remarks:- We have been simply amazed at this justice. Readers of newspapers are fully aware how completely Mr. Vidyarthi has established the charge that sub-inspector Shiva Dayal Singh extorted bribes several times. Even the complainant's own witnesses admitted that he (complainant) was guilty. What more wonderful justice can there be?

Rumours regarding His Majesty's visit to India.

Commenting on the rumour regarding His Majesty's visit to India published in the *Bombay Chronicle* the *Hamdam* says that as Indians undoubtedly cherish a sort of devotion to His Majesty and the Royal House they will welcome the visit, but in view of her present financial plight India seems unable to bear the burden of another visit of His Majesty.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to certain remarks in Dr. Ziauddin's convocation address the *Medina* deplores that the Government is showing obduracy and bigotry in its dealings with the Muslim University and wonders why Government refused to sanction the establishment of the chemistry department when the University had purchased the necessary apparatus and appointed professors. It adds:—We do not ask for the Government's help, but we certainly deplore its inequality of treatment and injustices. Will the Government make good the loss which the University has to undergo in this connexion? We do not see why the Muslim University should be deprived of higher education in science for two years. The authorities should reconsider their decision.

The Patuakhali *satyagraha*.

One Sbesh Narain Bhartia writing in the *Abhyudaya* appeals to the Hindu leaders to participate in the Patuakhali *satyagraha* and strive to make it a success. He says that it is the duty of the Hindu leaders to carry on propaganda in favour of this *satyagraha* and encourage the people to join it.

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ALLAHABAD:
December 4, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

4 JAN 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 49 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 11, 1926.

Elections and after.

The results of the elections and the future policy of the Legislatures continue to be the main topic of the press. The Swarajist papers attribute their defeat in the United Provinces and the Punjab to communal propaganda carried on by promoters of the Sangathan movement and contend that had the voting been on political issues only the Swarajists would have been returned in an overwhelming majority. They continue stoutly to oppose the acceptance of office and the working of Reforms. The *Leader* writes:—The outstanding features of the elections to the United Provinces Legislative Council are the defeat of a large majority of Swarajist candidates and the return of a fairly large number of Liberals and other believers in constitutional action. The sweeping defeat of the Swarajists are the more notable as the party was the best organised in the province, had command of a large election fund and fully exploited the name of the Congress for winning votes. The new Council will contain a large number of progressives, larger than the two preceding Councils. Our estimate is that the bureaucratic and popular forces will be almost equally balanced with a preponderance in favour of the former. If we may without presumption give one word of advice to the non-official members of the new Council, it is that they should not make much of party labels, and that wherever they may agree in opinion members of all parties should make common cause and act together for the public good. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says:—The results of the United Provinces elections will not come as a bewildering surprise to Congressmen who had to put up a game fight against the forces of communalism let loose in North India. The United Provinces and the Punjab were marked out as the field of communal rancour which leaders took care to exploit by all the arts of misrepresentation and panic. The country will be the better for getting through the phase early and discovering that religious interests cannot be protected, let alone augmented, under a system of Government that stunts and mutilates the self-expression of the people. The paper feels "that the country is so much disgusted with diarchy that there can be no prospect of ministries seriously functioning in any province. The paper is optimistic about the position of the Swaraj Party in the new Assembly. It says:—In the presentation of a national demand we may expect Responsivists and most Independents to join the Swarajists. In questions like exchange and trade we may expect a fuller rally . . . As disappointment spreads, the Swarajists will find fresh allies. Referring to the results of the elections by the British Indian Association the paper says:—All the four seats were seized by Hindus, although there were Muslim candidates to share the credit of their existence. Hindu Sabha champions are on the whole pleased at the monopoly they have obtained, but we anticipate much criticism and discontent. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The communalism exhibited by Hindus has been of such an aggressive nature as to force the Musalmans to organize their defence and seek election on communal lines. It is an incontrovertible fact that in this year's elections, as in the previous ones, disintegration and disorganization among the Musalmans have been in marked contrast to unity and cohesion among the Hindus. The *Anand* says that the results of the Council and Assembly elections in the United Provinces show that now the people have not the least faith in the Swarajist policy of obstruction. The *Aj* remarks that the evils of elections ventilated by Maulvi Mohammad Yakub of Moradabad in the *Pioneer* are real, but they by no means establish the unfitness of Indians for democratic institutions. It is certainly necessary to take early steps to remove these evils, but

the Maulvi's appeal to the Government to stop them cannot but provoke laughter. The beauty of the Reforms lies in this that they are calculated to prevent the real representatives of the people from entering the Councils and to raise the basest passions of the human mind by communal and religious appeals. If this were not so the bureaucracy would not have encouraged separate representation. Its very object is to demonstrate the unfitness of Indians for democracy. The election machinery has been so fashioned as to attach importance to wealth. The paper remarks that the differences between the Responsivists and Swarajists have led to the entry of a large number of *ji huzoors* in the Legislatures. This shows that the bureaucracy has scored a victory against nationalism. It is incumbent on the Swarajists not to co-operate with the bureaucracy until the Congress permits them to do so. Owing to their small minority the Swarajists cannot offer obstruction, but they should keep their ideal alive and show that there is at least one party which condemns the existing system of administration and is by no means prepared to support it. Swarajists should not lower their ideals by effecting any compromise with other parties over the question of ministerships. In another article the paper suggests that the Congress should revive its organizations and agitate throughout the country. The *Pratap* expresses the conviction that the Liberal Party led by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani will constitute the strongest party in the United Provinces Council, and that a few taluqdars and zamindars will also follow him. The Independent Congress Party of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is bound to merge itself in this party. The paper adds that the acceptance of ministerships is not only opposed to the present Congress programme, but is also fatal to the interests of the country as long as diarchy continues to exist. The *Hindi Kesari* claims that in almost all the provinces the Congress candidates form the largest single group in the Councils showing that the Congress still retains its hold on the people and that they are convinced that their political liberty will be attained only under the Congress flag. The work inside the Councils is, however, nothing as compared with what we have to do to prepare the people for *satyagrah* against the alien bureaucracy. Discussing the United Provinces elections the *Medina* says:—On account of Lala Lajpat Rai's treachery the prestige of the Congress has suffered in the Punjab and similarly Pandit Malaviya's hostile attitude has lowered it in the United Provinces. Messrs. Birla and Chintamani, the enemies of the Congress and the Muslims alike, owe their success to Pandit Malaviya alone. The danger now is that both the United Provinces and the Punjab will this time have purely communal Councils which instead of discussing questions affecting the country's good will devote more attention to those relating to music, cow sacrifice and the peepul tree. The Muslim Press has widely supported Mr. Mohammad Yakub's demand for an inquiry into corrupt practices during the elections in Rohilkhand. The *Rahnuma* complains that there was much objectionable in the propaganda and canvassing carried on behalf of candidates. Besides the bad blood created between individuals and communities and the colossal waste of money there was open buying and selling of votes. As the ignorance of the voters is mainly responsible for these corrupt practices, the qualification for franchise should be educational. If Government appoints a commission of inquiry, it should also look into inaccuracies in voters' lists. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* complains that in some places high officials openly sided with different candidates, and the result has been that incompetent candidates have got in and capable men have failed.

The Viceroy's tour.

In the course of a leading article according to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Irwin a cordial, respectful and expectant welcome the *Leader* writes:—Lord Irwin's reputation for goodness, righteousness and piety preceded his advent to India. His interest in our country may be said to be hereditary. His Excellency's public utterances have rung true and appealed to the popular imagination by their simplicity, straightness, sympathy and wisdom . . . His Excellency's visit to Allahabad so early in his lustrum is itself a notable departure from the regrettable precedents of the last quarter of a century. It can be no news to His Excellency that Allahabad feels that she has been ill-treated by successive heads of the Provincial Government and has in fact been both slighted and injured. *De jure* still the capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, she has in fact been dethroned from her proud position and may be more correctly described as the widowed or divorced capital . . . It is not the Local Government who made Allahabad the capital; they have not the power to declare that the capital has been transferred, and therefore they resort to devices of sorts to execute their hostile purpose. Allahabad appeals to His Excellency Lord

Irwin to assert himself to make the authority of the Government of India felt, to give practical effect to his sense of justice and to see that this great and growing injustice is redressed. In another issue referring to the remarks of His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the addresses of welcome by the district and municipal boards of Allahabad on the position of Allahabad as the capital of the United Provinces, the paper respectfully represents to His Excellency that his speech leaves the position very much where it was. Proceeding it says:—We will only invite Lord Irwin's attention to the assurance given by Lord Canning to the citizens of Allahabad when the capital was removed from Agra to this city, on the strength of which large sums of money were invested in buildings. For the same reason large sums of the tax-payers' money were also invested in official buildings . . . We would respectfully beg His Excellency the Viceroy to bring his sense of justice and sympathy to bear upon the consideration of this subject upon which Allahabad feels most keenly and to take such steps as to him may appear right and essential to remove this deep-seated grievance of the people of this "no mean city." The *Aj* writes:—Allahabad gave a splendid welcome to the Viceroy, and this was quite right. If not Allahabad, which other city can be grateful to the Viceroy? How nicely did the subordinate officials of Lord Irwin maintain peace at Allahabad at the time of Ramlila and what a fine reply they gave to the representations of the distinguished leader of the Hindus of that place! Now Allahabad can hope that the future prayers of the Hindus will be considered with greater courtesy. In the course of an open letter to the Viceroy published as an editorial article the *Vartman* says that the days are gone for ever when people were eager to welcome Viceroys and Governors. Now the receptions are arranged by a few toadies who are under the thumb of the Government. The fact is that Viceregal and gubernatorial visits mean a wanton waste of large amounts of public money. Had the Viceroy cared for the poor, the poor would have welcomed them. "You should see what sufferings the poor are undergoing in dirty lanes and to what tyrannies the peasants are subjected in villages." Referring to the triumphant progress of the Viceroy through various Indian cities the *Sada-i-Muslim* inquires whether His Excellency has given his attention to the extreme penury prevailing in the country. Lakhs of rupees of these poor sons of India have been spent over his reception, but has he devised any remedy for the ills of these people who would regard it as the happiest day of their lives if they can get a full meal. It is said that His Excellency is an agricultural expert and is bent on improving the agricultural condition of the country. This improvement may possibly help poor people, but we have two fears. The produce of India is more than enough for the needs of her sons, but it is all used by the barbarians of Manchester and Edinburgh and poor Indians starve. Agricultural produce may increase, but what guarantee is there that it would come into the use of Indians? Again, agricultural implements also would come from England and crores of rupees would go there from India for this purpose.

Imperial Conference.

The *Aj* says that as a result of the decision of the Imperial Conference all the colonies have been granted complete freedom, but India remains a slave as she was ever before. At such a time the number of such members has been increased in the Legislatures as are willing to co-operate with the bureaucracy. God only knows what more disgrace and sufferings born of subjection are still in store for this country. Our hope now centres only in the Congress, which should oppose the nomination of Indian representatives to the Imperial Conference by the Government of India and proclaim a boycott of that conference. The Indian Legislative Assembly also will be well advised to proclaim such a boycott. The *Pratap* remarks:—The decisions arrived at in the Imperial Conference are in no way new. The sum total of its achievements is that it has acknowledged in writing the completely autonomous position of the Colonies which had long before been recognized in practice. The days of "Rule Britannia" have gone by. Where is the wonder if tomorrow the cant of trusteeship is abandoned and the remorseless wheel of time registers still more adverse decrees? The *Najat* says that the Imperial Conference has practically conceded complete independence to the Colonies in order to check the disruption of the British Empire and to maintain its prestige. Favour had been shown only to those Colonies from which there were apprehensions. The Imperial Conference's decision is like the monkey's adjudication (between the two cats), all for the benefit of the white races alone and unfortunate India has nothing to expect. According to Mr.

Amery the British Colonies had reached the age of adolescence. This adolescence may have induced the British to put up with this calamity, but there is no doubt that it is the mailed fist of the Colonies which has convinced Britain of their maturity. The immature old man of India of a hundred and fifty years could not obtain the certificate of majority from Britain. The truth is that Indians lead their lives by sufferance of the Government and the collar of slavery has altogether bewitched them, otherwise they too would have got something in this monkey's adjudication and they would not have been deprived of the sweets that passed into the hands of the white races at the Imperial Conference. The truth is that Englishmen regard India as a wide field for plunder and rapine and consider it to be their birthright to profit from its raw products.

Communal representation.

The Muslim Press continues to emphasize the need for separate representation, especially in view of the results of the Delhi and the British Indian Association elections. In the course of an article headed "Designs of Monopolists" the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—Taking into consideration the existing conditions it would be suicidal not only to the interests of the minorities but also to the future development of democratic institutions in India if joint electorates are introduced in 1929. Instead of a democratic Government, abolition of separate electorates would give India an oligarchy mainly composed of Brahmins with a little sprinkling of Lalas and other caste Hindus. It is an eventuality that should be avoided at all costs, and therefore it is the duty of all patriotic and truly nationalist Indians, be they Hindus or Musalmans, to fight against the sinister propaganda that is being conducted in such a systematic way by Pandits and Swamis aided by a press which draws its inspiration from them. It is up to the minorities now to launch out an extensive programme to expose these so-called patriots and nationalists and to defend their own rights and privileges against their designs. We particularly wish to advise Musalmans to organize their scattered forces to fight against the danger that is threatening the very existence of their community. If separate electorates go, it would mean political death to the Muslim community. Musalmans would be reduced to the same level of serfdom which is occupied by *sudras*. The *Haqiqat* publishes a communication from a Muslim taluqdar in which he remarks that the action of the British Indian Association of Oudh in electing only Hindus for all their seats in the local Legislative Council and the Assembly following soon after the Asaf Ali incident at Delhi has buried even deeper the already half dead corpse of joint representation. The zamindars of Agra too have never sent any Muslim to the Assembly or the local Council. Does any Hindu leader or high-placed member of Government dare even after this open trampling of Muslim rights by educated Hindus to urge joint representation? If the Muslim taluqdars of Oudh take this slap of the British Indian Association lying down, they will surely forfeit the sympathy of the general Muslim public. Referring to the result of the election by the British Indian Association the *Hamdam* regrets that a gentleman of the culture and experience of Chaudhri Mujtaba Husain was defeated simply because of the poison of religious prejudice only recently introduced into the Association by certain well-known protagonists of Shuddhi and Sangathan. Others who would find it difficult even to follow the proceedings of the Council fully have been preferred to him simply because he is not a Hindu. The British Indian Association's choice coming after the Delhi elections shows how essential separate representation is for the safeguarding of Muslim rights.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* publishes a letter received by its editor from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap in the course of which he describes his activities in America and China and says:—When he was invited to California by his Indian brethren to make a political speech he spoke impressively on the present situation in India. One sad incident which occurred at a certain place shortly after his speech was that an Indian killed two whites. If such an incident had occurred in India he would have certainly been implicated in the case, but thanks to the judicial administration of America not a single question was put to him. When he reached China there was great agitation there against the British who were being vilified in all quarters. Some of the Chinese enthusiasts invited him to their meetings and made him address them. A communicated article which the *Sainik* publishes in its editorial columns says:—Wherever revolutions have taken place they have been brought about by young men. Today India is sorely in need of the services of these young men for her regeneration, for the establishment of Swaraj, for the protection of crores of human beings, for the peace of the world, for counteracting

violence and bloodshed, for the emancipation of humanity and the suppression of brutality. Freedom can never be had for begging. It is the duty of our young men to use the bones of Mahatma Gandhi like those of Dadhichi as a bolt for killing the demon of subjection. The *Desh Bhagat* suggests that Earl Winterton's visit to India following close upon the heels of the elections has something to do with the political future of India. As 1929 is approaching the perplexity of British statesmen about the redemption of their promises for the grant of further reforms is increasing. In their hearts they never like to give Indians any powers which savour of genuine autonomy or which can bring about their prosperity . . . Earl Winterton is coming to study the political situation and either to confer with the officials about the satisfaction of the Congress demands or to come to an understanding with some political party so as to weaken the extremists in the Congress and to secure a majority in it of people pledged to work the present Reforms Act. Politically-minded Indians should, therefore, be on the alert and should not be led away by incidents and personalities, but should form opinions after the utmost deliberation. Earl Winterton's visit coinciding with the Gauhati Congress is a great political move.

Indian States.

The *Leader* refutes the charge brought forward by Muslim papers that the complaints about the maladministration in the Hyderabad State and the demand for reforms in it are the outcome of "bigoted and mischievous" tendencies on the part of Hindus and says :—They are very much mistaken who believe that it is only Hindus who will gain by a reform in the administration or that the Nizam will lose thereby. Both the ruler and the ruled and all the classes will gain in the end. It is a mistaken notion of patriotism to believe that because a state is governed by a Muslim ruler, any demand for reform in its administration should be opposed. The *Medina* says that M. Abdul Qadir's address at the Nizam Conference at Lahore shows that the bigoted narrow-mindedness of the Hindus and the imperialistic guiles of the present Government are the two factors which are at work against His Exalted Highness the Nizam. A perusal of the treaties given in this address will convince the reader how this loyal friend of Britain has helped her in the most trying circumstances, but today by an irony of fate an humble individual of the British Imperialistic group, whose fathers ate the salt of the ancestors of this monarch has been installed on an exalted position in the state and is practising despotism. Whatever may be the other causes of the present policy of the British Government, there is little doubt that the Hindus have a large hand in its formation. With the object of carrying out their capitalistic designs they sought the protection of the British Government and deprived the Muslims of their states and *jagirs* by practising treachery and bigoted guiles. Now "the worthy children of Aryawart" are carrying on this movement openly with the help of the British. We ask the Government of India how far these activities of the Hindu bigots against a monarch who is the friend and ally of the British Government are proper and constitutional? We urge the Viceroy to protect his friend from his cowardly enemies. Indian Muslims cannot even for a moment bear to see His Exalted Highness being attacked by these mean enemies. The Government of India should soon put down this mischief and protect the Nizam under the Princes Protection Act. The *Sada-i-Muslim* writes :—If the Government of India does not reconsider its decision it will have to face all the troubles that it had to endure during the Khilafat agitation and its power for high-handedness will be paralysed and destroyed for ever. The *Hamdam* also publishes a strong article in defence of the Nizam.

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* says that the Sangathanist leaders have brought a change in the mentality of the Hindu public by raising the cry of the Hindu religion and the Hindu community in danger simply in order to reserve the loaves and fishes of state for Hindus and to exclude Muslims from the Ministry. This is evident from the fact that though Muslims form the largest single group in the newly-constituted Bombay Council, efforts are being made by the smaller Hindu groups to form a coalition which may enable them to exclude Muslims from the ministry. In another article the same paper regrets that since the inauguration of the reforms no Muslim has been appointed as a minister in Madras. Madras Muslims should now organize their strength in the Council and take such action that Government may have to regret the injustice done to them. The *Medina* invites the attention of the Frontier Government to what it calls the excesses of Hindu and Sikh officials over the Muslims of Rawalpindi and says :—The Hindus of Pindi made an impertinent display of kirpans on the death anniversary of Guru

Nanak. The reason for this was the increase in the number of Hindu and Sikh officials of the town after the previous disturbance. On account of there being the majority of non-Muslims among the officials, Muslims were greatly oppressed and arrested in large numbers. We request the Frontier Government to remedy these irregularities and to protect Muslims from these hot-headed people who want to strangulate others.

Rumours regarding His Majesty's visit to India.

The *Desh Bhagat* says that there is some political purpose behind His Majesty's proposed visit to Delhi which, though apparently for the advantage of Indians, will internally suck their blood. During the last visit of the King crores of rupees of poor Indians passed into the pockets of Englishmen, but Indians then trusted Englishmen and thought that they were sincere in their utterances. Thanks however to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, most educated Indians have become acquainted to some extent with the political manipulations of British politicians and realize that British statesmen really continue to take much more with the other hand than they give or pretend to give with one hand. We believe that the Royal visit is meant to give the quietus to the Swaraj Party and the movement for freedom and that British statesmen will get His Majesty to make some announcement which will satisfy the present leaders and make them lay down their arms gladly. We are however confident that as British statesmen are not in the present circumstances prepared to concede to Indians their natural right of self-government, it is impossible for Indians to sit quiet until they gain complete independence. It is the duty of Indian nationalists and patriots to protest loudly against the visit so that at least poor India may be saved the loss of crores of rupees.

The Patuakhali Satyagrah.

Exhorting the Hindu Sabhas and the Congress Committees all over India to help the Barisal Congress Committee with men and money to enable it to carry on the Patuakhali Satyagrah to a successful issue the *Abhyudaya* says that this Satyagrah is really a Satyagrah against the existing unbearable situation in the country as well as against the communal politics and the bureaucracy's policy of divide and rule.

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ALLAHABAD:
December 11, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

10 JAN 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 50 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 18, 1926.

Foreign affairs.

The *Bharat* holds Britain responsible for the present critical situation in China and remarks that her guilt has made a coward of her. It has become a fashion with the British to establish a connexion between the Soviet Government and that country which desires to get rid of Britain's atrocities and then calumniate the former. In India also the British are always in dread of the Russian bogey. In the British ethics the murder of thousands of inhabitants of a country passes by the name of "love" and not that of "strife". We are grieved at the unparalleled moral downfall of England. She would do well to give up calling herself Christian, consign the Bible to the Thames and instal *Satan* in place of *Messiah* as her deity. In the course of an article on Chinese affairs the *Medina* writes:—Realizing danger to herself from China and Russia on the one hand and America on the other Japan has begun to cast loving glances towards China. Seeing this change in the attitude of Japan Britain has become perturbed and has begun to perceive that the days of her domination in the East are numbered. China is actuated by extreme contempt and hatred for Britain. In these circumstances the formation of a league of Asiatic Nations is no longer impossible.

Elections and after.

The results of the elections and the question of working the reforms continue to be widely discussed on party lines. Swarajist papers contend that neither Hindu nor national interests can be served by accepting Ministries and working the reforms. The Muslim press generally is suspicious of the representatives of the Hindu Sabha and the Independent Congress Party and emphasises the need for extending the system of communal representation to Delhi. Discussing the election results the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—It is obvious that Swarajists have demonstrated their influence among the voters and proved the general discontent of the country with the reforms. The Swarajists compose the largest single group in the Central legislature. On the irresponsive obduracy of the Government we may rely for their further recruitment. Commenting on Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's appeal for unity the paper writes:—The Swarajists are not likely to shake hands with people whose hands are stained with communalism. The latter class of people should be driven out of the Congress. Congress wants not unity but purge. The *Aj* publishes a number of articles on the elections and the future programme of the legislatures. It says:—Those who are at the present moment so carried away by the talk of Hindu interests will feel disappointed when they come to see that Hindu interests can by no means be protected by co-operators and that the clash of communal interests will only increase the strength of the bureaucracy which sets the two communities by the ears. The country requires a party which though in minority would continue to uphold the ideal of Swaraj and obstruct the existing irresponsible Government, and if this be impossible to practise non-cooperation. This will keep intact the purity of the ideal and may lead the constitutionalists some day to join the Swarajists in their struggle with the bureaucracy. . . . . The results of the elections in the United Provinces do not justify the working of the reforms. The majority of the members have been returned on the ticket of the Hindu interests, and if this means anything it is that the Hindu members should fight the Muslim members in season and out of season and should excite communal spirit. They have also been authorized by their electors to oust all Muslims from the offices in the gift of the Government and themselves fill them. The rout of the Swarajists in the United Provinces was not due to their political convictions but to the communal cry

raised by the protectors of Hindu interests. It was not a defeat of Swarajism but that of nationalism. It was the triumph of the old tendency to allow the foreigners to rule over the country while the people fought among themselves. We re-affirm that if Swaraj is to be attained it will be secured only through the peaceful and legitimate efforts of the people themselves. We have to keep this ideal before the country. We have faith in the people and not in the bureaucracy. It is immaterial for us whether the statutory commission is appointed or not. We do not hold the reforms to be the first instalment of Swaraj. Neither do we hope to get another instalment by proving our fitness before it. The *Birjbasi* remarks that the result of the elections has indisputably proved that the country is not for communalism, that it does not want to follow the stereotyped path of constitutional agitation, and that even the reaction against the non-cooperation movement has not diminished the influence of the Congress in the country. The *Sainik* remarks that the result of the elections shows that the Congress has won the laurels. It has now become clear beyond the least shadow of doubt that even in the present spell of political lethargy if there is any powerful organization in the country next to the bureaucracy it is the Congress. The *Haqiqat* while admitting that the Congress has not advanced beyond its position in 1923, denies that the Hindu *Sabha* has been able to defeat it. Even in Northern India where the triple alliance of Mr. Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Birla possessed most strength the number of Swarajists far exceeds that of the Hindu Sabhaites in the new Councils. The *Hamdam* says that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who once used to call Lala Lajpat Rai an irresponsible extremist and to execrate his politics has now struck up an alliance with him in the common purpose of antagonism to Muslims and has been touring the country to weaken the foundations of the Congress. It is a blessing that his mischievous activities have not been much effective in Madras, Bengal and Bihar, but the United Provinces and the Punjab which are the centres of the *Shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements have been influenced by his poisonous propaganda and Swarajists have been defeated in the provinces. Commenting on the results of the elections the *Medina* writes :—If the various parties in the legislatures are at loggerheads with one another, none of them will be able to exert any influence and the Councils will again become the source of those very tyrannies which were witnessed from 1920 to 1923. On the other hand, we are sure that if all the three parties work harmoniously they will be able to protect Indian interests and also to ward off the evils of diarchy. We might rest assured that having fully enjoyed the fight for leadership Lala Lajpat Rai and Malaviya will refrain from disgracing India.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article emphasising the need for the uplift of the depressed classes and enlisting their sympathy in the struggle for liberty the *Vartman* writes :—No one has forgotten the effects of the earthquake that was caused by Mahatma Gandhi in 1921-22 by creating unity between Hindus and Muslims. Though owing to religious quarrels and the mean tactics of the bureaucracy that unity is no longer so firm, yet thoughtful Hindus and Muslims still remain under the banner of the Congress. Now Mahatma Gandhi has chosen another field for his activity, namely, the uplift of seven crores of untouchables. There is no doubt that if we act wisely and take these brethren into our fold we shall have at our disposal seven crores of brave soldiers. Everyone knows that these untouchable brethren of ours are braver than ourselves and are ready to die for their cause. While we fear to go to jail these new soldiers are glad to undergo imprisonment in the name of the country and liberty. They do not love life so much as we do, and when necessary they are ready to move forward and sacrifice their lives recklessly. If these seven crores of our brethren join us we shall see what stands in our way of getting Swaraj, how dissensions continue, why Muslims do not consider India as their home and whom the bureaucracy dares to divide. Hindus! This is the last agitation inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. If in the name of religion you do not remove this sin of untouchableness you will become Muslims or Christians within a century. The *Aj* says that though resolutions are still passed in the Congress and in the conferences held under its auspices for the propagation of *charkha* and *khaddar* to please Mr. Gandhi, it is an undeniable fact that the people have lost faith in them. The Congress leaders should take note that it is because the bureaucracy has realized the danger of the Congress making its way into the huts and cottages of villagers through the *charkha* that astute politicians like Lords Reading and Birkenhead have hoisted the flag of agricultural improvements. This will strengthen the influence of the bureaucracy among the

masses. The only means of counteracting it is to propagate the *charkha* most vigorously. The *charkha* can be utilized to bring about a general organization of the people throughout the country. The *Bharat* publishes the first instalment of an article communicated to it by Satyabhakta in the course of which he remarks :—The question of the freedom of India is a very important and intricate one. In no other part of the world can one come across such weak and slavery-loving people as in India. Besides, the present Government in this country is also so crafty and tyrannical that it does not allow any one an opportunity to raise his head. These tyrannies and injustices make our blood boil. Our hands lift up and we feel inclined to make the oppressor taste the fruit of his doings. But the thought of our helplessness makes us despair. It occurs to us that we have no arms, that we do not even know how to use a *lathi* and that our hands and feet are rigorously fettered. The question arises in what way we should try to attain our freedom. We are not disposed to admit even for a moment that we can shake off the foreign yoke from our shoulders by means of non-violent non-cooperation. It is also obvious that in the existing circumstances it is impossible for us to make preparations for war undetected by the vigilant eye of the Government and defeat the British army skilled in the art of warfare and armed with terrible weapons, aeroplanes and poisonous gas. The third way left is to secure the help of a foreign country for expelling the British from India, but this can only be accomplished when the world is engaged in a war in which Britain is also involved. Further, we, too, should have some strength, for it is no use substituting one foreign rule for another. The only means of the emancipation of India is the organization of her kisans and labourers. *Al Khalil* enquires of Indian Muslims whether they ever remember their brethren who gave proof of their spirit of sacrifice by performing Hijrat. Recently "Raja" Mahendra Pratap gave them a tea party at Kabul and one of the speakers at the function stated that the Muhajirs were all working for the freedom of India. The *Muzaffarnagar News* complains that the Government of India is extremely selfish and adopts every device to empty the pockets of Indians. The policy of Government has become specially severe since the mutiny. Stringent laws have been passed, stern officials have been sent to enforce them and fines are imposed at every step. There is an amazing multiplicity of taxes. Municipalities have been organized to plunder the public still further. In short every department of Government is bent on fleecing poor Indians. It is a pity that Government gives no attention to these things and does not realise that there is such a thing as pity and protection of the ruled in this world. It does not know how to give, but only knows how to take, and that is why more than 25 per cent. of Indians are beggars and about 75 to 90 per cent. are suffering from starvation. Indians are in a strange fix. If they speak out they get into trouble and are stigmatised as rebels, but if they keep silent they cannot get bread and clothes. Previously wheat used to sell at 40 seers for a rupee, but now, thanks to Government, it is selling at 6 or 7 seers a rupee and is getting dearer every day. That *ghi* which used to sell at 3 or 4 seers a rupee is now, owing to the kindness of Government, selling at 6 or 7 chhittaks a rupee. Today we cannot find even a cobbler in London who is not rich and prosperous, but on the contrary we cannot find even 5 men in India who are leading their lives in freedom from care. Is there any reason for this except the severity of Government? Surely Government can make Indians prosperous today if it so desires. But why should such a thought enter the head of the British Government? It wants not only the money of Indians, but also their skin. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks that it is the duty of the Congress to adopt responsive cooperation as its programme if it wants to make "Council entry" a success. The non-cooperators who swear by the names of Shivaji and Partap Singh should bear in mind that those personages did not practise non cooperation in words, but with arms. Their battle-fields were not Councils, but the mountain peaks of Aravali and Sahadri. If our non-cooperating friends were prepared like them, they would find a number of fellow soldiers in other parties as well.

The Congress.

Exhorting the party leaders to unite in the forthcoming Gauhati Congress the *Mauji* writes :—The performance of the juggler of diplomacy is over. The talk of elections is slowly subsiding. Now the indigent populace of the country and India's pitiable breast, devoid of flesh and blood, afflicted with epidemics, crushed by misfortunes and trampled under foot by the officials is before our eyes. Worthy children of the soil, if you are going to the legislatures of the Government, go, but do not be so carried away by the powers of officialdom and the crooked moves of cunning

politics as to forget the pitiable condition of the country. If even after closest co-operation the situation in the country does not improve this time also and the country continues to groan under the mill of miseries and the Agricultural Commission floods the hamlets of the tenantry with European implements and engineers and epidemics, malaria, kala-azar and the dearth of food and clothing and the hard work of the poor continue to pulverize the labourers your representation would be an impotent one.

United Provinces Political Conference.

In an article headed "Scheme to Hinduise India" the *Aligarh Mail* strongly criticizes the speeches delivered at the Kashipur Political Conference by Kunwar Anand Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta, the President. It complains that the President read his address in a type of Hindi which was a Babylonish jargon for even many of the educated Hindus, and takes strong exception to his remark that Muslims should consider seriously "if it was possible for the civilization of Arabia to flourish on Indian soil." The paper goes on to say:—The speeches give us a true insight into the working of the cunning mind of Hindu communalists who masquerade as patriots and nationalists. These political hypocrites do not mean what they say, and do not say what they mean. We must bring home to all sensible Muslims that Swaraj as conceived by Hindus of the type of Kunwar Anand Singh and Babu Shiva Prasad is nothing but a scheme to Hinduise India. The *Sainik* agrees with the views expressed by Mr. Shiva Prasad Gupta in his presidential address, except those relating to the legislatures. It maintains that the Swarajists wrought miracles in the Councils. Their only fault was that they neglected the work outside the Councils. The paper pays a glowing tribute to Kunwar Anand Singh for the bold speech delivered by him as chairman of the Reception Committee and attaches special importance to his participation in the struggle for Swaraj, particularly when the majority of the landholders in this country are sowing the seeds of Bolshevism by placing obstacles in the path of Swaraj. The paper hopes that the ideal set up by him will serve as a beacon light to other landed magnates. The *Pratap* pays a tribute to Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta for the lucid and suggestive address delivered by him, and while fully endorsing his views on various questions it expresses its strong disagreement with his suggestion that Congressmen should leave the Councils and the Assembly if they fail to form a majority there and in more than half the provincial legislatures.

Indian States.

Referring to the grievances ventilated in Mr. Kale's presidential address at the conference of the Hindu subjects of the Nizam the *Arya Mitra* says:—It is highly discreditable for such a big ruling chief that he should flout the sentiments of the Hindus who form 90 per cent. of his subjects. Is the Nizam not aware of this? Can he maintain lasting peace in his state by disregarding such an important community? There is always a limit to partiality and injustice. The Nizam will be well advised to do his duty and remove the grievances of his subjects before the British Government intervenes. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* says that the condition of Muslims in Kashmir is much worse than that of Hindus in Hyderabad. They lead lives worse than those of savages. The state is responsible for not spreading education among them and it is the duty of Muslims all over India to see that their educational condition is bettered. In the course of an article vehemently denouncing British policy regarding Indian states the *Desh Bhagat* charges Lord Reading with having made an attempt to deprive a number of chiefs of their thrones and to bring their states under English rule in a way. It says:—During the Great War when the English were freely enlisting men in British India, they became afraid that the Ruling chiefs might go over to the enemy and might make British position in India untenable. They further feared that the Princes might join hands with the Indian nationalists, and after the war the English decided to remove this rankling thorn for ever from their side. They first cultivated very close relations with the chiefs and introduced, their Indian agents as officers in their states. When this move succeeded, they filled all high offices there with Englishmen. The British Indian officers acted as spies for the English and enabled the Government of India to gain possession of all the secrets of the chiefs. After having gained so much ground they started action against certain self-respecting chiefs. Today there are spies of the English Government in every state whose ruler is supposed to be enlightened and to understand politics, and these persons while drawing salaries from the state treasury are always prepared to stab the chiefs when occasions arise.

Gradually the English will occupy all Indian states. The Indian chiefs will be reduced to the position of English stipendiaries and they will have no legislative, financial or administrative powers left in their states. This policy of the Government of India has now become fully patent and it will, while injuring the chiefs personally, also add to the sufferings of their subjects. Just now the inhabitants of the states are somewhat more healthy and prosperous than their brethren in British India, but they also will become slaves and beg for crumbs like the latter. In our opinion the political and non-political leaders of the country, inhabitants of Indian states and the British Indian press should give serious thought to the matter; otherwise a time will come when like British India there will be destitution in the states also and their treasuries will be opened not for their inhabitants but for every Englishman.

Communal representation.

The *Leader* writes:—We warmly congratulate Lord Irwin on the admirable reply he gave to the address presented to him by the Central National Muhammadan Association. . . . The communal wail of the Muslims was responded to by a lecture on nationalism. Although His Excellency's reply was couched in sympathetic language, yet it was made clear that the Viceroy did not view with favour the claims for exceptional treatment and communal representation in the legislatures or the services which have been made by the Muslims in season and out of season. The paper, however, wishes that the principle of making appointments with due regard to fitness and of not preferring communal claims before those of efficiency of the public services was strictly acted upon. It says:—The reservation of a fairly large percentage of vacancies, particularly in cases where recruitment is made by open competitive examination, for securing the representation of minorities by means of a system of nomination, can hardly be reconciled with this principle. The *Aligarh Mail* expresses gratitude for His Excellency's assurance regarding communal representation in legislatures and also approves of the principle enunciated by him regarding representation in Government services, but complains that the principle has not been put in practice so as to remove the legitimate grievances of the Muslim community. It says:—We believe that the central Government would be better advised if it apportions its posts among the various communities according to their all-India numerical strength and fills them up with the most efficient and the best qualified men which each community can give. If this rule is enforced, the Muslims will have legitimate claims to at least one-fourth of the total posts under the Government of India. We maintain that no straighter way can be found to redress the inequalities between Hindus and Muslims in the departments of the central Government.

Muslim affairs.

The *Aligarh Mail* disapproves of the inauguration of the *Motamar-i-Islam* on the ground that multiplicity and duplication of *Anjamans* and societies would lead to disintegration instead of cohesion. It adds:—An examination of the aims and objects of the *Motamar* would show that there is nothing in them which is not incorporated in the aims and objects of one or other of the Muslim associations already in existence. The paper has published a series of articles suggesting a comprehensive scheme for Muslim organization throughout the country. Muslim papers are giving wide publicity and prominence to the report that in 1918 Khwaja Hasan Nizami complained to the then Chief Commissioner of Delhi that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan of the *Zamindar*, Lahore, was giving lessons in Pan-Islamism to the Nizam of Hyderabad, and that thereupon the Chief Commissioner reported that matter to the Punjab Government. The Khwaja is being vehemently denounced as a Government spy and traitor to his community. The *Hamdam* asserts that the recent Hedjaz meeting at Lucknow was representative of all classes of Muslims and that the sending of telegrams direct to His Majesty the King-Emperor showed that there was no desire for the British interference in the Hedjaz. The only object was that the British Ministers should warn Ibn Saud against further acts of desecration. Howsoever his supporters may protest, it is well-known that Ibn Saud has been in the receipt of subsidies from the British and is under their control. Commenting on the judgement in the case of Shanti Devi (formerly Asghari Begum) at Delhi the *Medina* writes:—It has now been fully established that the Arya Samajists regard it as their religious duty to kidnap children or women and to confine them in *ashrams* which are the sacred centres for kidnapping for proselytism. In these circumstances what is it if not a miracle of logic for the magis-

trate to hold the accused to be innocent? It is idle to expect that these courts will be able to suppress the artful designs of Sangathanists.

Patuakhali *Satyagrah.*

The Hindu press is watching the Patuakhali *satyagrah* with growing sympathy and is exhorting the Hindus to help in the campaign. The *Sainik* suggests that in every province *Satyagrah* committees should be formed and organized work should be carried on with a view to help the *satyagrahis* with men and money. One Govindji writing to the same paper remarks:—Patuakhali has indeed become the "Guru-ka-bagh" of Bengal. The Patuakhali *satyagrah* represents the fight for the protection of our rights. The bureaucracy has encroached upon the religious rights of the Hindus and is straining every nerve to crush their just opposition. We are out to protect our traditional right and we cannot deviate from the path of duty on account of threats or through fear of the sword or bullets or breach of peace or jail.

"*Gita* day."

The *Vartman* fervently supports the resolution passed by the Benares session of the Hindu Maha Sabha that the Hindus of every village and town should meet on every *ekadashi* and recite and discuss the *Gita*. It lays special emphasis on the need of celebrating the *Gita* day on December 15 as proposed by *Gita* Dharma Mandal of Poona and says:—This is a religious duty and an infallible means of Hindu Sangathan. The mere congregation on every *ekadashi* will greatly help Sangathan, and if we advance on the lines of the *Gita* Sangathan is assured. A number of other Hindu papers have also written in a similar strain.

The exchange ratio.

The *Oudh Akhbar* heartily approves of the programme of the Indian Currency League for the education of the public on the exchange question and hopes that every Indian will help it. India will clearly lose on the 18*d.* ratio and a vigorous agitation like that witnessed on the passing of the Rowlatt Act should be organized against it in every corner of the country. The *Naiyar-i-azam*, however, condemns the Currency League as a capitalistic organization and says that Sir Victor Sassoon and Sir Purshottam Das Thakur Das prefer the 1*s.* 4*d.* ratio because that would mean less expenditure for them on wages and a higher price for their commodities.

The Political Sufferers' Association.

Although the *Pratap* is of the opinion that the establishment of the "Political Sufferers' Association" has removed a long felt want, it repudiates its programme as idealistic and impracticable and urges that the first and foremost task before the association is to prepare a complete list of all the political prisoners in the country and of the political exiles abroad and find out their real sufferings. The paper expresses the hope that this will be done at the Gauhati session of the Political Sufferers' Conference.

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ALLAHABAD:
December 18, 1926.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

NOTICE.

THERE will be no issue of the Press Note for the week ending January 1, 1927 on account of the Christmas vacations.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
December 25, 1926.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 51 of 1926.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 25, 1926.

Elections and after.

THE constitution of the Legislative Councils, unity among the various parties and the formation of Ministries are the main topics of discussion in the Press. Swarajist papers are opposed to unity with other parties at the sacrifice of principles. Reviewing the constitution of the United Provinces Council the *Leader* challenges the statement made in a "partisan and evidently inspired message" from Lucknow that the largest party was of landholders, and remarks that even a conservative estimate places the progressives in a clear majority "which only political blindness will fail to see." It goes on to say:—"We think we are not far wrong in anticipating that the new Council will press for a Ministry with corporate responsibility and undivided allegiance to a common policy. It cannot treat as friends any persons who will jump into office on the unconstitutional principle of each for himself. And it need not be expected to tolerate any reactionary or any man with no convictions, no policy, and no strength. Ministerships ought not to be the reward of incompetence or pusillanimity. For any Governor to make questionable selections of Ministers and then to utilize their failure as one of many similar arguments to establish the unfitness of Indians for responsible government is not to play the game. There is no doubt in any corner of our mind that the demand of constitutional propriety will be best satisfied if the leaders of the progressive party are consulted and any of them is asked to form a Ministry." Referring to the appeal for unity made by Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders of the Responsive Party the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We are amazed at the effrontery of Responsivists who with a virtuous air inculcate unity without admitting the obligation of loyalty to the Congress. They have attempted to shatter the authorized work of the Congress by setting up rebel organizations to ruin its credit. If the Congress is firm on its principles of consolidated action, it need not fear the loss of a few disgruntled politicians. In an article on the "Parties in the Assembly" the same paper writes:—The Swarajists who want to hasten *swaraj* cannot come to any understanding with the followers of the Lala and the Pandit so long as the latter do not furnish proofs that they are capable of thinking and acting nationally. Judging from Mr. Yakub's statement the Muslim members of the Assembly are in no hurry to shake hands with the "*Hindupendent*" Congress Party. There is a possibility however of reviving the old Nationalist Party consisting of the Swarajists and the Independents, both sides adopting the same old policy of "give and take." But there can be no unity with the "*Hindupendents.*" The *Hind-i-Jadid* says that by fighting the elections on the pledge of defence of Hindu interests and cooperation with the Government the Hindu candidates in the United Provinces and the Punjab have shown that they are much more obsessed by communal narrow-mindedness than high class Muslims who have mostly selected candidates who will cooperate with Hindus in the fight for India's freedom. The *Mashriq* says that it would be really unfortunate if there is any truth in the political rumour from Allahabad that Mr. Chintamani's entry into the Council would create a commotion in it. However, the association of Mr. Muhammad Ismail's name with his dispels much of the apprehension as this gentleman is not an adept in political moves and the Agra Tenancy Bill has clearly convinced him that the zamindar party can depend upon no other party. Both the Swarajists and the Liberals are very clever in laying down their arms before Government when they are faced with trouble and when occasion demands they both unhesitatingly combine as was shown when they joined hands to defeat the Muslims over the Amended District Boards Act. Who knows that

on account of their small numbers the Swarajists may not stoop to associate themselves with Mr. Chintamani? In reality the contest regarding Ministership is being designed by the Malaviya party to paralyse Muslims, but they will never falter and Mr. Ismail will not be a party to any action against the Ministers. We would appeal to all Hindu and Muslim members not to go against the present Ministers and President as their tenure has been in every way desirable. The *Azad*, on the other hand, while admitting that the present Ministers can continue in office on the strength of the clear zamindar majority in the elections, urges that in view of the forthcoming Royal Commission the transferred departments should be controlled by the best men available. Rai Rajeshwar Bali's claims cannot be easily overlooked as he has shown transparent sincerity and undoubted ability during his tenure of office, but it would be better if the remaining two Ministers were to be selected from among Mr. Chintamani, Rai Vikramajit Singh, Lala Sita Ram, Mr. Pant, Mr. Mohammad Ismail and Hafiz Hidayat Husain. The *Medina* regrets that the representatives thoughtlessly sent in by the electorate will be unable to break through the charm of deception with which the foreigners have designed to robe the promised democracy in eternal slavery. How can the morsel offered by the hand which is notoriously adept in snatching away morsels from the mouth prove sustaining for the weak soul? How can the fowler who is expert in forging bars for the cage be expected to desire the freedom of the nightingale? Besides, when the representatives of the people are hopelessly divided among themselves and aspire differently for Hindu Raj, Muslim Raj, etc., how can they prove their fitness and expect rewards from the creators of the Reforms? If the object of the Reforms is only to render the charm of deception of its rulers still more effective we can of course welcome all these squabblings among Indians for the sake of making money. But if there is a higher ideal before Indians, we have to see what party is going to be its standard-bearer. Apparently India is not fit for parliamentary government, and by the time it acquires that fitness in four or five centuries may be it may have to submit its prayers to some other ruling power than England. Then the period of tutelage would commence over again and a few more centuries may be required. The able nation which in spite of its humanitarian claims could remove neither the poverty nor the ignorance of India in two centuries and could not create general fitness in it can hardly be expected to accomplish anything in the next century. Again, how foolish it is to expect it to fulfil any of our aspirations? We really pity the Muslims of India most who even though they among all the races of India have been suffering from the vicissitudes of the times and are losing their wealth, learning, religion, nationality, unity and fraternity, still expect things from the Assembly and the Councils in which the soul is treated by a wound in the heart. The discord and selfishness being shown by Muslim leaders in Bengal proves that the condition of Muslims is the most critical, and God forbid they may not be like the Roman Catholics of England, the race whose extinction may in the course of centuries become inevitable for the establishment of constitutional government. If Muslims stand to gain it is by revolution and a grand revolution and not the Royal Commission of 1929.

The Congress.

The *Aligarh Mail* advises Muslims not to attend the Congress as it fears that it may pass a resolution against separate electorates. It says:—The Congress has now ceased to be national. It is simply a Hindu organization voicing Hindu sentiments and feelings and dominated by Hindu politicians. The presence of Muslims would only give complexion to the claim that the Congress always speaks for the entire nation. If this claim gains currency and is generally accepted it is likely to prove fatal to the interests of the minority communities in India. Our proper place for the present is in the Muslim League. We should rally round its banner and consolidate our forces to guard ourselves from the many-sided attacks that are being made upon our community. Referring to the Responsivists' appeal for the restoration of unity at the Gauhati Congress the *Pratap* remarks:—The cry for unity is laudable, but let us not be carried away by it to such an extent as to sacrifice the self-respect of the country for its sake. We can ill-afford to ignore the price at which this unity is to be purchased. If the Congress is not dead it will never accept the Responsivist counsel that the legislatures must be utilized. The Responsivists might think that statesmanship consists in our sucking this dry bone, but to us it is a suicidal step. The honour of the country demands the maintenance of the spirit of resistance. We are of opinion that the nation should in no circumstances accept the conditions proposed by the Responsivist leaders. The

entire dispute is centred on the question of the acceptance or non-acceptance of Ministerships and in our opinion the Congress should give a mandate in favour of their acceptance subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, the principal among them being the release of all political prisoners, the repeal of all repressive laws, the conversion of nominated to elective seats and the transfer of the expenditure in the transferred departments from the control of the Finance department to that of the Ministers. The *Aj* urges the Congress to condemn the promoters of the Independent Congress Party and to declare that it is not a Congress institution as it put forward candidates for election to legislature against the decision of the Congress. The *Medina* deplores that the Congress has ceased to be a representative body and fears that it will soon bid good-bye to its national ideals. Non-cooperation, civil disobedience and the freedom of India are no longer before it. It is now preoccupied with questions relating to the acceptance of office, unity among Responsivists and Swarajists, fear of Muslim ministries and unity among Hindus. We therefore, welcome the Gauhati Congress with trepidation for we fear that it will only lead to national retrogression, humiliation and death. The only reason is that the Hindu majority is bent on trampling upon the rights of Muslims. We are certain that a resolution permitting the acceptance of ministries will be passed by the Congress and then the Malaviya and Kelkar parties will, within the Councils, continue to trample upon the rights of Muslims and other minority communities. We would, therefore, urge the delegates of these communities not to allow this question to be taken up by the Congress. Nothing can be gained through peace. It is fight which makes a nation a slave or a ruler.

Communal representation.

While approving the principles of representation in Government service as enunciated by His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the address of the National Muhammadan Association, the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—What actually happens in practical life is that where there is no safeguard of a competitive examination or reservation of posts for minorities the Hindu superintendent of an office or the Hindu head of a department prefers his own co-religionist because Hinduism is the hall-mark of his efficiency. It is this injustice to the Musalmans, which is being perpetrated in the high-sounding and deceptive name of "efficiency," that the Government must destroy root and branch if it wants to allay the growing political discontent among the Musalmans. The second thing to which we would like to draw the kind attention of His Excellency Lord Irwin is that the Musalmans do not take the "devices of special representation" as an end in themselves. The Musalmans conscientiously believe that they are only a means to attain an end—the end of ending the Hindu monopoly of Government posts. The *Hamdam* is glad to note that the Viceroy was contemplating no change in communal representation. Prejudiced and mischievous Hindu leaders have repeatedly urged its abolition, but we are sure, says the paper, that the bias, narrow-mindedness and communalism of the lowest order betrayed by the Hindus in Mr. Asaf Ali's election have been sufficient to open the eyes of Government and it will urge no change in communal representation before the Royal Commission. We cannot wholly agree with His Excellency's remarks regarding communal representation in the services and would urge that in view of their superior administrative capacity half of all important posts should be reserved for Muslims. The *Najat* says that owing to the obstacles placed in their path by the majority community Muslims cannot take full advantage of the educational facilities provided for them by Government and urges that action should be taken to facilitate their admission into Government institutions. Although His Excellency's assurance about separate representation is satisfactory, Muslims should not slacken their agitation in its favour to counteract the Hindu propaganda against it. It is a pity that the Muslims cannot get their due share in the subordinate services owing to Hindu predominance and something should be done to facilitate their entry into them. While admitting that communal representation is injurious from the standpoint of a united nationality, the *Rahnuma* says that Muslims are constrained to press for it because Hindus always trample upon their rights in the joint electorates. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that Lord Irwin has assured Muslims that this right of theirs will remain safe. The *Medina* says:—We are sorry for the disappointment of those Muslim brethren of ours who went with great hopes but got nothing except advice on certain matters. *Al Bashir* points out that the joint electorates of Ajmer, Delhi, the British Indian Association, the United Provinces Chamber of Commerce and the Agra Zamindars' Association have not elected even a single Muslim. Worst of all, the registered graduates

of the Allahabad University did not elect Dr. Ganesh Prasad simply because he was known to be free from communal bias. In these circumstances if a number of seats open to election from these bodies cannot be reserved for Muslims t hey should be deprived of the franchise. Clearly when zamindars, traders and graduates can vote in the general elections they have no right to special repres entation. The *Hamdam* regrets that certain politicians instead of trying to make amends for the losses suffered by Muslims at the hands of the Hindu majority, which have forced them to demand separate representation, close their eyes to the present situation and oppose separate electorates. The *Leader* has actually taken the support given by one Muslim to a resolution at the Kashipur Political Conference against separate representation to mean that Muslims are becoming opposed to it in growing numbers. As a matter of fact the treatment accorded to Muslim candidates by joint electorates has totally alienated Muslim sympathy from mixed electorates and Messrs. Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai's activities have convinced the overwhelming majority of Muslims of the necessity for separate representation notwithstanding what a Muslim or two might say who place the gratification of Hindu friends above the interests of the community.

India and Europeans.

The speech of Mr. Langford James at the European Association has evoked strong protests in the Indian Press. Referring to the reply given by Lord Irwin to the address presented to him by the Association, the *Abhyudaya* remarks :— May we hope that Mr. Langford James and his Association and other Europeans will profit by the wholesome advice given to them by His Excellency and realize that if they want to live with honour in a free India it is essential that they should abandon the air of superiority and merge themselves in the Indian public? Commenting on Mr. Langford James' speech, the *Aj* says that India cannot rest without attaining *swaraj* and those who stand in her way are bound to suffer discomfiture. Those who want to keep their position satisfactory under *swaraj* will do well to help her in securing self-government and not obstruct her. When prominent Indian leaders have openly proclaimed that they will treat Europeans as their honourable brethren under *swaraj* and will utilize their abilities, it is all the more objectionable to make false and reprehensible attacks on them. Prudence and wisdom demand that Europeans should give up love of the position of masters and teachers and be ready to live as brothers of Indians. In that case they will have nothing to fear from *swaraj*. Referring to Mr. Langford James' "boastful" statement that the British have made the modern India the paper writes :— Is the modern India happier or more miserable, more prosperous or more impoverished than before? Railways, telegraphs and post offices are no doubt great conveniences in British India, but she has had to make enormous sacrifices for them in the shape of the destruction of her old industries and the consequent impoverishment of her people, the increase of unemployment through a defective educational system and the establishment of costly law courts. The English have emasculated the Indians with the help of the Arms Act. All this goes to show that the British-made India is not happier than before. If there are achievements of which the Englishmen can be proud in India, there are by no means a smaller number of things of which they ought to be ashamed. The *Hamdam* remarks that if a few more speeches like that of Mr. Langford are delivered non-cooperation might be revived. It is queer that while Europeans complain of lack of cooperation on the part of Indians, the former themselves rain bombshells on the latter. How can Indians in these circumstances trust Europeans as it is only trust which begets trust? The paper protests against the action of the Karachi Port Trust in inserting an advertisement in a London paper at a cost of Rs. 75,000 and says that this is not a solitary instance of the patronage extended by Indian public bodies to English and Anglo-Indian papers. Even the summonses of Government law courts are published in Anglo-Indian and Indo-English papers, while as a matter of fact only vernacular newspapers and not the former reach the general public. If the Karachi Port Trust wants to reserve any post or contract for an Englishman, it has well served its purpose by advertising in a London journal; but as a Government department it was its duty to look first to India for the satisfaction of its needs.

Political propaganda.

The *Gramvasi* strongly urges the need for a party which may keep *swaraj* for its goal, always oppose the irresponsible Government and continue to assimilate other parties in the country with the help of a suitable programme. It goes on to say that as the Government is alien it is folly to hope that it would ever be so generous as to

grant *swaraj* to the people to the detriment of its own interests. Those who entertain such hopes have either no confidence in their own strength or are afraid of sufferings. The foreigners rule by means of party divisions. One Ganeshji writing in the *Abhyudaya* contends that at present Britain is one of the most clever and tactful countries in the world. One of the special characteristics of the Britishers is that they make others their tools for achieving selfish ends. During the war India hoped that if Britain and her allies triumphed she would also gain something, but when the war was over she was given the Rowlatt Act which resulted in the Punjab episode. The history of Britain's relations with Russia, Japan, America and other countries also shows how she changes colour from time to time. Is there any limit to her selfishness?

The exchange ratio.

The *Leader* writes :—The opposition of the Indian manufacturers to the 1*s.* 6*d.* exchange ratio may be dismissed by the Finance Member as interested, but Sir Victor Sassoon's opposition cannot be so disposed of. His support of the lower rate shows that its supporters are not actuated by mere self-interest, but are convinced that the higher rate is injurious to the interests of the agriculturists and manufacturers alike. The question is of vital national importance and affects the economic well-being of the country. The weight of argument has been in favour of the lower rate and the Government ought not to ignore the consensus of weighty and well-informed Indian opinion. The *Aj* contends that the exchange ratio at 18*d.* represents a deliberate subsidy of 12½ per cent. to the Lancashire cotton industry at the cost of Indian agriculturists. On the one hand is enacted the farce of protecting Indian industries, and on the other a subsidy is being given surreptitiously to foreign industries. This is quite in keeping with the traditions of the bureaucracy. It is just the time when the well-wishers of India should reorganize the Congress and concentrate all their energy on the task of getting every Indian ply the *charkha* and the handloom. This can partially meet the crooked move of benefiting Britain at the expense of India. This constructive programme will again draw the Congress and the people into closer relations and thereby counteract the second move of the bureaucracy in the shape of agricultural improvements. The bureaucracy does not really desire to promote the interests of cultivators, otherwise it would not have raised the exchange ratio which would mean the loss of crores of rupees to them. The *Surya* remarks that the uneasiness of Sir Basil Blackett over the 18*d.* ratio is increasing with the approach of the next session of the Assembly and he is availing himself of the least opportunity of justifying his position through the press and the platform. But although a financial expert and a clever speaker, his cause is so weak that his arguments do not hold water before the counter-arguments of Sir Purshotam Das Thakur Das and Sir Victor Sassoon.

Music before mosques.

The *Arya Mitra* expresses satisfaction at the judgement delivered by Mr. Justice Wallace of the Madras High Court on the right of the Hindus of Nellore to play music before mosques and hopes that all the magistrates will take lesson from it. It goes on to say :—We think all the forces of the Government are meant for keeping the people contented and happy and not for being kept inactive for fear of the threats of a particular community. The *Aj* also warmly commends the judgement and remarks :—The authorities throughout the country should pay heed to this decision before depriving the Hindus of their just right of playing music on public roads owing to threat of violence on the part of lawless people. Such action of magistrates only serves to encourage hooligans and to impress upon the Hindus that their rights can be protected only if they follow their example. If the Government and the Muslims interfere with the just rights of the Hindus, they commit injustice and the Hindus should continue to agitate through all peaceful ways until their right is recognized.

Indian States.

Referring to the Viceroy's speech at the Chamber of Princes, the *Bharat* writes :—Except Baroda, Mysore and Travancore the subjects of almost all the Indian States complain of oppression and mal-administration. If Indian States had not existed and their subjects had been directly under the British rule they would have been more educated and much better off. Oppressive administration of Indian States goes a great deal towards justifying the atrocities of the British Government, and hence it is that the British have spared them so far, otherwise they would have annexed them long ago. If the British Government really acts in good faith, Indian States will have to keep at least to its level in administration. In an article headed "The Sanyasi Ruler of Dholpur—the ruin of the subjects and

signs of decadence of the administration" the *Farishta* complains that the wild ravines and caverns cut by the Chambal in the Dholpur State harbour dacoits who commit depredations outside the State and no action is taken by the State to bring these unfrequented areas under cultivation so as to close these dens. It promises to bring out a series of articles exposing the terrible scandals in the management of the State.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Arya Mitra* takes M. Mahomed Ali severely to task for his present communalistic activities and says:—The Aryasamajists have never spoken ill of any religious leader, and even if they may have ever done so their statements must have been based on authorities. But pray look at your own house. See what filthy and extremely shameless language your bigots have used against the chaste Sita and the great Rama. Pray go to Hyderabad and see how government is being carried on there and what hue and cry people are raising against the administration. Your talk of retaliation against those weaklings, the Hindus, who cannot even keep their heads safe from the *lathi* blows of Muslim rowdies and save their women and children from their mischief is ridiculous. It is the Muslims alone who do not see any harm in committing the most reprehensible deeds without even entertaining the thought of reprisals.

Agricultural Commission.

In the course of an editorial note on the Agricultural Commission the *Medina* writes:—After spending some lakhs of rupees the Commission will recommend the import of British agricultural implements, the appointment of about a dozen and a half of British agricultural experts on a monthly salary of rupees ten thousand each and the establishment of three or four agricultural colleges for Indian students, that is to say, that a few more crores of rupees may be presented to British capitalism. If, however, the Commission is really inspired by the desire for the development of Indian agriculture, it should recommend the adoption of the suggestions offered by Sir P. C. Roy in his evidence.

Legislation for reforming temples.

One Ganeshji writing in the *Abhyudaya* contends that the Madras Hindu Dharmada Bill is really an attempt at humiliating the priests and Brahmans and not at reforming the shrines and sacred places. The Hindus would be seriously imperilling their interests if they were to entrust the administration of their shrines to a Government or to the officials appointed by a Government which has no particular sympathy with their faith. The article concludes with an appeal to the Viceroy not to give his assent to the Bill.

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ALLAHABAD:
December 25, 1926.

17 JAN

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

1 FEB. 27

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 1 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE FORTNIGHT ENDING JANUARY 8, 1927.

The Congress.

Opinion concerning the proceedings of the Gauhati Congress is sharply divided on party lines. The session has so far received less than the usual editorial attention on account of the sensation caused by the murder of Swami Shraddhanand. The *Leader* says: The presidential address was a full-blooded nationalist utterance. It was eloquent, inspiring and pithy. But it was more emotional than thoughtful. It ignored realities, twisted facts, abounded in fallacies and soared in the cloud-land. In a subsequent issue the paper writes: It was not expected that the Gauhati Congress would face facts and adjust Congress policy to the changed situation. In laying increased emphasis on *khaddar*, in sticking to a policy of pseudo-non-cooperation inside the legislatures, in trying to hide Swarajist dissensions with regard to the working of the Reforms behind ambiguous formulas, in entrusting its judgment to the working committee on the currency question, and in shifting on the working committee the burden of unravelling the communal tangle, the Congress not only failed to give a right lead to the country but also proclaimed the bankruptcy of its policy. The sense of the country is not with it. It commands neither the confidence of the Hindus nor of the Muslims. Its dwindling funds proclaim its waning popularity. The process of disintegration that has set in will not be checked by the resolutions passed by the Gauhati Congress. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has made an eminently successful effort to give a clear and authoritative lead to the country in his presidential address which is one of the most masterly of addresses delivered from the dignified rostrum of the Congress. The address on the whole is a remarkable performance and is a valuable contribution to the political literature of the country. It rings the death-knell of responsivism and all that it stands for. The *Aligarh Mail* strongly criticizes the President's remarks regarding communal representation and observes: The presidential address is a document of very little importance except as a vehement denunciation of the Reforms. Though full of glittering generalities, it is sadly lacking in the lead that it was expected to give to the country . . . It is being realized more and more as the days pass by that the Congress is losing its hold upon the people and that it is gradually deteriorating to a position of a mere debating society where fire-eaters and hot-heads find a good opportunity to display their oratorical talents. In a subsequent issue the paper says: Like the presidential address the Congress too failed to formulate a clear-cut programme for the coming year or to point the way to unity. The Congress has, in fact, accentuated differences and has made it more difficult for other parties to come to a settlement. The *Sainik* writes: In several respects the presidential address was unique. We never came across such a full, clear and well-reasoned exposition of the Congress programme. This should be recited every day by every nationalist. Considering all the circumstances the decisions of the Congress were most satisfactory. The *Fratap* says that the Congress has not only removed what little doubt was left regarding the nation's support of the Swarajist policy in respect of the legislatures but it has also made it abundantly clear that the influence of the Responsivists does not transcend the borders of Maharashtra. The passage of the resolution regarding the habitual wearing of *khaddar* by Congressmen marks a drift towards Gandhism. The *Vartman* is of opinion that the presidential address and the resolutions were both disappointing. In view of the critical situation the President was expected to make an epoch-making utterance and to deliver a new and life-giving message, but he only spoke as an able advocate and not as a national prophet. The *Surya* remarks that the presidential address

was as disappointing as it was misleading. It was marked by the President's blind and indiscriminate devotion to the *Swaraj* party and has rendered the task of restoring unity in the ranks of the Congress doubly difficult. Never before has the Congress presidential address been such a huge failure. In the course of an editorial article under the heading "Be brave," suggesting that the Gauhati Congress should adopt a forward programme such as the boycott of foreign cloth, establishment of national schools and village panchayats, village organization, etc., the *Bharat Jiwan* wrote: We can to-day become free if we make an emphatic announcement at the Gauhati Congress that we do not want to remain within that oppressive Empire which designates itself "the British commonwealth of nations" but which in fact is an Empire that sucks the blood of the hearts of the poor. We do not say that we should to-day unsheathe our swords and shed rivers of blood. There is no need for it and this is also not the time for it but if ever it becomes necessary to do so we will not hesitate in saying that. All that we need at present is that we should display that heroism that we did four years and sixty-eight years ago. The *Aj* says that the presidential address was marked by constructive statesmanship and was an inspiring oration. It deserves to be read and pondered over by every patriotic and thoughtful Indian. All the important questions before the country have been thoroughly discussed in it. The President rightly laid great emphasis on the need for village organization and the Congress propaganda being carried to every nook and corner of the country. The paper expresses satisfaction at the decision of the Congress regarding ministries and remarks: It is proper and right that Congressmen should not cooperate with Government in works where responsibility would lie on their shoulders but all the power would be concentrated in the hands of the irresponsible Government. We welcome the further decision of the Congress that its members should oppose all the resolutions in the councils which are likely to consolidate the power of the bureaucracy. The *Abhyudaya* says that Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's address was quite in keeping with the high position of the president of the Congress. Mr. Iyengar began like a Swarajist, continued like a determined non-cooperator and ended like a man of action. In all the address there is only one point on which we differ. Although he felt the necessity of capturing legislatures and local bodies we fail to understand why he did not realize a similar need for accepting ministerships.—Very few Muslim papers have so far commented on the proceedings of the Congress. The *Haq* commends the remarks of Mr. Iyengar regarding communal unity and says that if even now Hindus and Muslims cannot see their way to unite and advance for the attainment of their common goal they should rest assured that their dreams of *swaraj* will not be realized at least for a century to come. The *Haqiqat* is of opinion that Mr. Iyengar has given the right lead to the country. The *Hamdam* writes: The resolutions regarding Council programme show that the Swarajists have not yet lost their influence in the Congress and have gained a complete victory on this important subject. The presidential address was closely reasoned and gave evidence of depth of thought in the discussion of certain questions like the present communal situation. The President did well in disallowing Mr. Tandon's resolution regarding the abolition of the system of separate representation and if the resolutions of the Unity Conference are carried into practice and the Congress leaves the question of separate representation untouched for the present Hindu-Muslim differences can be removed to a great extent.

The Muslim League.

The *Leader* writes: "The address of Sheikh Abdul Qadir as president of the last session of the All-India Muslim League was, unlike that of Sir Abdur Rahim in the preceding year, moderate in language and on the whole nationalist in outlook. While we are unable to agree with some of the views expressed by him, especially those which referred to the origin of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements, and to the attitude of the two great leaders associated with it towards the Muslims, we recognize that the president put the Muslim case with fairness and moderation and showed that he is among the few Muslims who can approach the communal problem in a spirit of reasonableness and restraint . . . On the question of music before mosques and cow-sacrifice he expressed views with which no reasonable Hindu need differ." The paper criticizes his remarks regarding communal representation. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: Khan Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qadir has given a correct lead to the Muslim community. His constructive suggestion for the holding of a Round Table Conference of selected representatives of the Hindu and Muslim communities deserves the support of all leaders of public opinion. The *Aligarh Mail* says: The address delivered by Khan

Bahadur Sheikh Abdul Qadir is a masterly exposition of the real situation in India. It comes as a refreshing contrast to the address of the president of the National Congress. Instead of vague generalities, it courageously deals with realities and actual facts and in the place of total absence of good and concrete suggestions it abounds in helpful and constructive proposals for the solution of some of the most important problems, including the rehabilitation of good relations between the various communities that inhabit our country. The *Abhyudaya* opines that the whole of the presidential address was devoted to supporting communal as opposed to national demands which is causing irretrievable injury to the country. The *Hamdam* commends Sheikh Abdul Qadir's views on the question of Muslim representation in the services and says: The Hindus accuse the Muslims of having joined the Congress simply for protecting the prestige of the *Khilafat* and of having abandoned it as soon as their object was realized. This is wrong. The Muslims neither abandoned the Congress nor broke their relations with the Hindus. They always remained firm on their position. The Hindus on the other hand themselves changed their attitude when against their expectations they found Turkey regaining her strength. The *Haqiqat* says that the waning popularity of the *Khilafat* committees and the communal activities of the Hindu Mahasabha have infused new life into the Muslim League and the session at Delhi was consequently very successful in every way. The proceedings showed no tinge of communal prejudice in spite of the Swami Shraddhanand incident. The presidential address dealt succinctly with all important topics and represented the Muslim point of view regarding them. Sheikh Abdul Qadir rightly regretted that Hindus were not courteous enough to stop music before mosques even at prayer time. His insistence on separate electorates was justified by the results of the elections from Delhi and the British Indian Association. Sheikh Abdul Qadir's proposal for a round table conference of Hindu and Muslim leaders to decide controversial matters is commendable as though it may not do away with inter-communal differences, it will enable Hindus and Muslims to prefer a joint demand before the Royal Commission.

The murder of Swami Shraddhanand.

The murder of Swami Shraddhanand is the chief topic of press comments and has thrown the Congress and the other annual functions into the background. The outrage is being condemned in the strongest language by newspapers of all communities and of all shades of opinion. Hindu papers make impassioned appeals to their co-religionists to close up their ranks and to carry on the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements with redoubled energy as a tribute to the memory of the deceased. Most of these papers hold the crime to be the outcome of an organized conspiracy of Muslims and in support of this contention refer to a poem entitled "*Shuddhi ki Arthi*" (the bier of *shuddhi*) published in Khwaja Hasan Nizami's paper on the eve of the murder, the sale of the photographs of the assassin as a "ghazi" and the illuminations in certain mosques. They also urge that the investigation should be conducted through an impartial agency. These remarks are strongly resented by Muslim papers which urge that after the strong, unanimous and unqualified condemnation of the outrage expressed by Muslim leaders there is absolutely no justification for stigmatizing the entire community for the misdeed of an individual. The *Leader* writes: The ghastly outrage at Delhi has stirred to the innermost depths the hearts of the Hindus and has caused widespread consternation and sorrow . . . The Hindus can best show their strength and superiority by exercising strict self-restraint. What appears to be the misdeed of an individual fanatic ought not to make them lose their balance of mind and resort to measures of retaliation. It is the duty of Government to make a sifting inquiry if the atrocity was inspired by any organization or whether the individual who perpetrated it was solely responsible for it. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: Like the attack on Mussolini the murder of Swami Shraddhanand must be only the result of dementia on the part of his assassin. To read more into the situation will be to go beyond the evidence of fact as well as highly injudicious. The evil of raising the communal bogey and of calling into existence communal forces which cannot be kept in leash is made painfully obvious by this sad incident. The *Aligarh Mail* writes: We cannot say that we have been a great admirer of Swamiji but we unhesitatingly condemn the outrageous deed that was committed by a person who happens to be a Muslim . . . The man who shot Swamiji has undoutedly gone against the teachings of Islam. The paper strongly protests against the speech of Professor Ramdeo at Delhi and says: It is utterances like this that lead to quarrel and to such horrible

deeds as the Delhi outrage. The *Himalayan Times* suspects that the crime was not merely an act of a frenzied lunatic and remarks: True, the work of a single Muslim should not be construed as the doing of the entire community, but when we reflect upon the course of events from the period of Muslim advent into this country up to now, we cannot help feeling that the aggressiveness of Islam has committed not one but innumerable depredations against the followers of the Hindu religion . . . How long will the Hindus afford to remain indifferent to the patent fact that every year nearly 500,000 of their co-religionists are converted to other religions. If we go on in this way, a day will come before very long when India will cease to be called Aryavarta or Hindustan, and its proper name shall have been changed to Islamistan. In our opinion the spot where Swami Shraddhanand was murdered so brutally ought to be acquired by national subscriptions and a building should be raised there to serve as the All-India head-quarters of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements which must be carried on a million times more intensively and extensively than before. The *Aj* writes: The cowardly and demoniacal murder of Swami Shraddhanand on sick bed by a villainous Muslim will ever remain fresh in Indian history and among the Indian people. The shock which has been caused to the hearts of twenty crores of Hindus cannot but have a revolutionary effect. No words are too strong to denounce the reprehensible and devilish misdeed. Let the responsible Muslim leaders whose words go to inflame their ignorant co-religionists ponder over the outrage that has been inflicted upon the feelings of Hindus by the assassination of their popular and revered leader. The reprehensible object which inspired the murderer to perpetrate this cruel deed can never be achieved. On the contrary this will only go to redouble public efforts in the cause of *shuddhi* and *sangathan*. The *Vartman* writes: The holy blood of the Swamiji will serve as a miracle for the emancipation of the nation and the uplift of the Hindus. There will no longer be a place in the nation for those fanatics who regard this cruel murder as their triumph. Emphasizing the need for a searching and impartial inquiry into the murder the paper says: The police should not rest in peace till the abettors have been caught. The poison which has been showered by Muslim papers and pamphlets upon the *shuddhi* movement and the Swamiji proclaims that there are men behind Abdul Rashid. The Muslim papers of Delhi continue to emit poison. This throws sufficient light on the conspiracy behind the murder. Even fools can understand the mentality of the community which can openly sell the photograph of the perpetrator of such a dastardly crime as that of a martyr. The *Pratap* writes: The murder is fraught with terrible consequences and is calculated to kindle a fire throughout the whole country. It is not unlikely that the majority of the Hindus may entertain feelings of violence and may be inclined to regard the entire Muslim community as the very embodiment of treachery and wickedness. Indeed it is difficult to predict the dimensions which this fire may assume. Although the number of Muslims who might feel delighted over the Swamiji's murder will not be small yet it is imperative that the Hindus should restrain their feelings and refrain from implicating the entire Muslim community in this brutal crime. Swamiji's sacrifice is a message of hope and strength. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks: The statement of the assassin that the murder of a *kafir* would lead him to heaven shows what love of mankind is inculcated by Islam. If the eyes of those Hindus who expect good treatment at the hands of the Muslims are not opened even now then it should be understood that the Hindu community does not want to become self-reliant. The *Abhyudaya* fears that the murderer was not really a maniac but a member of a party of misguided Muslims who in the interests of Islam think it necessary to put out of the way Hindu leaders of the type of Swami Shraddhanand. It appeals to the Hindus not to get excited over the assassination but to cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice which actuated Swami Shraddhanand. In another issue of the paper Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya refutes the contention that the present communal tension and the press are really responsible for the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and asks: Did communal tension exist or did the press emit venom at the time when Pandit Lekh Ram was assassinated ?. The Swami's murder was in fact due to the belief, as expressed by the assassin, that by murdering a *kafir* he expected to go to heaven. Not only this, the Muslims have always relied on the knife and the sword. Surprise attacks, putting helpless pilgrims to death by stabbing them in the back and murdering old and crippled men and other acts like these are the characteristics of their mentality. Their action in stoning the Swami's funeral procession also shows that the murder was not merely the act

of a maniac or fanatic but was an indication of the mentality of that community. It is, therefore, impossible to establish sincere relations between the two communities so long as this mentality is not got rid of. The writer also suggests the organization of a "Shraddha Dal" and the inauguration of the "Swami Week" for vigorously carrying on the work of *shuddhi* and *sangathan* in which the late Swami was engaged. The *Bharat Jiwan* writes: Nothing else can be expected from Islam which has its foundations in murder and bloodshed and according to which the highest virtue consists in killing a *kafir* and the greatest bliss in enjoying houris and youthful boys. Had we the requisite strength we would have, in the words of a wise man, "annihilated such a community" a mean and hellish member of which committed the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and whose religion engendered the mentality which made such a crime possible. But unfortunately we lack that strength to-day and have to repress our feelings. In these circumstances the best way in which we can avenge the Swamiji's murder is to take up his work. The *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements were the cause of his murder and our mind can rest in peace only when we have brought about the extinction of the Muslim community through these movements. The *Arya Mitra* urges the Hindus not to mourn over the loss caused by the murder of Swami Shraddhanand but immediately to concentrate all their energy on the performance of their duty and blow the conch of *shuddhi* and *sangathan* to show that the movement which the Muslims expected to end with the death of Swami Shraddhanand is increasing by leaps and bounds with a thousandfold velocity. The *Medina* strongly denounces the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and appeals to Hindus to believe in the sincerity of the condemnation of the deed which has been unanimously expressed by Muslim leaders. It is the act of an individual and is against all Islamic injunctions. This incident makes it all the more incumbent on Hindus and Muslims to try to improve their relations. Protesting vehemently against the attitude of the Hindus in connexion with the murder the same paper writes in a subsequent issue: Muslim religious leaders and newspapers have loudly and unanimously condemned the murder and yet a large and extremely bigoted section of Hindu newspapers and leaders is throwing the responsibility for the deed on Islam, the *Quran* and Muslims as a community. This action, in our opinion, is more irresponsible, fanatical and abominable than the murder of the Swamiji . . . In spite of such clear denunciation of the murder by Muslims, Hindu newspapers are every day issuing most inflammatory literature, under bold headlines are inciting their co-religionists to create disturbance and are busy calumniating Islam. In condolence meetings, too, Hindu speakers are indulging in extremely aggressive and inflammatory speeches which are simply intolerable. This is a strong proof of the mischievousness and religious fanaticism of our fellow-countrymen. Who will be responsible if even a thousandth part of the inflammatory campaign of misrepresentations bears fruit and leads to riots and bloodshed throughout the country? The *Hamdam* has written four articles on the subject. It regrets that while every thoughtful Muslim is deploring the dastardly outrage, certain narrow-minded Arya Samajist organs are utilizing the incident to vent their spleen on Muslims and are inciting the Hindus. In view of the all-round condemnation of the deed by Muslim leaders and the declaration of the accused that he alone was reponsible for the act the efforts to weave a web of conspiracy round the affair are reprehensible . . . A particular body of the Hindus including Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Arya Samajists is trying to further the cause of *sangathan* by giving undue importance to this deplorable incident and by impressing upon their co-religionists that the Swami's murder is the outcome of some deep-laid conspiracy which includes a number of eminent Muslims. The *Haqiqat* says that Muslims are not only grieved but also deeply ashamed at the insane murder of the Swamiji by a co-religionist of theirs. Neither does Islam tolerate such brutality nor can it benefit from it. A blow has been dealt at Hindu-Muslim unity and an opportunity has been given to non-Muslims to accuse Islam of intolerance. The Swami was not solely a communal worker, he showed his sterling patriotism during the days of non-cooperation. The *Haq* condemns the murder and says that the denunciation of this imprudent and mad action by the Muslim leaders and the press shows that Muslims are not prepared to countenance such cowardly and callous actions even for a minute. The *Agra Akhbar* observes that all Muslims will deplore the terrible crime. The situation demands that the causes of tension should be removed otherwise the national bark will founder in the whirlpool of *sangathan* and *tanzim*. The *Mansur* says that this unfortunate incident will always help the enemies of the country in

aggravating its misfortune. The *Aziz-Hind* says that the assassin's cowardly and fanatical act is not only abominable in the eyes of the Hindus but has also grieved the Muslims all over the country. Islam never allows such an act as might give the enemies a pretext to harm the Muslims. The *Anis* says that the assassin has by his cowardly action put the entire Muslim community to shame and disgrace. The time has now come when the Muslim leaders should unitedly turn their misguided co-religionists against such abominable acts. The *Desh Bhagat* attributes the murder to the undesirable religious propaganda carried on by selfish communal leaders and newspapers on both sides and writes: Though Muslim leaders are now unanimously condemning the murder yet those among them who have either openly inflamed communal passions or have not raised their voice against communalism are morally responsible for it. We pray that this sacrifice of the Swami may cement the bonds of Hindu-Muslim unity and both communities may again co-operate as in 1921 and strive to free their country from foreign control.

Liberal Federation.

The *Pioneer* writes: While at Gauhati the heterogeneous collection of Congress orators are bickering and emitting much forensic steam designed to conceal the emptiness of their store of constructive ideas, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, in addressing the All-India National Liberal Federation, has been able to give a clear and comprehensive statement of the aims of men who, like himself, stand for the orderly development of national aspirations. With all his views it is not possible to agree. But his demand for an explicit statement of the Government's military policy deserves careful consideration. The *Leader* says: Those who believe in a policy guided by sound commonsense and are not afraid of facing facts will turn with pleasure to the speech of Sir Sivaswamy which is marked throughout by independence of judgment and a keen appreciation of the realities and the needs of the country though his observations on the questions of currency and exchange will not be acceptable to a large section of Indian public opinion. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* observes: Sir Sivaswamy's address marks no new advance in liberal thought. The same old abject mentality of preferring to wait upon crumbs from the bureaucratic table is in evidence throughout the address. We take the liberty to tell Sir Sivaswamy that the liberal debacle is entirely due to the lack of self-reliance and the desire to placate an alien and hostile bureaucracy at the expense of self-respect. The *Aj* says that the address of the President of the Liberal Federation is quite in keeping with him and the Liberal Federation. It cannot congratulate him on the address, " which only curses the Congressmen, praises every act of the Government and supports the liberal principles, which have been exposed times out of number." It says that if the country is to remain in perpetual bondage it cannot do better than follow the advice of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer to depend entirely on the Government. If India is to attain Swaraj she will have to bid good-bye to liberal methods. There is no difference between Sir Sivaswamy's address and an official pronouncement. The *Anand* remarks that whereas the President of the Congress thought it proper to shut his eyes to the facts and realities of the country and indulge in building castles in the air the president of the Liberal Federation threw considerable light on every problem connected with the future of the country.

Re-appointment of Ministers in United Provinces.

Very few papers have so far commented on the re-appointment of the Ministers in these provinces. The *Leader* writes: We cannot congratulate the Governor on his decision nor the province, but we are not sorry for the way in which he has exercised his discretion. In the old Council the Ministers met with no effective opposition and had a happy time of it. But in the new they are not likely to find office a bed of roses. The *Sainik* writes: In our provinces the old Ministers will again serve as puppets in the hands of the Government. These appointments have frustrated the hopes of a large number of Independent candidates. We do not know whether to congratulate or to sympathize with Pandit Malaviya's team of the rich and the slaves which has got into the Council, for Rai Rajeshwar Bali and Thakur Rajendra Singh were both put forward as candidates of the Independent Congress Party. The *Aj* says that the *Leader's* editorial note on the re-appointment of old Ministers betrays the characteristic mentality of the Liberals, which has been causing unnecessary harm in public activities specially in the political field. It shows that the Liberals attach more importance to personalities than to principles. If the *Leader* cared for principles it ought not to have taken any objection to the re-appointment of Rai Rajeshwar Bali and Thakur Rajendra Singh as they belonged to its own party of progressives

and it ought not to have insisted that the Governor should have consulted the leaders of progressives in appointing Ministers. If these progressives are wise enough and do not worship mere personality they should join forces with the Swarajists and render ministry impossible in these provinces. The *Medina* writes: We expect that the Hon'ble Ministers will do even better than they did before in the discharge of their duties and will endeavour to improve the educational and economic condition of the province. It is true that they have been nominated by Government and are not legally responsible to the nation. Still as they belong to the nation and are possessed of sincere solicitude for the improvement of the country, they will try not to be indifferent to the present political atmosphere. The *Mashriq* congratulates the United Provinces Government on the re-appointment of the old Ministers and says that it was difficult for it to make a better choice. The present cabinet in the United Provinces commands the confidence of the entire public.

Communal representation.

The Muslim press is apprehensive, owing to the Viceroy's speech at Calcutta and the attitude of Hindu leaders, that an attempt might be made to tamper with communal representation. The *Hamdam* complains that Lala Lajpat Rai has since last year been persistently opposing separate representation and has in his speeches at Bombay, and in Northern India been attributing the present tainted communal atmosphere and riots to it. Hindu communal leaders now want to annul the Lucknow pact and to get the Congress to vote against separate representation even though the Muslims may leave that body. The Hindus having got no arguments in support of these unjust demands of theirs most brazenly accuse Muslims of communalism while they themselves have shown this vice in its worst aspect in the latest incident in connexion with Mr. Asaf Ali. Muslims can be expected to forego their special demands only if the Hindus abandon their militant attitude and gain the confidence of Muslims. But on the one hand the rights of Muslims are openly trampled upon and they are sought to be overawed by wealth and numbers and on the other they are taunted for insisting on defensive measures. How paradoxical is this attitude? The *Haqiqat* writes in a similar strain. The *Aziz-i-Hind* fears that Lord Irwin does not agree with the Muslim point of view regarding separate representation and urges that Muslims should try to convince His Excelleney and the coming Royal Commission that the rights of minorities cannot be safeguarded without it. It is ridiculous to anticipate that communal separatism will disappear from India.

Gurkhas in British India.

Calling attention to the importance of the Gurkha community in India and pleading for the fulfilment of its legitimate aspirations the *Himalayan Times* writes: It is believed in certain quarters that there exist adverse restrictions in the matter of the appointment of Gurkhas to higher ranks in the army and in responsible civil positions in Government service or to the grant of land jagirs in India. It is also stated that right to acquire land has been proscribed for the Gurkhas in certain provinces, as for instance in the Punjab, where they are said to have been declared as a "non-agricultural" community. So far we have not received any specific complaints from any side, which leads us to presume that these reports are either groundless or of an exaggerated nature. We, however, hope that the Government will be pleased to throw due light on the matter so as to remove all misapprehensions which might be lurking in the minds of certain Gurkha settlers with regard to their political status in this country, their civic rights, and their future in India.

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ALLAHABAD:
January 8, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 2 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 15, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The press is following the Chinese "nationalist" movement with keen and sympathetic interest and some vernacular papers are indulging in strong language in criticizing British policy in China. The *Leader* writes:—We think that as Britain is the most hated among foreign powers it should lose no time in putting itself right with the Chinese national sentiment without waiting for the views of other treaty powers. A free, peaceful, friendly and prosperous China is expected to be a more valuable customer than an impoverished, hostile and distracted China, and we think that time has come to face the issues squarely and courageously. In a subsequent article the paper writes:—The working of the nationalist ferment in China is both a portent and a warning. . . . . No intelligent man, whether he is Lord Birkenhead or any other responsible British statesman who is not obsessed with narrow ideas of self-interest and the spirit of racial arrogance and selfishness, can, on a broad survey of the internal and external situation, come to any other conclusion than that safety lies in bringing India into line with other self-governing portions of the British Empire as rapidly as possible and that the best way to overcome the feelings of hostility to British rule is to produce a conviction among the leaders of Indian thought that the British are in earnest in seeking to help India to reach the goal of self-government within a reasonable measure of time. In the course of two articles vehemently denouncing the attitude of European powers, specially of Britain, towards China the *Aj* writes:—The nationalism of China is on its trial. If it could protect itself from the bullets and gun-powder of imperialist Britain, if it did not get nervous at the diabolical deeds of Dyers, and if it saved itself from the snares of extremely diplomatic ambassadors, this would mean not only the salvation of China but the dawning of the good day for the whole of Asia. China with its forty crores of inhabitants is being trampled upon by thirteen foreign powers. The nationalist Chinese hold that it is the British who are practising the greatest oppression upon them. The Chinese statesmen are not unaware that the British imperialists are trying to tighten the bonds of subjection on the Eastern countries by the establishment of the Singapore naval base, and it is for this reason that they are first of all exerting pressure on the British. They know that the imperialist Britain will never do justice to Eastern countries of her own accord. Englishmen make a show of generosity when they find that they cannot resist a demand. China knows this, and this is why she is compelling Englishmen to show their generosity first. The *Anand* writes:—There is no doubt that the Asiatic nations will be pleased with the Chinese awakening because a well-organized China will enable Asia to raise its head high. The *Abhyudaya* says:—The independence of China will emancipate the whole of Asia from the domination of foreigners. It is for this reason that all the suffering nations of the world wish that China may emerge triumphant from this struggle. The *Desh Bhagat* says that the Chinese danger added to the Russian and Afganistan peril has made the authorities uneasy and this explains the visit of Lord Irwin and Lord Winterton to the Frontier. A conflict may be precipitated either by an attempt to introduce into other parts of the Frontier the methods applied in Waziristan or over the delimitation dispute with Afghanistan. No one can therefore say that the horizon on the Frontier is free from war-clouds. The *Hamdam* says that by the Italo-Albanian treaty Italy has obtained a virtual protectorate over Albania. The French and American press has exposed Britain's complicity in the conclusion of this alliance, and it is a pity that Britain in spite of her claim to be the greatest Muslim power in the world, does not

care to protect Muslim states. Some Muslim states have been deprived of their liberty by Britain herself and now she is being accused of responsibility for Italian aggression over the small Islamic state on the Adriatic. The British press is no doubt denying the charge, but the outside world which has seen many feats of British diplomacy in the past can hardly be expected to credit these denials.

The Congress.

Referring to the " murmurs of revolt " among young men on the occasion of the Gauhati Congress the *Aj* remarks that the youths are almost mad after political liberty . . . . The message of the Gauhati Congress is that the enthusiasm of the youths cannot subside without freeing the country, but if it is not rightly directed it is likely to be misused. The *Sada-i-Muslim* commends the decision of the Congress regarding the non-acceptance of Ministerships and opposition of Government measures and says :—The truth is that India is so helpless that she can do nothing more than this and those who are not prepared to do even this much for the attainment of freedom and the maintenance ot national respect should have no place in the country. The decision of the Congress has been welcomed by all except those gentlemen who regard it as no degradation and insult to go about with the beggar's bowl. Lala Lajpat Rai's contention that the Congress should have thrashed out the question of Hindu-Muslim unity in the open session only betrays his wickedness of heart. It is not a child's play to decide such momentous issues and the Congress has acted rightly in referring the subject to the All-India Congress Committee. The Congress resolutions about *charkha* and *khaddar* are also similarly commendable. The Congress session was in every way successful and was able to maintain Indian nationalism in spite of severe and dangerous attacks. The *Haqiqat* regrets that the Gauhati Congress has failed to tackle the Hindu-Muslim question and says that the refusal of Mr. Gandhi to resume the leadership of the country augers ill for the nation. The *Najat* holds the session to be eminently successful and remarks:—No doubt the presidential address contained nothing new, but it infused a new life by representing the national point of view on all important questions in a capable manner. It aptly justified the Swarajist attitude and rightly declared that the political centre of gravity had shifted from the bureaucratic Government and its supporters to the National Congress. The president most pertinently declared that diarchy was doomed and that any scheme of self-government which did not provide for popular control of the army, navy and relations with Indian states would prove futile. Mr. Iyengar's address is the united voice of India and it is up to Indians to respond sincerely to it during 1927. The *Medina* deplores that the president did not place any stimulating programme before the country and says :—The session came and passed off like a flood leaving only signs of destruction and devastation behind. There was nothing in the proceedings of the Congress likely to raise its prestige and the country has again been left in despair. It is extremely surprising that the Swarajists have not profited by their experience of the last three years.

The Muslim League.

The *Najat* says that Shaikh Abdul Qadir's presidential address at the Muslim League was a comprehensive and dignified utterance and faithfully echoed Muslim aspirations. He gave an example of Muslim tolerance by his references to the services of Hindu leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. R. Das to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. His views on the reforms were not much advanced, but his observations regarding questions affecting the relations between Muslims and other communities left nothing to be desired. He showed the height of reasonableness when he came to the question of representation of minorities and majorities. He rightly said that custom and law should not be quoted in regard to the right of music before mosques, but regard should be paid to the demands of humanity and courtesy. The *Haq* says that the learned and thoughtful address of Shaikh Abdul Qadir deserves the careful attention of every Muslim national worker. He has justified every expectation and has studiously eschewed sensationalism and idealism. The Muslims are grateful for his views as a whole, though his observations on the Hedjaz question are one-sided. The *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates the League on conducting its proceedings in such a restrained fashion in spite of the excitement caused by the Swamiji's murder. The League has not stinted in passing progressive resolutions and has not lagged behind the Congress in this

respect. The *Nizam Alam* deplores that the attendance at the sessions of the Muslim League and the Educational Conference was very low and says:—The formal resolutions passed at the League hardly deserve any notice. When Muslims do not attend meetings over which so much money is spent it is clear that they are not interested in the progress of their community.

The Murder of Swami Shraddhanand.

The murder of Swami Shraddhanand remains the chief topic of press comments. The Muslim papers continue to condemn the outrage and to deprecate the tendency of the Hindu press to create bad blood between the two communities by attributing it to a Muslim conspiracy and by trying to further the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements. The *Aligarh Mail* deplores that the murder of Swami Shraddhanand has been seized upon as a God-send opportunity by the sangathanist press to excite communal ill-will and to play the Hindus against the Muslims. It adds:—We hope the Hindu press and public men will give up their policy of exciting communal hatred and would concentrate their attention, in conjunction with the best brains amongst the Muslims, to devise ways and means to bridge the gulf that exists between the two great communities in the land and thus make *Swaraj* for India possible. The *Day-Light* is of opinion that although the murder was the act of a single individual, the Hindus have a just cause of resentment against the Muslims as the atmosphere for the outrage was created by the Muslims in general through their insane and irresponsible propaganda against the *sangathan* and *shuddhi* movements. The paper regards the murder as a challenge to Hindus and says:—"The Hindus realize the responsibility of taking up the gauntlet. It is nothing else but to become ready for many sacrifices of this nature and consequently to carry on the work of *shuddhi* with greater intensity and thoroughness. This is the message which the closed eyes and the wounded chest of the martyr have only too plainly given to the Hindus." The *Anand* regrets that the Delhi police has not yet been able to detect the conspiracy behind the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and remarks that if it is not soon unearthed there is the danger of other Hindu leaders also losing their lives. It is the duty of Lord Irwin, says the paper, to depute high officials of the C. I. D. to trace the conspiracy. The *Pratap* refers to the illuminations in certain mosques at Delhi, Meerut and Cawnpore on the occasion of the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand and to the meetings held by the Muslims to rejoice at the murder and remarks that a religion which can exult over such a murder does not deserve to be called a good religion and those who rejoice in this manner betray the darkness of their hearts and will yet take a long time to attain humanity. The *Haqiqat* regrets that Swamiji's deplorable murder has given bigoted Hindu papers an opportunity for exciting the whole Hindu public against the Muslims. The inflammatory writings of these journals show that they want to get some Muslim leaders into trouble by raising the false cry of a "deep laid conspiracy." Khwaja Hasan Nizami has been marked out for revenge. The Hindu representative of the Associated Press at Delhi did not publish the Khwaja's message on the outrage. Does this mean that there is a "deep laid conspiracy" of Delhi Hindus to injure the Khwaja? The honesty of the Muslim police officials of Delhi is being impugned and Muslim leaders are being howled down probably to coerce them into giving up *tabligh* work. If Hindus can scent a conspiracy in spite of the accused's denial, Muslims also can retort and say that there is a conspiracy to defame Muslim leaders. The *Najat* writes:—After the unanimous condemnation of the deplorable outrage by all responsible leaders it was hoped that the Hindus would not attribute it to any conspiracy, and it is a pity that so soon after the Gauhati Congress many sober-minded Hindu leaders are losing their sense of responsibility and are letting go their tongues in order to reinforce the lamentable *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements. The feelings of ignorant Hindus are being inflamed without any thought of the undesirable consequences. Mr. Malaviya also held the Muslim papers responsible for the murder on the ground that they used to style the Swami as an enemy of Islam. This allegation is not based on facts and it would be so good if Hindu leaders were, in view of the critical situation, to refrain from accusing all sober-minded Muslims of sympathy with the act of a single individual and thus rousing the passions of ignorant Hindus to an uncontrollable pitch. The *Medina* says:—It may be established in course of the trial that Abdul Rashid was a lunatic. Is it then just that you should hold the entire Muslim community responsible for the murder committed by a lunatic, although not a single Muslim has commended the deed? Is this not dishonest and immoral on your part?

Speech of the Maharaja of Benares.

The speech of the Maharaja of Benares at the state banquet given in honour of the Viceroy has evoked strong criticism. Under the heading "A hopeless reactionary" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We have not in recent years come across a more reactionary pronouncement. The Maharaja, it would appear, has lost all sense of proportion and perspective in his desire to please his guest. . . . We have rarely witnessed a more disgraceful and less excusable display of petty-minded selfishness. The *Aj* says that every thinking Indian cannot but feel grieved at the speech of the Maharaja of Benares. The sentiments given vent to in the speech do not accord with the position of a ruler of an Indian state inasmuch as it embodies a whole-sale condemnation of India and its inhabitants, past and present, and praises only Englishmen and their administration of India. Lord Irwin must have laughed in his sleeves at this speech which was full of wrong, contradictory and reactionary statements. It is statements like these which cause estrangement between the rulers and the ruled and make sensible politicians regard Indian states as obstacles in the progress of the country. The *Abhyudaya* writes: Being a lover of truth Lord Irwin himself must have pitied the want of self-respect in the Maharaja. The *Surya* remarks that the speech of the Maharaja surpasses even the most reactionary utterances of the British die-hards. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the antiquated, reactionary and unacceptable views aired by the Maharaja of Benares were altogether novel. It appears that His Highness is not an inhabitant of India and has no knowledge of the aspirations of his fellow-countrymen. His Highness should not have thoughtlessly given expression to views which would not only displease British Indians but would also dishearten his own subjects.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* publishes extracts from a letter sent to it by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru from Switzerland in the course of which he takes Lala Lajpat Rai to task for his view that the Afghans would capture India if the British left her, and remarks that it is impossible for a backward nation like the Afghans to capture India in the present times, and even assuming that that was possible, it would be better to face that danger rather than to accept the slavery of the British out of fear. Proceeding he says that the Congress must have complete *Swaraj* as its goal which among other things means the withdrawal of British forces from India and the transfer of the Indian Army to the control of the nation. It should also be emphatically declared that the Indian Army cannot join in any war in which Britain is involved without the sanction of the nation. The British are making preparations for a big war, and when the need for it comes they will again resort to those tactics which they had adopted on the occasion of the last great war. We should from now prepare our people to frustrate those tactics. The *Vir Sandesh* publishes an article under the heading "At the altar of sacrifice" contributed to it by Devi Prasad Saksena, Sahityalankar, in the course of which he refers to the sacrifices made by Mazzini, Washington, McSwiney, Joan of Arc and Maharana Pratap and Shivaji for the freedom of their countries and remarks:—If you also want freedom you should follow this path and embracing all hardships advance towards the altar of sacrifice. Drinking the wine of love of freedom you should become so inebriated that the world may be frightened at the sight of your terrible form, and in the words of poet *Bhadra* let not the sword go thirsty for want of the enemy's blood, let us fight like lions in the battlefield and O God! let us again be intoxicated with the wine of patriotism. Let us destroy the very existence of unrighteousness, oppression, injustice and irreligion. Let us once again manifest our terrible form to the world at the sight of which Alexandar could not dare to cross the Ganges and Seleucus had to lay his sceptre at the feet of Chandragupta and to whom the world-conquering British lion was about to surrender only as far back as 1920-21. Discussing Lord Irwin's speech at the Saturday Club, Calcutta, the *Desh Bhagat* says that His Excellency's words show that the reforms are meant only to delude Indians and to put them off for a time and not to lead them to self-government. His Excellency thus wanted to assure European capitalists in India that they were not at all endangered by the reforms. It is good that Lord Irwin has admitted that the Reforms have not given any powers to Indians, but were only a device to meet the changed times. His Lordship's speech also makes it clear that the Royal Commission will not add to the powers of Indians. We are grateful to His Lordship for his frankness in saying that the attainment of *Swaraj* lay in the hands of Indians. They should demonstrate their strength to Parliament if they want *Swaraj* from it. Lord Irwin and Mr. Langford James

have opened the eyes of Indians to the fact that the British are ruling India for their own benefit and not to fit Indians for *Swaraj*. We hope our moderate friends will now be convinced that *Swaraj* cannot be had as a gift from Parliament, but will have to be obtained by the united strength of Indians. In another article the paper says that English politicians have begun to fear that India may soon pass out of their possession and Mr. Bertrand Russell has recently contributed an article to the *Hindu* giving expression to that apprehension. Undoubtedly the Indian people are tired of British policy and are always seeking means of deliverance from it. If they get a golden opportunity for their deliverance they may avail themselves of it and then the golden bird of India may pass out for ever from British possession. Even now there is time for British statesmen to hearken to Mr. Russell's advice and to mete out brotherly and equal treatment to India so that there may be no danger of separation left and India may sincerely help England if she becomes involved in some great war.

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* lends its support to the resolution of the All-India Shia Conference for the appointment of a Muslim judge in the Patna High Court and ridicules the contention of the *Milap* of Lahore that efficiency and not creed should be the criterion of selection. It inquires why the predominance of European officials in the public services is objected to by Hindus when Government regards them as more efficient. Matters relating to Islamic law and custom can best be decided by a Muslim judge and there is greater need for a Muslim judge in the Patna High Court because Muslims own a considerable portion of zamindari property in Bihar. There is also no dearth of capable Muslim lawyers suited for that office. One Mohd. Yahya writing in *Al Adl* says that while registration of Muslim marriages is desirable, something should be done to decrease the large amount of *Mehr* fixed on most occasions. Arrangements should also be made so that *qaziz* or registrars may be easily available and may not charge high fees. The *Hamdam* strongly opposes Dr. Chokse's proposal for stopping cow-slaughter in the Bombay Corporation and says that the sad economic plight of the country is due not to dearth of animals but to their abundance and the scarcity of fodder. Any proposal to place legal restrictions on cow-slaughter which would deprive Muslims of a popular article of diet will be greatly resented by them.

The Exchange ratio.

The *Haqiqat* publishes a communicated article in which the writer regrets that some Bombay capitalists are setting up an agitation against the 18*d*. ratio, though as a matter of fact only 20 or 25 per cent. of Indian farmers export their produce. While the 16*d*. ratio would decrease the income of the general public by 12½ per cent., the price of necessaries of life would rise in the same proportion. Economists who have studied the question from the purely economic point of view are of opinion that the 18*d*. ratio will benefit farmers, labourers and wage earners and also make for stability of trade. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the popular representatives in the Assembly will not be influenced by the baneful agitation of a few capitalists, but will serve their constituents by voting for the Currency Bill. One Hasan Aziz writing in the *Rahnuma* says that the Bombay mill-owners have shown by their insistence on an export duty on cotton that they are the enemies of the agriculturists and have some hidden motive in opposing the 18*d*. ratio. The members of the Assembly who should have the interests of the agriculturists at heart should not vote with the capitalists in the matter of the exchange ratio.

The United Provinces Council.

The *Oudh Akhbar* welcomes the unanimous re-election of Rai Sita Ram Bahadur as President of the Council as he enjoys the confidence of all parties. The suggestion of Raja Shambhu Dayal that the proceedings of the Council should be published in Urdu and Hindi so as to give political education to the masses is highly commendable and we hope that the *Oudh Akhbar* will be selected for the publication of the proceedings in extenso. It is a pity that the liberals who have gained their seats through the help of the taluqdars of Oudh and Agra are trying to injure them and to wreck the present Ministry. There is a great difference between non-acceptance of Ministries and wrecking them. If any party cannot on account of its principles accept Ministries it can be excused, but it is the liberals alone who would unnecessarily wreck an established Ministry even though they denounce the Swarajists as wreckers. We might remind the liberal leaders that the Swarajists did not try to wreck the Ministry even though they were in large numbers in the last Council. We strongly condemn this attitude

of the liberals and hope that all other parties will denounce it and refuse to associate with them in this undesirable activity.

The Patuakhali *satyagrah*.

The Patuakhali *satyagrah* campaign is receiving increasing attention and sympathy in the Hindu Press. In the course of an impassioned appeal to the residents of Cawnpore to enrol themselves as volunteers to take part in the Patuakhali *satyagrah* campaign the *Vartman* writes:—Patuakhali is the battle-field for the protection of the civic rights of Indians. The brave people of Cawnpore wish to die for their honour. The Cawnpore Congress Volunteers Association has decided to send a batch of 60 volunteers. We appeal to the people of Cawnpore to take part in this religious war. The *Abhyudaya* notes with satisfaction that the country is now paying greater attention to the Patuakhali *satyagrah* and that enthusiam among people is increasing. It extols the action of the three *satyagrahis* from the United Provinces who courted imprisonment on January 5, and observes that if volunteers from all parts of India rally in Patuakhali along with the innumerable volunteers of Bengal victory is assured, and this victory would be a victory over the policy of divide and rule and communal politics.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the present communal tension and to the possibility of the British Empire undergoing "a change when the destined hour may come" the *Himalayan Times* writes:—Our eyes turn to the historical Khyber Pass when we think of that eventuality. History is bound to repeat itself. To our mind the task of any Muslim invader from across the Hindu Kush will be rendered doubly easier by the whole-hearted and active co-operation with them of their co-religionists themselves. How many among us have looked ahead to survey the entire range of possibilities with which the blissful indefiniteness of tomorrow is full? The *Bharat Dharma* says that it is no use trying to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity as all efforts in this direction are doomed to failure. Hindu leaders will, therefore, do well not to attempt this impossible task, but to pay special attention to the organization of Hindus without which all efforts for the progress of the country will prove fruitless.

Re-appointment of Ministers in United Provinces.

The *Sewak* regrets that there has been no change in the ministry owing to the mistaken notion that the zamindar party is in a majority in the Council. There is no regular party of zamindars and they have not entered the Council with any particular programme. It is a question whether, unlike the past, there will now be joint responsibility among the Ministers. The progressives are in a majority and the Ministers will meet with a stiff opposition handicapped as they will be for want of capable speakers on their side. The present Council will not be a bed of roses for the ministry. We are of opinion that if the Ministers are not there for any particular gain they should either join some party or resign.

The Viceroy at Benares.

The *Aj* strongly protests against the traffic restrictions during the Viceroy's visit to Benares and says:—Neither could the general public of Benares see the Viceroy nor could the latter see the city. What was done was a mere show and had not the least relation to reality. The Viceregal visit only made the gulf between the rulers and the ruled more clearly evident. The Viceroy was accorded welcome not by the public or its representatives, but by the officials. When all the power is concentrated in the hands of the bureaucracy it is impossible for the people to extend a real welcome to the King's representative or for the latter to redress their grievances. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks:—Whatever might have been the rejoicings of the local officials and *raises* at the Viceregal visit, the general public of Benares was indifferent to it.

Anniversary of Guru Govind Singh.

Protesting against the "novel restrictions" imposed by the district magistrate of Allahabad on the proposed Sikh procession the *Leader* writes:—Such repeated concession to the truculence of a community cannot make for peace nor enhance respect for authority in the eyes of the general public, while it cannot but cause resentment among those whose exercise of lawful rights is curtailed.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
January 15, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILG BRANCH
15 FEB. 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 3 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 22, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The Chinese situation is the chief topic of press comments. A number of extremist papers are indulging in very strong language in criticizing British policy in China. The *Aj* writes:—Britain's Dyerism runs its course in China also. The British are undertaking the brutal scheme of enchaining China and other Eastern countries in bonds of permanent subjection and of humiliating Japan by establishing their biggest naval base at Singapore. There is no doubt that China will be utterly ruined unless she extricates herself from British domination before the completion of that scheme. We hope that the unity born of the burning passion for liberty in China will save her from the terrible naval forces of Britain and pave the way for the salvation of the whole of Asia. The *Abhyudaya* apprehends a world war in China in the near future and says that the peace-loving people of India want peace and complete success to nationalism in China and India and pray for the restoration of the power of Asiatics in Asia. The paper refutes the contention that the British have exercised self-restraint in China and says that British history does not record a single instance of British benevolence not actuated by self-interest. The British have always practised diplomacy and deceit whenever they found a chance of doing so. How then has this Britain turned a Mahatma today? Why is this wolf posing as a sheep today? We assert that the British self-restraint was dictated by diplomacy and not by generosity, by cowardliness and not by chivalry. In a subsequent article the paper agrees with the *Manchester Guardian's* remark that unless the Indian constitution is changed to the satisfaction of the people, the same scenes may be repeated in India as are being witnessed in China. It adds that the Chinese independence is bringing *swaraj* nearer to India. The *Pratap* writes:—What was it that Great Britain left undone to crush China? Unarmed Chinese women and children were fired upon, cities were burnt, property worth millions was destroyed, China was regarded as a hereditary property of the British and the Chinese Government was destroyed at several places; attempts were made to weaken the central Government and the cruel and plundering generals were encouraged to fan the fire of domestic war. In short Great Britain did everything to swallow up China. But what does the soul of China say today? Let foolish rulers see that such is the result of oppression. Will they commit the same mistake in India also which they first committed in Ireland and are now committing in China? The eyes of all Asia are at present focussed on China and all the subject nations of the Asiatic continent are praying to God for her emancipation. The *Shankar* says:—It is strange that the prudence displayed by the British in China and the lesson learnt by them from Ireland are all forgotten in the case of India. Statesmanship consists in making India free before the Chinese or the Irish history repeats itself in this country. The *Hitaishi* writes:—If China is able to defend herself against the bullets of imperialistic Britain, if she is not frightened by the Dyerian brutalities, and if she does not fall a victim to the snares of crooked diplomats, she will not only be able to effect her own emancipation but will also bring good days to the whole of Asia. The *Desh Bhagat* says that the Chinese nationalists are right in their demand for the evacuation of the Chinese towns by the British, and if British capitalists and imperialists persist in their wrong course it would be the duty of the members of the Assembly and the various Councils to advise them that they should not ask for help in men and money from India in the event of war. They should also appeal to their countrymen as their accredited representatives not to help Government with men and money in case of war. This would not be in a spirit of opposition to Government, but

would be a really loyal service to it as a true friend is one who does not flatter but gives sound advice in times of difficulty. If even after this open avowal the British try to use Indian troops and money, they should be opposed by all means as a war would be injurious not only to the British Empire but also to Indian peace as well.

The murder of Swami Shraddhanand.

Communal recriminations in connexion with the murder of Swami Shraddhanand are growing in bitterness. The *Aligarh Mail* complains that the Hindu papers have started a regular campaign of villification against the Mussalmans and have been indulging in the most filthy and disgraceful remarks about Islam, its prophet and heroes in connexion with the murder of Swami Shraddhanand. It is the duty of the Government, adds the paper, to see that everything that endangers public peace and order is stopped at once. The present campaign which is being conducted in the Sangathanist Press seriously threatens public tranquillity and yet the Government takes no steps to prevent it. The *Anand* remarks that the efforts which are being made by a large number of responsible Muslims to secure the release of Abdul Rashid show that despite the professions of Muslim leaders to the contrary, the majority of the Muslims feel gratified at the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand. Is Hindu-Muslim unity possible when such a mentality exists? The *Gyan Shakti* remarks :—It is such teachings of the Quran as enjoin the plundering, torturing and slaying of the *kafirs* which are mostly responsible for the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and such other crimes. Such a religious book does not deserve to exist in any civilised country and the Government should certainly proscribe it. If the whole book is not proscribed, at least the portions inculcating violence should be proscribed. It is the duty of the entire Hindu community to suspend the *khaddar* propaganda and the agitation for *swaraj* for a short time and devote itself wholly to the *shuddhi* movement until seven crores of Muslims have been reclaimed. The *Arya Mitra* writes :—Some Muslims are extolling Abdul Rashid's action and are honouring him with the high titles of Ghazi and Syed. Some of these are so evil-natured that they cannot even bear to see the condolence meetings held to mourn the loss of the Swami and offer threats to those who organize them. This shows that a fire of hostility is kindling in the hearts of some staunch followers of Islam. The Government ought to put down this hidden fire at once. The paper publishes a poem on the murder of Swami Shraddhanand by one Tika Ram Bhatta in the course of which he says :—O Abdul Rashid ; if followers of this faith are like thee we will surely uproot it. If this is the true peace and true Islam, the murder of Shraddhanand is the message of its destruction. The *Pratap* writes :—It is true that Muslim leaders condemned the murder, but what efforts are they making to exorcise that fanaticism to which the Swamiji's murder is attributable? If the Muslims do not change their views and if they do not give up their antiquated notions they will be destroyed. In an editorial note under the heading "Arya manners and sense of propriety" the *Medina* remarks :—The murder of Swami Shraddhanand has made the Samajists break all bounds of propriety, and these inveterate enemies of the country and peace are, on the pretext of expressing sorrow at the Swami's murder, disturbing the peace of the country. A correspondent from Jamshedpur says that at a meeting of the Aryas held there, an Arya Samajist delivered himself of the following :—"These unworthy men killed Swami Dayanand, but we kept silent. They then killed Lekh Ram and we still kept silent. They have now killed Swami Shraddhanand. We taught these dogs and savages. Today they are opposing us. Unite and you will see that these seven crores will also unite with the 22 crores of Hindus." In this short speech the foul-mouthed and lying Samajist has, besides speaking three white lies, used words likely to cause a commotion. The claim of Arya Samajists that they taught the Muslims is a downright falsehood, for it was Islam which taught manners and civilisation to the savage Hindus given to the practice of idolatry and mean conduct. Is it not speeches like this that are responsible for the disturbance of peace in this country? Will our rulers be awakened to the need of setting the affairs of this country right only when the land of India becomes red with blood? The *Hamdam* writes :—Only recently speaking as president of the Hindu Conference at Dacca Dr. Moonje, the famous *danda baz* leader of the Central Provinces, tried his best to incite the Hindus by conjuring up an imaginary picture of danger to Hindu religion. Turning to *shuddhi* and *sangathan* he said that Swamiji had worked for *swaraj* in "Hindu India." This phrase "Hindu India" has not been coined by Dr. Moonje. As a matter of fact a respectable body of Hindus is running after this

chimera and believes that India belongs to Hindus alone and Muslims and others have no claim over it. Dr. Moonje also has betrayed his mentality by using the phrase "Hindu India." He has got into the habit of delivering such speeches and has been further encouraged in his course by the failure of the Bengal and the Punjab Governments to take action against him. Anyway the existence of such leaders is an evil augury for India and until they mend their ways the atmosphere in the country cannot be improved. The *Haqiqat* complains that the Hindu Press has been altogether silent regarding the murder of Mufti Mahbub Ali which took place in the riot that followed the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand. This silence of the Hindu Press and Hindu leaders cannot be justified by any canon of humanity and tolerance. The *Najat* regrets that the masses misled by irresponsible leaders are widening the gulf between the two communities ignorant of the fact that they cannot thus serve any useful purpose but only strengthen the fetters of their serfdom. To take only one of Mr. Malaviya's speeches out of many, he has recently said at Gorakhpur that Hindus should establish *akharas*, listen to the Mahabharat and Ramayana and develop Hindi. This means that Hindus should learn to be fighters and should subdue the Muslims. Mr. Malaviya's speeches are full of sentiments which make for discord and antagonism to Muslims. The result is that both communities are at war with each other, though as compared with the Hindus, the Muslims are showing tolerance and are always striving for unity. Baffled in their peace-making efforts the Muslims also are losing heart and Hindus should utilize this moment for deliberation and strive for unity. They should not take the act of Abdul Rashid to be the act of the community and should utilize Swamiji's death to promote Hindu-Muslim union which he had most at heart.

Council politics.

The *Anand* remarks that the defeat of the Swarajist candidates in the election of the Council president in the Bengal and Bihar Legislative Councils has conclusively proved that the Swarajists do not form a majority even in Bengal and Bihar in spite of the boastings of Messrs. Nehru and Iyengar to the contrary. It is time, therefore, that the Swarajists should cease to pose as the true representatives of the nation. The *Aj* bitterly condemns the passage of the motion regarding the ministers' salaries in the Bengal Council and remarks :—Bengal too has bowed down to the bureaucracy. The self-respect of Bengal has been dragged to the dust and the obduracy of the bureaucracy has come out triumphant ultimately. One has to hang down one's head in shame and grief over such a fall of proud Bengal. The disciples of the late Mr. Tilak in Bombay, Berar and the Central Provinces hold it to be statesmanship to kneel down before the bureaucracy unconditionally and the proud Bengalis, quite oblivious of the self-sacrifice of the late Mr. C. R. Das, are following the same anti-national policy. This shows that India's bad days are not yet over. In these circumstances it is impossible for the national agitation to be fruitful and lasting unless villages are made the centre of nationalist activities this time.

Ministers in United Provinces.

Commenting on the report that efforts are being made in some quarters for the overthrow of the present ministry in the United Provinces, the *Aj* urges Congress members of the Council to remain neutral in case a vote of non-confidence in the ministers is moved so that the liberals may be defeated and says :—We wish that the bureaucracy may get only incapable ministers who may not be able to do more lasting injury to the country. It should be the chief aim of the Congress members to frustrate the hopes of those who strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy in the name of communal interests and want to become ministers themselves. The *Haqiqat* accuses Mr. Chintamani of intriguing against the present ministry in the United Provinces to further his own ambitions. It is confident that Muslim members will not be influenced by him and the tenure of the Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf will be secure. It however fears that Mr. Chintamani might be able to wean a considerable number of Hindu members by throwing out political baits to the Swarajists and playing upon the personal prejudices and selfishness of certain zamindar members, but hopes that the two Hindu ministers will also put up a stiff fight.

Political propaganda.

Referring to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's recent contribution to the *Pratap*, the *Hamdam* attributes the decline of non-cooperation to the Bardoli retreat and the birth of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements, and urges that nothing can be gained by merely believing in non-cooperation in theory when it cannot be translated into practice owing to communal differences. The need of the moment therefore is

to compose Hindu-Muslim differences and then non-cooperation can be revived and the nation as a whole can be prepared for passive resistance to the bureaucratic administration. The *Haqiqat* publishes a letter from Mr. Muzzaffar Hasan, Secretary, Congress Committee, Kabul, in reply to Lala Lajpat Rai's charges in which the writer says that the committee has the complete independence of India as its ideal and wants to see a federal republican government established there. It consists of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims and never wants to establish Afghan rule in India. The *Najat* complains that the average income per head of Indians has been decreasing during the last 150 years of British rule and attributes this to the deliberate indifference of the Government towards forces which are retarding progress. Proceeding it says:—The Indian peasant who forms the backbone of the Indian population is a picture of living death. The writings of Englishmen themselves go to show how prosperous India was in the past and how far England had profited from her. They have also exposed the fact that in return for these benefits the English have introduced the policy of divide and rule. Several Viceroys and Governors and other officials and English publicists have supported this policy and that of keeping Indians ignorant. Indians should realize that subjection is at the root of all their ills.

The Muslim League.

In the course of a leading article on the presidential address of the Muslim League the *Medina* writes:—The president of the League seems fully aware that there is a general feeling among the Hindus that India belongs to Hindus only and they alone are entitled to its blessings. It is this feeling which is responsible for the opposition of almost all Hindu leaders to separate representation of minorities and the maintenance of communal rights. Muslims should henceforth give up all tall talk of peace with Hindus and earnestly endeavour to improve their own condition. If this is done the time will soon come when their Hindu friends will be found willing to accept any pact that may be considered necessary. The president has truly voiced the feelings of Muslims on the subject of communal representation. If the coming Royal Commission on the Reforms does not provide for the protection of Muslim rights, then Muslims will not only refuse to accept the Reforms, but will also be obliged for the sake of self-preservation to establish direct relations with foreign powers.

The Back Bay Committee Report.

The *Leader* commends the Back Bay Committee Report and writes:—The restrained and dignified language in which they have drawn up their indictment may appear to be too mild to those who feel strongly on the subject, but the lucidity with which they have traced the history of the inception of the scheme, the care with which they have apportioned blame for the disastrous failure, and the effectiveness with which they have marshalled the facts lend weight and authority to the document. If such grave mismanagement and loss had occurred in a department under the control and direction of Indians, what political capital would not have been made as to the efficiency and capacity of Indians. But we dare say that if the development department had been placed in charge of a minister things would not have been so discreditably managed. Bureaucratic "efficiency," which we are asked to admire so much, has led to disastrous financial results and the country wants to be saved from such costly and ruinous "efficiency." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* charaterises the report as a white-washing document and says that it was a miserable failure. The net result of the inquiry, says the paper, is that further public money was uselessly spent on a committee which has brought out nothing by its investigations which was not already known. The public will not be satisfied with the publication of a report which fails to give satisfaction on essential points.

Indian States.

The *Haq* condemns the campaign of calumny being conducted by certain Hindu papers against the Nizam and says that it is inspired by sinister motives. The initiative was taken by St. Nihal Singh, but the flame was really fanned by those selfish persons who found their illicit sources of income drying up under the enlightened policy of the Nizam. It is now the duty of the responsible officials of the Nizam's Government to establish a publicity bureau which would not only contradict the lies that are being assiduously disseminated against the State, but would also serve as a channel through which the Government of India could be kept acquainted with the true facts. The *Hamdam* and the *Haqiqat* also protest against the attitude of the Government and the Hindus towards the Nizam.

Anniversary of Guru Govind Singh.

The *Abhyudaya* strongly protests against the restrictions imposed on the Sikh procession at Allahabad as a result of which it had to be given up and remarks :—The only courses open to a self-respecting community which has been wronged are either to pocket such insults and observe mourning instead of rejoicing on its festive occasions if it is weak or to practise *satyagrah* if it is strong and organized. If the Government's attitude in this matter does not change there is no doubt that there will be repetitions of the Patuakhali spectacle everywhere. The *Surya* and the *Anand* also protest against the restriction.

Currency Bill.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The mulish obstinacy of the Government in refusing to budge from a position which they have taken up receives further illustration in the three important Bills embodying the recommendations of the Currency Commission. We are not going to launch forth into a discussion of the arguments for and against the 18*d.* ratio . . . Our point is rather to emphasize the responsibility and irresponsiveness of a Government which has embarked upon a ircurrency policy without paying the least attention to the organized and informed opposition of the sons of the soil.

Gurkhas in British India.

In the course of the second instalment of an article on the position of Gurkhas in British India the *Himalayan Times* writes :—"We have received information from a reliable source that directions have been issued by the Political and Foreign department of the Indian Government that Nepalese subjects should not be employed in any capacity in the civil administration of this country . . . To retain the Gurkhas in the army or the police and to declare them ineligible for service in other departments is indeed a very inexplicable and indefensible line of policy which Indians as well as Gurkhas must protest against with equal force." The paper suspects that this order was inspired from Nepal and writes :—Will the British and the Nepal Governments be pleased to throw sufficient light on the subject with a view to disarm public suspicion.

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ALLAHABAD :
January 22, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

22 FEB. 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 4 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JANUARY 29, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The Chinese situation continues to absorb the attention of the Press. A number of papers vehemently protest against the despatch of Indian troops for the "suppression of a nation struggling for freedom from the tyranny of Western capitalists and imperialists." The *Leader* writes:—The working committee of the Congress has voiced Indian opinion in calling upon the Government in India not to allow Indian troops or resources to be used against China, but our Government will have to carry out the orders of its masters who are not the Indian people. Indian troops have been before this employed for imperial purposes abroad. Government should, however, know that the employment of Indian troops against the Chinese nationalists will be strongly disapproved in this country. Referring to the disallowance of the adjournment motion in the Legislative Assembly regarding the despatch of Indian troops to China the paper says:—In spite of the disallowance it is abundantly clear that Indian opinion is strongly opposed to the employment of Indian troops against the Chinese nationalists who are fighting for freedom and justice and are in revolt against the policy of foreign exploitation. But the attitude of the people of this country is not reflected in the action of the Government. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The efforts of China to shake off the foreign yoke have the fullest and the most enthusiastic support of Indians, but such is our helplessness that while we are on the side of China, Indian soldiers must fight against the Chinese. This humiliation is unbearable. We never felt before that we were a nation of slaves until now when we are asked to war with a people striving to come to their own. The *Pratap* interprets the despatch of British forces as a preparation for war against China and remarks that Britain is expert in the art of discrediting her enemy in war by carrying on a mendacious propaganda against him. There is no guarantee, therefore, that China will not be subjected to the same misrepresentation as was organized against Germany during the great war. The barbarity of the British traders and their maltreatment of the Chinese is too well-known and Sir Douglas Haig cannot throw dust into the eyes of the world by claiming the legitimacy of the British trade operations in China. The *Aj* writes:—Troops are being despatched from India too to deprive China of her remaining independence by suppressing her nationalism. Every patriotic Indian will be grieved to hear that the troops maintained at his cost are being employed to deprive an Asiatic country of its independence. This terrible injustice should be opposed in the Legislative Assembly and throughout the country. We do not like that a single pice or single drop of blood of India should be utilized in destroying China. In a subsequent article under the heading "British justice in China" the paper refers to British preparations against China and to the statements of members of the British Cabinet that these preparations were intended for the safety of British nationals in China and for the preservation of world peace and says:—We all know full well the hollowness of these statements. Who does not know what the preservation of law and order signifies? We know very well the British political meanings of the words justice, self-defence, law and order and the like. Today the same justice is being done to China as was done to India through the lawless laws. The move behind the British justice as embodied in the British memorandum of December 18 is to benefit Britain by squandering the money of China and by setting her own generals against one another. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks:—As long as China continued to be an opium-eater and as long as she remained weak and servile there was no limit to the empty threats administered to her, and her provinces were interfered with but when she summoned courage

and was determined to kill and be killed the mentality of the British changed. Indians can derive a lesson from this new awakening in China which has brought about a change in the treatment of the British towards her as the situation in both the countries is similar. The past and present conditions of China teach us that India cannot become free until she becomes strong. The *Shakti* publishes in its editorial columns a signed article by one Manohar Pant in the course of which he remarks that Indians should rejoice that China is trying heart and soul to extricate herself from the clutches of the foreigners. The *Najat* justifies the opposition of the Chinese nationalists to foreign aggression and says that the Government which was most forward in its blood-thirstiness and hard-heartedness is now most in danger. British prestige is at a very low ebb now in China and their soldiers are being driven like sheep towards the sea from Hankow. This punishment of British pride is not confined to Hankow alone but has extended to other British colonies. But in spite of these reverses the British are pursuing their diplomatic propaganda of preserving a calm exterior by asserting that they do not avenge themselves on the Chinese and expect other powers to help them in upholding civilization. This is done to satisfy subject races and to sacrifice them in this war. But the real fact is that the British are as nervous as they were when they apprehended air raids on London during the last war. This war is fraught with great dangers. There is no dearth of enemies of Britain in Central Asia and the neighbouring countries of China are fully prepared to give a reply to British designs against China. British prestige in Asia depends on peace in China and if this Eastern powder magazine is ignited the backbone of Britain will be prematurely broken. In another article the paper says :— If the assertion that the Bolsheviks are behind the Chinese is true the Chinese movement will scorch Western capitalism in its rapid sweep and India, Japan, Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey and Turkestan will not escape its influence. A time will surely come when except India almost all the Asiatic countries will be arrayed against Western capitalism and imperialism and then just as the great war overturned Governments in Europe, these Western votaries of avarice will meet a similar fate in Asia. Mutual jealousies will hardly permit the powers to unite against Asia and Britain alone will scarcely be able to combat this world-wide Asiatic combination and the issue will go against her. Anyway this will lead to a decisive struggle between the East and the West which will uproot the foundations of materialistic governments. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that for the last 75 years not only Britain but other powers also have been busy pecking at the flesh of China to satiate their greed and avarice. As, however, Britain has taken the leading part, she has become the special target of resentment and is being deprived of all the privileges she has gained owing to her superior strength and the weakness of the Chinese. Indians should particularly take lesson from the Chinese boycott of British goods. If Indians want freedom they also should free themselves from dependence on foreign manufactures before thinking of the evacuation of British troops. Of course the boycott should not be limited to British goods, but should extend to all foreign wares. This will not only secure freedom to India from the subjection of foreign governments but also provide employment for the poor and unemployed. The Chinese are bound to regain their freedom this time. Will Indians also now give serious thought to freeing themselves from subjection? The *Medina* says :—After all the evil nature of Britain has found an excuse for sending naval forces to China. Those who are acquainted with the affairs of the East will regard this aggressive policy of Britain as most impolitic. Bolshevism has for long been impatient for a sanguinary conflict with Britain. If the British Navy takes any action in China its effect will be far-reaching.

The murder of Swami Shraddhanand.

One Shyam Sundar Lal writing in the *Arya Mitra* refutes the Muslim contention that the murder of Swami Shraddhanand can only be the act of a lunatic and that Islam never inculcates such murders and says :—The fact is that whatever Islam may be in theory, in practice, it surely maintains some machines which from time to time produce some such lunatics. Islam literally means peace, but the world's history tells us that a peace which is only another name for religious fanaticism and superstition has never allowed the world to live in peace and has always encouraged violence. One Babu Parmeshwari Sahai writing in the same paper quotes three verses from the Quran to show that Islam inculcates the assassination of heretics and non-believers and says that it is due to the influence of such teachings that the assassin Abdul Rashid made Swami Shraddhanand the target of his pistol—The Muslim Press continues to complain that Hindu

publicists are fanning the flames of discord by attributing the Swami's murder to a Muslim conspiracy and by ill-considered attacks on the community. Failure to express regret for Mufti Mahbub Ali's death is being widely quoted as an evidence of the insincerity of Hindus. *Al Bashir* complains that the Hindus have been embittering inter-communal relations by attributing the murder of Swami Shraddhanand to a conspiracy without any shred of evidence in support of their theory. Besides during processions and meetings in memory of the Swami the Hindus have constantly used language exciting hatred against Muslims. They have also missed an opportunity for giving evidence of humanitarianism, love of peace and absence of bias by failing to condemn the murder of an innocent person like Mufti Mahbub Ali. Hindu leaders even of the status of Mahatma Gandhi are collecting subscriptions for the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements even though they have acknowledged them to be prejudicial to national unity. In these circumstances it is the duty of the Muslims to ponder over their future attitude. The *Najat* says that the murder of Mufti Mahbub Ali was an act of vengeance and the failure of Hindu leaders and journals to express regret at his death shows that these protagonists of unity attach much more value to a Hindu than to a Muslim life. This means that the murder of Mufti Mahbub Ali is not regarded as of any importance by the Hindus. Why then are appeals made in the name of humanity and civilization to Muslims to deplore the death of Swamiji? Will this attitude of the Hindu leaders not serve as a potent warning to the Muslim masses? We find that this biased attitude is influencing the Muslims as a community and Hindu-Muslim relations are being imperilled. The *Hamdam* complains that in a recent speech at Lahore Swami Satya Deo urged Hindu youths to die fighting and to uproot Urdu from the Punjab and to replace it by Hindi. It appears, says the paper, that in appealing to youths to die fighting Swamiji is trying to foment a great civil war in the country and wants to wreak vengeance on the entire Muslim community for the act of a single individual by extirpating Urdu. In anticipating an onslaught on India during the next decade to work up Hindu sentiment, Swamiji has diplomatically clothed his aggressive propaganda in a defensive garb. The *Medina* writes:—The assassination of Swami Shraddhanand cannot cause so much mischief and disturbance as the provoking speeches and writings of Hindus on this subject. The murder was the act of an individual lunatic, but the speeches and writings are inspired by the characteristic mentality and organized efforts of an entire community.

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Leader* writes:—There was nothing unusual or striking in the inaugural address of His Excellency the Viceroy to the third Assembly. If there were people who expected any important announcement they must have been disappointed. His advice to Indian politicians was only a paraphrase of what Lord Birkenhead has been saying and what Lord Reading used to say . . . Lord Irwin argued as if the violent manifestations of revolutionary tendencies had nothing to do with the constitutional issue. But they are intimately connected with it. His defence of the detention without trial of a large number of political suspects was not that of a statesman but of a typical bureaucrat and showed lack of sympathy and imagination. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* strongly criticizes the speech in an article headed "Lord Irwin insults India." It says:—We must assure His Excellency that India does not share an Englishman's good opinion of British character....We are not prepared to beg as alms what we demand as our lawful claim . . . We have sufficient experience of British character to know that they never give anything gracefully: things have to be wrung from them. When the wave of non-cooperation darkened the sky, Lord Irwin's predecessor went down on his knees before Gandhi. He found us strong. Lord Irwin today spurns us for he finds us disunited and wavering. We are respected only when we can give trouble. We are ignored and humiliated when we are conciliatory. The *Vartman* says:—The speech reveals the mentality of the bureaucracy which is matchless in its crooked policy and cleverness. The Viceroy has now appeared in his true colours. He holds out the threat that unless the people are subservient to Government they will not get anything. Such minatory speeches can only be checked by the force which manifested itself during 1921.

Political propaganda.

The *Saraswati* publishes a poem under the heading "Message" by one Devi Prasad Gupta Kusumakar in which the following lines among others occur:—India having starved day and night has become a wreath of bones. In addition selfish men have

also sucked up (her) blood. They have put fetters on her in her own home. They have nailed her mouth so that she may not make the least protest. Commenting on the opening of the new council chamber at Delhi by the Viceroy the *Aj* says that more than fifteen crores of rupees have already been spent on New Delhi and God only knows how many more crores it will swallow up in future. The policy of the Government of India to squander poor India's money on buildings is being fearfully followed by provincial governments too. Not only new capitals but even departmental buildings are sucking the very life-blood of the poor people. Surely these palatial buildings do not reflect the true condition of the country which is suffering from chronic starvation, appalling infantile mortality and ever-growing unemployment. There is no doubt that these buildings only go to proclaim the stability of the irresponsible foreign Government. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that money is being lavishly spent on the ponder, new capital as if India was a very rich country. Does Government even inquires the paper, whether crores of the inhabitants of the country for the temporary and permanent residences of whose councillors and officials such palatial buildings are being erected, do not get even a full meal a day. Lakhs of Indians are without employment and unable to support their families but still stupendous sums are to be spent on mere amenities and that only for the winter season as resort to the hills would be inevitable during the summer. However, there is one thing that the British period will leave on Delhi as magnificient a mark as the Hindu and Mughal periods did. The *Desh Bhagat* characterizes Mr. Saklatwala's message of communism at Bombay as a heart-gladdening message of freedom at the place where Indian slavery commenced and goes on to say :—Though Mr. Saklatwala has laid down no regular programme, his message that "communism alone can put an end to India's slavery" is by itself calculated to produce a magical effect on the minds of Indians, for it was communism that liberated the oppressed labourers and cultivators from the clutches of the Tsar of Russia. It was communism that abolished the Khilafat in Turkey and put an end to autocracy. It is the worship of this communism that has enabled China to have a trial of strength with the British lion. It is this very communism which is the hope and stay of the labourers of England as well as other countries. The very name communism makes the British lion tremble like a wet cat. Mr. Saklatwala is, therefore, quite right in saying that the day is not far distant when communism will enable India also to shake off her yoke of slavery, and obtain that freedom for the sake of which many dear sons of mother India have already been hanged on the gallows and many others are being subjected to extreme hardships in the Andamans and in the Indian jails, for the battle of communism soon compels the capitalist to surrender all his power and authority to cultivators and labourers and run away quietly like a thief. The paper also publishes a contributed article elucidating and commending communistic principles.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Punch* holds the Lucknow and the Bengal pacts responsible for all the communal riots which have taken place in this country and for the Muslim demand regarding the stoppage of music before mosques and complains that new schemes are framed every day to efface the Hindus, so much so that proselytization has now been entrusted to prostitutes. It remarks that Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible until the Lucknow and Bengal pacts are sacrificed at the altar of the Congress. The *Hamdam* hopes that after the authoritative denial by the Afghan Foreign Minister at Bombay of his country having any designs upon India, Hindus will remove all fears of Afghanistan's aggression from their hearts. It is a pity that Hindus are so nervous by temperament that they are affected by imaginary perils and the *Indian Daily Telegraph* in ignorance of the fact that the Afghans can declare *jehad* on India only if she endangers her liberty, still apprehends an invasion from that quarter. Discussing Dr. Moonje's address as president of the District Hindu Conference, Dacca, *Al Khalil* remarks that his observation that Hindus should not think of *Swaraj* as their religion was in danger and that they would get *Swaraj* through *Suddhi* and *Sangathan* is pregnant with meaning. It means that *Swaraj* for him is Hindu *raj* and cannot be gained without ridding the country of Muslims and Muslims, should beware of this dangerous attitude of the Hindus.

The Legislative Assembly.

The *Leader* writes :—The Government suffered a well-deserved defeat on the adjournment motion of Pandit Motilal Nehru censuring the Government for preventing Mr. C. S. Mitra from attending the Assembly . . . The Assembly has done well in asserting

in an emphatic manner the privileges of the members of the House and exposing the weakness of the position of Government in the matter. Its policy with regard to the detenus deserves to be revised. It has been repeatedly condemned by popular opinion of almost all shades and has been a fruitful source of irritation. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* also criticizes the "callous" attitude of the Government. The *Aj* is gratified that all the non-official members by unanimously supporting Pandit Motilal Nehru's motion have once more exposed the hollowness of "India's Parliament." Entry into councils has only this use and it is to be hoped that all elected members will continue to discharge this duty unanimously. The *Haqiqat* holds that as no Muslim has as yet become Deputy President of the Assembly the office ought now to go to a Muslim, but fears that owing to the predominance of *sangathan* the election will be contested on communal lines. Emphasizing the need for the formation of a Muslim party in the Legislative Assembly the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—We expect the Muslim M. L. Cs. will before long feel the degradation of walking into the lobbies of the Assembly like weaklings with the members of this party or that party and will not fight shy of forming their own separate party so that from a smaller unity resulting from their hearty cooperation among themselves may spring up the larger unity which is urgently required in the Assembly in the best interests of the nation.

Council politics.

The *Pratap* remarks:—Those who regard the defeat of the Congress as the victory of liberal principles are elated at the revival of dyarchy in Bengal and the Central Provinces. Does statesmanship consist in rejoicing over what is a matter for grief? Shall we call that mentality rational or slavish which actuates the Indian legislators to compete in the race for cooperation although they are insulted at every turn? That party which wants to defeat the Congress warriors by allying itself with the bureaucracy should not forget that the bureaucracy is the friend of none. The *Hamdam* supports Sir Abdul Rahim's views about the holding of a Round Table Conference to conclude a Hindu-Muslim pact before the formation of a combined Ministry in Bengal and says that a strong and united ministerial party can be organized in the Bengal Council only if Hindus are prepared to concede the just claims of Muslims for adequate and separate representation on all bodies.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to the rumour that Sir Atul Chatterji would be appointed Governor of Assam the *Mashriq* wonders why Muslim claims are being overlooked. It was hoped that Sir Ali Imam would be the first Indian Governor as in learning, ability and work in the Government of India he was superior to Lord Sinha. Besides him there are also Sir Abdul Rahim, Sir Muhammad Shafi, Sir Ibrahim Rahmatullah and others. The *Hamdam* urges that in view of the fact that Muslims form the majority in the Punjab and intricate questions of Islamic law come up before the Lahore High Court some one from among Agha Muhammad Haider, Sheikh Abdul Qadir and Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal should have been appointed a Judge in the recent vacancy there.

Communal representation.

In the course of two leading articles on the question of separate representation the *Medina* strongly deprecates the introduction of Western civilization and institutions in this country and says:—If progress and civilization are to be introduced on these lines in this country our successors will become an instrument of that very tyranny and militarism which has sucked our blood. The Legislatures have, however, come to stay and separate representation has become inevitable for the following reasons:—(1) The presence of a foreign Government, whose very existence depends upon communal tension and absence of united nationalism. (2) The instinct of self-preservation among minority communities. The system of separate representation is based on that political deceit which seeks to rob in the guise of a friend. We, however, think that the solution of India's present difficulties lies not in the abolition of separate representation, but in placing it on a sound basis. The immediate need is to prescribe the just rights and responsibilities of every community.

The Patuakhali *satyagrah*.

The *Aj* publishes an appeal by Swami Nirjananand exhorting youths and *sanyasis* to proceed to Patuakhali to participate in the *satyagrah* there. He says:—We are already fettered with the chains of political subjection. Encroachments are now being repeatedly made on our religious liberty too. We are being compelled by the authorities

to take out licenses for our religious and social processions on the pretext that they are likely to bring us into conflict with the Muslims. We should not forget that religious organization is the only means for a subject nation to secure its regeneration. All of us, especially *sadhus* and *sanyasis*, should take part in the Patuakhali *satyagrah* to vindicate our religious liberty. A number of other Hindi papers also publish impassioned appeals and poems exhorting Hindu youths to participate in the Patuakhali *satyagrah* campaign.

The Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, which has of late been giving special prominence to the case of the Maharaja of Nabha, strongly criticizes the order of His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces on the election petition of the Maharaja and remarks that "with calculated carelessness the Governor of these provinces brushes aside a representation based on clearly defined and unambiguous election rules."

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ALLAHABAD:
January 29, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS 28 FEB. 27 INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 5 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 5, 1927.

The Chinese situation continues to engage the closest attention of the Press.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the proposed British concessions to China the *Leader* says:—We have no doubt that the statesmanlike policy which the British Government have decided to pursue will, if firmly adhered to, raise British prestige in the East, will change a sullen and angry China into a grateful one and will be found to be a paying policy. As a natural consequence Soviet diplomacy and intrigue will receive a serious set-back. The *Aj* writes:—The British Government is acting on the proverb, "Rosary in hand, scissors in the armpit." It is making professions of generosity but is simultaneously engaged in making preparations for war on the pretext of self-defence. When forty crores of the Chinese are inspired by nationalistic ideas it will not be possible for Britain, even with the help of India, to deprive them of their national rights in their own country. On the contrary Indian soldiers will return to India with a new message of nationalism. Irresponsible rulers may well misuse Indian men and money to extend their empire, but this will ultimately result in good both to India and China. In another issue the paper says that India can never be a party to the subjugation of China, specially as she cannot then hope for her own salvation for centuries. Self-interest therefore demands that we should check the efforts made to utilize Indian men and money in this sinful task. The *Pratap* writes:—As if the sins committed against Egypt and Turkey are not enough Indian troops will now proceed to China to crush the nationalism of the Chinese. How can diplomacy rest content until mutual bitterness has been engendered by making one Asiatic country fight against another? If we had the power we would never have sent the Indian troops to China. Protesting against the despatch of Indian troops to China the *Sainik* says:—We have a sacred religious tie with the Chinese. They have not done any harm to India, they only want to protect their lives and property from white wolves and robbers. We cannot, therefore, characterize as anything but mean the action of our Government in despatching Indian troops to China. What is it if not mean to make us fight with our neighbours and to get us killed? The *Abhyudaya* writes:—Indians should make it clear that they cannot have any sympathy with a war the object of which is to subjugate another nation and that although they cannot avert this unrighteous war, they do not want to commit sin by taking part in it. China only wants to protect her home from the loot of foreign traders. The interests not only of Indians but of all the Asiatic peoples can be served only when China becomes independent and strong. What justice is this that the army maintained at our cost should be sent against our own brethren and we should not be allowed even to express our views in this connexion? Can the Viceroy in these circumstances expect anything from Indians whom he has ignored in this way? Will he or his Government be able to get any help from us? The *Anand* disapproves of the opposition against the despatch of Indian troops to China and remarks that in order to prove that they are the well-wishers of the British Empire, Indians should help the British in the event of a war with China. As long as India is a part of the British Empire it will be improper for her to act against the interests of the Empire. There are only two courses open to Indians. Either they should sever their connexion with the British Empire or they should obey the decision of the British Government. The *Medina* says: The Indian army is meant for the benefit of India and not to satisfy the growing ambitions of militarism. We fail to understand why the blood of Indians is considered to be so cheap that it must be shed for the sake of every true or false claim of Britain. We hope the whole country will protest against this and will save the sons of India from being sacrificed in the interests of militarism.

The *Haqiqat* says that Mr. Srinivas Iyenger was quite justified in opposing the despatch of Indian troops to China as Indians have no cause of grievance against their Chinese neighbours. Now that the Indian national protest has been voiced the Chinese will have no cause for complaint that Indians as a people were opposed to them in their struggle for freedom. The *Desh Bhagat* writes:—British officials are attaching little value to the united protest of the Indian nationalist press against the despatch of Indian troops to China and have by gagging the Assembly even grossly insulted the Indian nation. The Indian nationalist press should reply to this by refusing to publish news received from British agencies as they are meant to further British interests and should not help in securing the sympathy of the Indian masses for the British nation. The Indian press is just now strong and can deal a fatal blow to the British nation. It should also publish news of Chinese successes so that Indian youths who are fighting for their country's freedom may be encouraged. The Congress also should be urged to organize an agitation regarding China on the same scale as that organized against the Rowlatt Act so that the British nation may have the greatest difficulty in enlisting soldiers and securing other military aid in India. It is to be hoped that the press will give serious thought to these suggestions and will at least taboo all news received from Reuter's Agency. In reproducing from the Egyptian paper *Al Ahram* the draft of a treaty said to have been concluded recently between Ibn Sa'ud and Britain the *Medina* wonders how the Sultan could be guilty of contracting such an unholy treaty as would make the whole of Arabia a slave to Britain. We do not know, adds the paper, how the sense of self-respect of the Nejdian patriots can acquiesce in such a humiliating treaty.

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The Viceroy's inaugural address to the Legislative Assembly was marked with a sympathy and sincerity which constitute the outstanding characteristic of His Excellency's utterances . . . There is no denying the fact that Lord Irwin is one of the galaxy of the representatives of the King-Emperor who have associated themselves with the aspirations of our people. His task should not be made difficult by perversity of the obstructionist brand. The *Aj* is disappointed at the Viceroy's address and says that it does not contain even a good review of the existing situation in the country. Proceeding it writes:—The Viceroy's remarks on the political situation only provoke laughter, as they contain nothing original but only repeat in nice language commonplaces known to every ordinary student of history and the readers of newspapers. His Excellency laid great emphasis on our attaining *Swaraj* gradually by pleasing the Parliament. But this is impossible, as many interests intervene between it and India. This wall cannot be demolished by co-operation. It is through non-cooperation that the groups with vested interests can be made to advise Parliament to do justice to India. The *Sainik* writes:—The speech ought to dispel most of the groundless hopes of our countrymen . . . We wish to proclaim by beat of drum that India does not at all believe that British Parliament sincerely wants to establish *Swaraj* in India. Our experience tells us that Parliament will never be prepared to appreciate our point of view unless it is coerced. We are, therefore, obliged to create a spirit of opposition among our brethren so as to coerce Parliament to understand our position. The *Medina* says:—The Viceroy has most politely brandished the mailed fist before the rising aspirations of Indian patriots and has bluntly warned them that if they do not abandon their obstructive policy the motherly Government will snatch away even that toy from the hand of the refractory child which has been presented to it in the shape of reforms. The speech will accentuate the tension between the Government and the people. It has once more brought home to Indians that it would be extremely foolish on their part to depend upon the favours of the Government. The *Najat* says that the Viceroy's address has proved that he also is going the way of previous Viceroys and is casting off the pious promises with which he had heralded his advent. His defiance of public opinion regarding the despatch of Indian troops has shown that the Reforms are a sham and that Anglo-Indian bureaucrats are as unbridled as ever. This autocratic attitude of Government has produced a wave of pro-Chinese feeling in India and it had better revise it. The *Desh Bhagat* recounts how Lord Curzon's autocratic policy led to the introduction of terrorist methods into Indian political life and how Indian public opinion became triumphant in the end and his partition of Bengal had to be rescinded. The spirit of freedom infused by Lord Curzon still persists and the cult of the pistol and bomb continues to thrive in spite of the Herculean

efforts of the authorities. Lord Irwin to-day has adopted a similarly autocratic and provocative attitude in his inaugural address to the Assembly. His Lordship's minatory and proud words about the Reforms are a direct insult to young India and are not at all wise in view of the impending trouble with China. We warn Lord Irwin and the British press that these words will add fuel to the fire of patriotism that is burning in the hearts of lovers of Indian freedom . . . . As Indian nationalists, however, we welcome his speech like that of Lord Curzon as the harbinger of the birth of a new life in the nation. We wonder how a saint and statesman like Lord Irwin could think of making such a speech. India knows full well that the British people will not grant *Swaraj* in response to supplications but that it will be conceded only when they realize that British interests are as much in danger in India as they are in China. The time is coming when British statesmen will not have even to take the trouble of granting *Swaraj* to India for she will obtain *Swaraj* through the strength of her own arms. It is a pity that British statesmen have wrongly gauged Indian strength otherwise Lord Irwin could not have given expression to such minatory sentiments on such an occasion. We believe that Lord Irwin's speech at a time when the Chinese are striving to free their country from British domination will remind Indians of their important duty and will leave as prominent a landmark on Indian history as the deliverance of Lord Curzon.

The Patuakhali *satyagraha.*

A number of Hindu papers are publishing impassioned articles and poems exhorting young men to take part in the Patuakhali *satyagraha* campaign. The *Vartman*, which is taking the lead in the matter, publishes a poem by Shiva Pyare Lal Avasthi in which the following lines, among others, occur :—The time has come for filling up the bowl of Kali and for offering sacrifice. Come, come, brave men, march forward ; the Goddess of War calls you ; she has put on a garland of human heads and is sounding the war trumpet. The *Abhyudaya* says :—The Bengal Government's *communique* regarding the Patuakhali *satyagraha* shows that the Government considers the Hindu demand as inspired by religious fanaticism. All that we have to say in this connexion is this that as soon as the Hindus become organized and strong the Government will think the allowing of music before mosques advantageous to itself. The *Mauji* remarks :—If the Hindus have heard the trumpet call that they should live like men or prefer death, if their stupor has ended, if they want to continue to exist in the world and if they want to see their descendants thrive they should proceed straight to Patuakhali. Of what use will be the existence of that nation in this world which cannot spare for the protection of its religion even twenty-two thousand persons out of a total population of twenty-two crores for a few months ?

Muslim affairs.

The propaganda against *Shab-i-barat* fire works has started in the Muslim press. The *Hamdam* publishes an appeal to Muslims by M. Shaukat Ali, general secretary, Khilafat Committee, in which he says that the situation both inside and outside India is a critical one for them and demands that they should close up their ranks, frame a practical programme and produce a body of earnest workers. Means must be devised to improve the economic condition of Muslims, a settlement should be sought which might make for enduring peace in the Hedjaz and something should be done to remove the apathy which is paralysing all Muslim public bodies. Added importance attaches to this year's Khilafat Conference and Moatmir Islamia at Lucknow owing to the harm that might be caused to India if hostilities break out with China. It is, therefore, the duty of Muslims to help these momentous gatherings with every means in their power. In another article the same paper asserts that Muslims never take exception to peaceful and moral methods of conversion by Arya Samajists and object only when people are forced to accept a change of faith under show of physical force or under economic pressure and minor Muslim children are abducted for this purpose. In yet another article, the paper cites the example of the Azamgarh district board the Hindu members of which are trying to stop the sale of cattle from pounds to butchers and says that there are other district boards in these provinces which are trying to enforce the use of Hindi. This means that the Hindus are abusing their predominance in local bodies to propagate their religious beliefs and to place obstacles in the way of Muslims pursuing their religious practices.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Gyan Shakti* dissuades Hindus from contributing to the *khaddar* fund raised by Mr. Gandhi as it is the Muslim weavers who are benefited by it and exhorts them

to send their subscriptions to the *Shuddhi Sabhas* instead. It remarks that this is not the time for carrying out the Congress programme or for raising funds for the propagation of *khaddar*. The exigencies of the situation demand that the entire Hindu population should concentrate its energy on the *shuddhi* movement for *Swaraj* is associated with it. In another article the paper refers to the dissemination of anonymous notices threatening Hindus with death if they do not give up their *shuddhi* and *sangathan* activities and remarks: Do the Muslims consider the Hindus to be sacrificial goats? Hindus have proved that they are not goats but lions. It is the disseminators of such anonymous literature who are cowards. Hindus cannot be frightened by such cowardly and impotent threats. On the other hand they will be awakened to their sense of duty and work with redoubled energy.

Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji's case.

Commenting on the Government's notification cancelling Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji's appointment in the junior selection grade of the I. E. S. the *Abhyudaya* refers to Mr. Chintamani's resolution in the Council on the subject and says that the local Government's reply that it acted in this matter in accordance with the instructions from the Government of India constitutes no answer but only adds insult to injury. Lord Irwin should look at the dark deeds of his lieutenants and say what effect they produce on the hearts of Indians. Are these the ways to inspire confidence in the good intentions of Britain? The *Aj* says that the case of Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji casts a lurid light on the desire of the bureaucracy for co-operation, the real responsibility of the ministers and the powers of the legislatures. It shows that the reforms are a mere sham, that neither the ministers nor the legislatures have any powers and that the "heavenly officials" alone carry things all their own way. Let sensible men judge for themselves how it is possible to secure *swaraj* by pleasing Parliament which makes such appallingly unjust regulations.

The Back Bay Scheme.

Commenting on the report of the Back Bay Inquiry Committee the *Aj* says that it is an unpardonable crime that the work in connexion with the Back Bay Scheme was not stopped even two years after it had become apparent that the actual expenditure was to be almost double of the estimated one. It is a misuse of public money by deluding the people. Had such an offence been committed by officials in any other country, they would have been tried in an open court and duly punished. But in India the officials are in the first place infallible and even if they happen to commit a mistake it is classed only as an error of judgement. It was such error of judgement which led to the killing of hundreds of Indians like dogs in Jallianwalabagh and to the waste of crores of rupees of poor India in Bombay. The *Surya* remarks that if there had been self-government in India the officials, who have been held responsible by the committee for the failure of the reclamation scheme would have been severely dealt with because the wasting of public money is a great crime for the authorities. But it is idle to hope that any such punishment will be given to the officials concerned. Until the system of administration in India is made fully responsible to the people public money will continue to be wasted in projects like the Back Bay reclamation scheme.

Lord Birkenhead's visit to India.

Referring to the rumour regarding Lord Birkenhead's visit to India next cold weather the *Aj* says that his Lordship can learn nothing by his visit to India which he cannot ascertain while in England, seeing that high officials, who visit this country only hear and see what the bureaucracy wants them to. This being the case, his Lordship's visit to India can only mean a pleasure trip at her expense and nothing more. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that Indians should expect as little from Lord Birkenhead as from Earl Winterton. These uninvited guests can be welcome only if they concede the national demands and allay the agitation in the country.

United Provinces Council.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* strongly criticizes the official attitude regarding the resolution of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant on "village reconstruction" and remarks:—We consider it criminal irresponsibility to have offered uncompromising opposition to a resolution of the kind. Self-respect demands that non-officials, who are met with such callous disregard when engaged in problems of life and death affecting a nation, should resolve on some demonstration to indicate their displeasure. The *Hamdam* is unable to appreciate the attitude of the

local Government in the Council towards the question of prohibition and says that the best way to put a stop to the use of wine would be to close down all distilleries, interdict trade in the article and to abolish the Excise department. Government can do all this if it is sincere and is prepared to sacrifice a portion of its income. It is pursuing a mirage if it thinks that people would practise abstinence of their own volition.

Council Politics.

The *Aligarh Mail* strongly disapproves of the action of Mr. Ghuznavi in accepting Ministership in the Bengal Government and remarks :—If now Mr. B. Chakravarti has accepted Ministership which he was reluctant to accept when Sir Abdur Rahim was appointed Minister, does it behove a self-respecting Muslim to co-operate with him in spite of his Responsivist, i.e., *Sangathanist*, antecedents ? That is the question we put to Mr. Ghuznavi which he should solve if he has any sense of communal respect and honour. In a subsequent article the paper writes :—The correspondence which passed between Sir Abdur Rahim and Sir Provash Mittra prior to the former's resignation of his office as Minister is a key-note to the conspiracy against Sir Abdur Rahim hatched by Sir Provash and Mr. B. Chakravarti and so skilfully consumated by them with the crafty, cunning and conspiring genius of Hindu Bengal. . . . . The duty of the Muslim members of the Bengal Legislative Council is obvious. They should wreck the Chakravarti Ministry by means of an obstruction from which even the Swarajists may draw a lesson. For by that means alone, we believe, can the Muslim members of the Bengal Legislative Council uphold their prestige so ignominiously lowered down by Mr. Ghuznavi's acceptance of Mr. Chakravarti's colleagueship and demonstrate the power that they can wield in their Province.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Arya Mitra* publishes a letter from one Pandit Gopendra Narain Pathak who complains that in spite of repeated requests the Fiji Government is not making adequate arrangements for the education of Indian boys and girls in that island and wonders whether it is not the duty of the Indian Government to compel the Fiji Government to do so. The letter concludes with an appeal to the members of the legislatures to move a resolution making it obligatory for the Fiji Government to introduce compulsory education and thereby save 24,000 boys and girls from the darkness of ignorance.

The Indian Academy.

The Urdu press has generally acclaimed the Academy. The *Hamdam* is glad to note that the Hon'ble Rai Rajeshwar Bali's commendable career of patronage of fine arts has culminated in the establishment of the Indian Academy and says that if the institution is nurtured with fostering care the Hon'ble Minister of Education and His Excellency Sir William Marris will earn the lasting gratitude of coming generations for their service to Urdu and Hindi. Government could have got no better person than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for the presidentship of the Academy.

Military training for students.

In welcoming Mr. Dube's resolution in the local Council about military and physical training of students the *Desh Bhagat* says that if the scheme is given a practical shape and martial spirit is infused among Indian youths it will prove highly beneficial to enslaved India and open a new chapter in her history.

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ALLAHABAD :
February 5, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
7 MAR 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 6 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 12, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The Chinese situation remains the chief topic of comments in the Press. The *Aj* writes:—In view of the concentration of British troops near Shanghai Mr. Eugene Chen is justified in breaking off negotiations with Britain. Every impartial observer will infer from the British attitude that Britain is seeking a pretext to attack China. The British move in concentrating forces at Shanghai is intended to cause trouble there and thereby provoke the Japanese and the American Governments to side with Britain. British imperialists want to fight with China but have not the courage to do so single-handed, and this is why efforts are being made to embroil other great powers too into the quarrel. India may not be able to prevent the despatch of her armies to China, but her moral sympathy will always be with the latter and her heart will quietly but devoutly pray for Chinese success. We hope that the British public which is naturally generous will assert itself even now and frustrate the sinful designs of its imperialistic authorities. The *Shankar* contends that a handful of Englishmen could never have dared to deprive China of her liberty if they had not been confident of the help of their Indian slaves. So long as there exists the blood of these slaves to water the roots of Britain and Indian capitalists suffer from the plethora of devotion to the whites Britain has nothing to fear. Indians would die, India's money would be spent and the victory would go to Britain. Why, then, should one who can achieve such cheap victories miss any chance of appropriating others' territories? If Indians had possessed patriotism today they would have blown the conch of non-cooperation throughout the length and breadth of the country and told the bureaucracy that so long as they are not free they will not shed their blood or spend a single pice of theirs for the sake of Britain. The *Shakti* says that the Government will have to perform severe expiation for its disregard of public opposition to the despatch of Indian troops to China. The *Haqiqat* has a contributed article in which the writer condemns the anti-foreign attitude of the Chinese nationalists and their disregard of treaty obligations and says that the Cantonese are mistaking British forbearance for cowardice. As Indians also have a considerable stake in Shanghai, the Government has acted rightly in sending Indian troops there. The Congress party in the Assembly had no justification for endangering foreign relations by raising an imperial question which is exclusively within the purview of British Parliament. The *Medina* says that the decision of Mr. Chen not to sign any agreement so long as British troops are not removed will enable the whole of Asia to hold its head high. It is the old game of Britain to supplement its cunning tactics at the conferences by demonstrations of dreadful military power so as to dictate her own terms. But with the march of times these tactics have lost their terrors for Asiatics.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Aligarh Mail* strongly criticizes the action of the Calcutta Corporation in re-naming the Mirzapur Park as the Shraddhanand Park and says:—We fear the Calcutta Corporation is fast developing into a sangathanist Corporation, for it has begun to perpetuate practically the memory of the late Swami Shraddhanandji. We are really surprised to find that the Hindu members of the Calcutta Corporation have run amuck with communalism. They appear to be so enamoured of the cult of Sangathan and Shuddhi that they have begun to change the names of places in their city in order to associate them with one who will go down in our national history as the opener of a new page of disunity and discord . . . The paper vehemently criticizes the "highly aggressive and provocative" address

of Dr. Moonje at the Seva Samiti conference at Gujranwala and quoting passages from it says that every line in them is a challenge to Muslims which requires their due consideration. Proceeding, the paper says:—"And if the gravity of this challenge is minimised by some unthinking and harebrained people, what would they think of Dr. Moonje's declaration that 'if Muslims think that their mosques are disrespected by playing music before them, why should they build mosques on King's highways?' The putting of such a grossly provocative question can be expected only of a ruffian that heads a mob of rioters." The *Arya Mitra* reproduces from the *Nizami*, a Gujrati journal, a poem by one Muhammad Ibrahim Khan "Shad", attacking Arya Samajists and wonders why the attention of the Government is not drawn to such inflammatory literature published by Muslims and says that it is the duty of the Government at the present juncture to draw to the Penal Code the attention of those who want to vent their spleen by reminding the Arya Samajists of Babar and Ghori. The paper next reproduces a poem which appeared in Khwaja Hasan Nizami's *Gharibon ka Akhbar* a day before Swami Shraddhanand's murder and says:—The Government's duty is not to hunt for and take legal steps against the books written by Arya Samajists alone: it should take similar action against those of the foul-mouthed Muslims also. In a subsequent issue the paper reproduces passages from the speeches delivered by Maulanas Zafar Ali Khan, Sadruddin and Muhammad Amin at a meeting of the Muslims of Lahore to the effect that if there had been Muslim government in India today people would have kissed Abdul Rashid's sword, that if the Hindus continued to behave in this way there would be lakhs of murders and that Muslims ought to bring their enemies to their senses by force. It wonders whether the C. I. D. has brought these speeches to the notice of the Government and says:—We invite the attention of the Punjab Government to this. Can Muslim fanatics deliver such speeches under the protection of the British Government? Are they at liberty to shower poison in this way? Quoting "venomous" poems against the Hindus from the *Nizami* and *Garibon ka Akhbar* the *Sainik* writes:—Every day poison is being spread which leads people to believe that by killing others they will go to heaven. Swami Shraddhanand has been a victim of this very poison. The leader of the Patuakhali Satyagraha is being threatened with a similar fate. The Government has taken no action in any of the cases cited by us. We do not expect anything better from the present satanic system of administration, but what shall we say of those Muslim leaders who are not only keeping silent, but in order to maintain their leadership are helping in spreading the poison. The fire with which they are playing is about to consume their own houses along with those of their neighbours (the Hindus). Under the heading "Swami Shraddhanand's murder and the teaching of Islam" the *Abhyudaya* publishes a series of articles by Sri Deseshwar Siddhantalankar of Gurukul, Kangri, who contends that the responsibility for the murder of Swami Shraddhanand really lies on the religious teachings which actuated this murder, that this murder is a sign of the bursting of the volcano of Islamic intolerance and that so long as Islam exists in its present form the peace of the world will be in danger. Muslim atrocities on the Hindus, beginning with the Moplah rebellion and ending with the murder of Swami Shraddhanand, indicate the existence of a grave malady. If the Swami's murder had been the outcome merely of the diseased brain of an individual Muslim stones would not have been pelted on his coffin nor would Abdul Rashid have been hailed as a Ghazi and his pictures sold in the bazars of Delhi, Allahabad and Madras. The writer next quotes a large number of verses from the *Quran* to show that Islam enjoins the assassination of those who do not believe in Allah and Mahomed and refuse to embrace it and also of those who turn apostates and that *Jehad* is merely the persecution of the non-believers. The writer next quotes an incident from the *Kitabul Jihad* to show that Mahomed used to make surprise attacks and massacre those belonging to other religions and says that in this respect the Prophet by no means fell short of General Dyer. He had also issued strict orders to murder even old men. He wanted that no *kafir* should exist in the world and hence he enjoined killing irrespective of considerations of age and sex. Referring to the resolution passed by the All-India Arya League at Delhi for agitation in favour of freedom for *Arya Nagarkirtan* processions, the *Hamdam* says that the *Aryas* have already created an unpleasant situation by making offensive speeches and reciting objectionable verses and insisting on music before mosques and they want to make it worse by engineering an agitation in support of their attitude. *Arya* processions would never be objected to if they did not wound the feelings of other communities.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* takes the leaders to task for frequently changing their programme and wasting their energies over Councils. We regret to note, continues the paper, that efforts are being made to convert our politics into a foppish woman of the west. This is against our civilization and traditions. These delusive Councils can do no real good to the country. It is time that the leaders worked among the people and devoted themselves to the task of village organization. Criticizing Mr. Saklatwala's advice that Indians should not boycott British goods as it would cause starvation among British labourers the *Pratap* says that Indians never took upon themselves the responsibility for providing livelihood to British labourers and thereby strengthen their own fetters of subjection. The object of the boycott movement is not to starve foreign labourers. Foreign labourers are as dear to us as our own brothers. But if the boycott movement leads to the starvation of British labourers, we are not to blame. The blame lies on those imperialistic British capitalists who have fostered inequalities at the point of the bayonet. Mohan Joshi writing in the *Shakti* says that it is only through *Satyagraha* that the Kumaunese can get their grievances relating to the Forest department redressed and urges them to cultivate qualities of self-restraint and self-sacrifice and wear *khaddar* so as to fit them for *satyagraha*. The *Bharat Dharma* asks Indians to ponder over the waste of money and land on tea plantations, the harmful effect of tea on health and the drain of their money to foreign countries over its consumption and urges them to boycott tea as one of the easy and peaceful ways of the service of the country.

Council politics.

Muslim papers generally are characterizing Mr. Ghaznavi's acceptance of office as treachery to Islam and playing the game of the Hindus. Referring to the "wave of indignant opposition which is spreading all over Bengal against the disgraceful acceptance by Mr. Ghaznavi of the colleagueship of Mr. B. Chakravarty in the Bengal Ministry" the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The only way in which Mr. Ghaznavi can be punished for riding roughshod over the best interests of his community is to wreck the present Bengal Ministry. Will the Muslim members of the Bengal Legislative Council rise to the occasion and deal a death-blow to the unholy Chakravarti-Ghaznavi alliance? *Al Bashir* admires the courage and honesty of Sir Abdur Rahim in resigning his ministership rather than agree to the conditions of co-operation laid down by Mr. Chakravarti and says that Muslims should make it impossible for Mr. Ghaznavi to continue in office as otherwise no honest and patriotic Muslim can ever become a Minister and the post would be reserved for traitors. The *Najat* attributes the failure of Sir Abdur Rahim to find a Hindu colleague for his ministry to *Sangathan* as it was only latterly as a result of Hindu agitation that Mr. B. Chakravarti refused to co-operate with Sir Abdur Rahim. The discomfiture of Sir Abdur Rahim is in reality the discomfiture of Muslims and Mr Ghaznavi ought to have refused the ministership. By his action he has humiliated Islam. The *Medina* takes Mr. Ghaznavi severely to task for accepting ministership with Mr. Chakravarti as his colleague and says:—The Hindus have made Mr. Ghaznavi their tool for serving their selfish ends. We are sorry for the Muslims of Bengal the protection of whose interests has been confided to those who are actuated by selfishness. The only remedy is that all the Muslim councillors should join hands with the Hindu Swarajists to wreck the diarchy.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Aligarh Mail* strongly supports the appeal of the Natal Indian Association to the Viceroy not to ratify the agreement which is understood to have been arrived at at the Capetown Conference and remarks:—"Our heart goes out with the Natal Indians, who are our flesh and blood, in their distress of white tutelage which is threatening to overtake them." The *Oudh Akhbar* is dissatisfied with Sir Muhammad Habibullah's vague statement to the press and asks for a communique detailing what his deputation has actually achieved as Indians have too often been deluded with false hopes regarding South Africa.

United Provinces Council.

The *Haq* says that the crushing defeat of Mr. Chintamani during the debate on Justice Sir Cecil Walsh's remarks on the Indian judiciary in a book should serve as an eye-opener to him and hopes that he would not invite odium and ridicule on himself in future by raising such futile discussions. The *Hamdam* ridicules the arguments advanced by Syed Habib Ullah in opposing B. Uma Shanker's resolution regarding the abolition of Commissionerships and inquires why

young and hot-headed men are appointed as collectors that staid and old comissioners are needed to guide them and keep them in check. Should not Government refuse to permit its "pet children" to land in India until they have learnt to shake off their puerile ways and hot-headedness? It is the unsympathetic and arrogant attitude of the junior members of the Civil Service which is really responsible for the undesirable relations between Europeans and Indians and it is up to Government to adopt a sterner attitude towards them.

The Patuakhali *satyagraha.*

Appealing for the help of the Hindus of Patuakhali the *Anand* says that the report about the beating of the *satyagrahis* in jail by Muslim officers and prisoners shows that the Government and the Muslim public are both coercing the Hindus of that place. In another article the paper says that when the Government cannot protect Hindus even in jail they cannot possibly have faith in Government justice. The sympathy of the entire Hindu community is with the Hindus of Patuakhali in their present trouble. We trust that Hindus will now come forward firmly to help in this religious *satyagraha* and will sacrifice their all for the protection of the honour and culture of the Hindu community.

Indian states.

The *Aj* remarks:—Though the King of England is a constitutional monarch, yet the Indian princes under him seek to be absolute autocrats in their states, and instead of helping the progress of the country are proving obstacles in its advancement. It is to be regretted that under the influence of self-interest the Government of India too indirectly encourages these princes in this attitude of theirs. Many Indian patriots do not like the absorption of Indian states into British India, but in view of the conduct of their rulers, their illiberality and their serving as obstacles to the progress of the country they too despair of the future of the Indian states. They wish that these princes realized that the era of absolute despotism had gone by for ever and that they could best serve themselves and their subjects by educating the latter and granting their due rights to them. The *Aziz-i-Hind* appeals to the Maharana of Dholpur to stop the lottery of Jolly Brothers which is absorbing a lot of public money. No doubt His Highness derives a handsome revenue from it, but the reputation of his state is suffering. In another article the paper urges Government to take action in time to stop the extravagance of the Maharaja of Bharatpur which was recently brought into the lime-light by the theft of the state jewels which he had sent to Calcutta to be sold and to depute forthwith a British officer to retrieve the financial position of the state. The *Haqiqat* publishes a letter from a correspondent from Udaipur. Mewar, in which he complains that the British authorities have taken permanent possession of 3,000 bighas of land which was leased by the state rent free to provide grass for a regiment of British irregular force stationed at Deoli Cantt, Ajmere district, and refuse to return the land even though the regiment left the place during the second Afghan war and has never returned since.

Legislation against "Goondas."

The *Chand* refers to the frequency of offences against women for some time past and urges Government to legislate for more drastic punishment of such crimes. The misdeeds of *goondas*, says the magazine, not only cast a reflection on the morality of the British Government but also show its carelessness, apathy and irresponsibility in the matter. If the Government of India had been earnestly interested in relieving the country of the outrages and atrocities of goondas their race would have become extinct long ago. The Government of India should so strengthen the Indian Penal Code as to make offences against women punishable with transportation for life or even death.

Bengal detenus.

The papers are strongly critisizing the attitude of the Government regarding the Bengal detenus and are urging their release. Referring to the demand for the release or regular trial of the Bengal detenus the *Abhyudaya* says that the Government's contention that arms are still seized in Bengal is the strongest argument in favour of the immediate release of all of them inasmuch as it shows that those who are in jail have no hand in bomb-throwing business and that if they had been revolutionaries conspiracies would have ceased with their imprisonment. The Government would have done justice if it had love for justice.

The Hindu University.

The *Aj* wonders why the United Provinces Government does not grant monetary aid to the Hindu University when the representatives of the tax-payers have decided by

a majority that such an aid should be given. The provincial Government's argument against the grant of monetary aid to the University does not hold water. Is not any portion of the provincial revenues devoted to objects of all-India importance? Do not the officials themselves who refuse the grant belong to the Imperial Service and are they not paid from the provincial exchequer? When the University belongs to these provinces and most of its students come from them and when the provincial Governor exercises some rights in it as one of its authorities, it is nothing short of petty-mindedness to refuse grant-in-aid to it.

United Provinces jails.

The *Desh Bhagat* invites attention to the bribery and tyranny rampant in United Provinces jails and urges that prisoners should be provided with all amenities that they enjoy when free and every effort should be made to reform them. It wants a committee of enquiry consisting of 3 official and 8 non-official members of the Council to be constituted to suggest necessary reforms.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* writes:—The Government which acts upon the proverb of beating a dead man has added to the troubles of the *Haj* pilgrimage by the tyrannical and insulting methods of disinfection to which the pilgrims are subjected at the quarantine at Kamran. They are moreover made to pay Rs. 10 out of their slender purse and there are scores of other troubles which they have to undergo in the ship in connexion with medical aid and necessaries of life. The Government should pay attention to all these matters if it really wants to improve the conditions of pilgrimage.

The exchange ratio.

Referring to the adjournment motion in the Legislative Assembly and criticizing the attitude of the Government in the matter of exchange ratio the *Leader* writes:—The Government have by the course they have decided to adopt placed their opponents in a stronger position. As a piece of fighting tactics their decision lacks the quality of soundness.

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ALLAHABAD:
February 12, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

14 MAR 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 7 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 19, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

Extremist papers continue to inveigh against the British attitude towards China. In the course of a series of articles on the subject the *Aj* writes:—The nationalist Chinese Government may at present save itself from the open hostility of the British by signing the Hankow agreement, but this agreement will not be a final one. The British memorandum to the League of Nations regarding this agreement only provokes laughter. It may well satisfy the conscience of those who want to conceal their misdeeds under the cloak of goodwill and justify their worst deeds in the name of self-defence and law and order, but it cannot delude thinking men. The League of Nations, which does not know the truth nor wants to know it, may well believe this memorandum, but no Eastern country can do so . . . The official reply to Mr. Lansbury's question in Parliament regarding the Government's undertaking not to employ Indian troops outside India except in certain special circumstances shows what trickery is being played with India and how the men and money of this country are being utilized to protect and extend the Empire. It is on account of such things that India now has absolutely no faith in the words and pledges of British authorities . . . Britain's Asiatic policy is opposed to the interests of India. The subjection of India is a misfortune for the whole of Asia. It is through the unlimited resources in men and money of this country that Britain has ensnared Asia in her net. We are a subject people ourselves and we are used as instruments in depriving others of their liberty. Britain does not grant even ordinary rights of government to India and suppresses even her peaceful agitation for freedom, because she apprehends that the emancipation of India would mean the end of her dream of an Eastern empire. What can be a greater misfortune than this that the army maintained at our cost should be used to ruin us and our neighbours. If Britain wants to extend her Empire in the East she should do so with her own men and money and not misuse Indian men and money in it. Our self-interest demands that Britain's domination in the East may decrease so that there may be left little temptation for her to keep India in perpetual subjection. Commenting on the King's address to Parliament the *Abhyudaya* refers to His Majesty's anxiety for the restoration of peaceful relations with China and says that the conditions offered by the British Government to China are not so much calculated to establish peace as to maintain British prestige in that country. There was no need to send troops for the protection of Indians as this duty could be safely entrusted to Japan which is an ally of Britain. If Britain really desires to resume peaceful relations with China her first duty is to recall her forces from Shanghai and then to offer such conditions as may be just. One Raja Ram Shastri of the "Tilak school of politics" writing in the paper observes that His Excellency the Viceroy's recent speech in connexion with the despatch of troops to China has added fuel to the fire of indignation burning in the heart of India. It shows that His Excellency has tried to throw dust in the eyes of Indians. The Viceroy's plea for sending Indian troops to China for the protection of Indians in that country is untenable, inasmuch as the British Government has never cared in the least for the protection of Indians in Kenya and South Africa. The most ridiculous argument is the one about the sending of troops in self-defence. It was Britain which thrust opium into the mouths of the Chinese, threw open the doors of China for plunder by foreigners and opened fire on students at Shanghai. After performing such wicked deeds and dyeing her hands with the blood of the Chinese she is shamelessly proclaiming to the world that she is acting

in self-defence. She has deceived the world so many times that no one trusts her now. Indians being a subject people cannot help the Chinese in any way, but they can at least pray to God to make the Chinese victorious in this struggle between the forces of good and evil (*lit.* gods and demons). They should not do anything which may do any harm to the Chinese and bear in mind that they have sufficiently tarnished their reputation by helping Britain in plundering the world. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the despatch of Indian troops to China means that attempts are being made to use a slave country to deprive another country of its freedom. What can be a more sorrowful spectacle than this that an Asiatic nation which is struggling for its independence is being subjugated with the help of the armies of another Asiatic country, of course, a subject one. It is a gross injustice to India that she should maintain forces for helping Britain in her wars in other countries. The *Haqiqat* publishes a contributed article in which the writer ridicules the contention that Indian troops have been despatched to China to deprive the Chinese of their liberty and asserts that Indian troops are meant only to protect the lives of Indians and Englishmen residing in China.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article to the *Himalayan Times* headed "Awakening in Nepal" Ganesh Damodar Savarkar urges that Nepal should be regarded as a part of India and writes:—"It is absolutely necessary that we should be in the know of what signs of national awakening in Nepal are manifest, what movements are in full swing there and of what use they would be to us from the point of Hindu *Sangathan*. And it is equally necessary to send the echo of our agitation in their midst." Ras Behari Bose writing in the *Abhyudaya* condemns the action of the Parsi mill-owners of Bombay in carrying on anti-Japanese propaganda in collusion with those of Lancashire and takes Mr. Wadia severely to task for remarking that Japan is the traditional enemy of India. He says:—Was it Japan which destroyed India's magnificent handicraft and compelled her artisans to resort to agriculture? Was it Japan which imposed duties for ruining Indian cotton trade? Japan purchases not only cotton but also iron from India, and if she stops purchasing these poor cultivators and the iron trade will suffer badly. It is no use calumniating Japan. All this is the conspiracy of Lancashire directed on the one hand to counter the Japanese competition and on the other to win India's sympathy for weakening her national agitation. British capitalists are making alliance with Indian capitalists for completely weakening the masses. Britain's eyes are not on the Japanese rivalry, but on keeping India in perpetual subjection. The *Bharat Jiwan* writes:—The soldier who was charged with committing rape on a sixty-year old Indian woman at Simla has been acquitted. It is useless to comment on this. Such samples of "justice" tell us how terrible our subjection is. The crime has been made light of simply because the accused was white-skinned. Well, it is drops which go to fill the jar (of sin). The *Bharat Dharma* writes:—Really on the face of this earth there is no race more philanthropic than the British. They entered America and assumed sovereignty there. They subjected the natives of that continent to various tortures and even burned them. The latter have now become almost extinct and their patrimony is being enjoyed by the former, (surely) for the sake of philanthropy. Trusting and patient Indians left their homes and went to Africa, Fiji, Java, Sumatra, etc., and made them habitable places. Now the British have appropriated them; they are driving out the Indians from there and are not even prepared to recognize the authority of the Empire, (surely) out of philanthropic considerations. They have by no means been less philanthropic in respect of Australia, Ireland, Belgium and other countries. Australians survive now only as labourers and the British hold all the authority there. The British placed Belgium in the forefront in the Great War and got it destroyed. They duped the American President and thereby defeated other powers. It was all a piece of philanthropy. They got Indian troops to fight in Afghan, Persian and Turkish wars and got them killed even in the battle-fields of France, only out of philanthropy. When they put their foot in this sacred land of India there was such an ebullition of their philanthropy that they could not resist the temptation of saddling her with the burden of philanthropy more heavy than mountains. Warren Hastings committed forgery. Lord Curzon committed perjury and found himself in a tight corner when exposed. It was all for the sake of philanthropy. They are not giving us *swaraj* even now, only out of philanthropy. It is philanthropy which is impelling them to send Indian troops to China in utter disregard of the protests of the members of the Legislative

Assembly. The calamity to which the Chinese are being subjected has also its origin in sheer philanthropy. What a philanthropic people these British are? We pray that this sense of philanthropy may not go to the length of injuring the British themselves besides the whole race of mankind. The *Desh Bhagat* agrees with the view of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai that the Indian Air Service will be a tool to further the interests of British capitalism and militarism at the expense of India and says that the establishment of British aerial bases in India will open a new chapter of suffering for the country. English statesmen will through this new vehicle be able to send their troops more easily to strengthen India's fetters of slavery and will also be able to transport Indian troops more quickly to any country which they may choose to enslave. They will also be able to suppress the Indian nationalist movement and to overawe peaceful citizens easily by threatening them with bombardment from the air. All Indian nationalists in the Assembly should, therefore, unanimously vote against the grant of money for the Air Service and if the Viceroy certifies the grant united India should raise its voice against it as in 1921. We hope Indians will not be taken in by Sir Samuel Hoare's seductive phrases and will never allow England to realize her new aerial ambition in India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Vartman* complains that while in response to the request of a meeting of Muslims of Lahore the Punjab Government has taken action against certain Hindu papers for publishing articles in connexion with the murder of Swami Shraddhanand, it has taken no notice of those inflammatory speeches which were made by Muslim speakers at that very meeting. After quoting passages from some speeches the paper says:—These speeches offended against decency, law and humanity and no civilized Government can afford to ignore them. But the Punjab Government has taken no action against the speakers. Is law applicable to Hindus only and are Muslims beyond its reach? Will not such speakers bring about some dire calamity? Are not the roots of disturbances being watered in this way? Is not such policy bound to lead Hindus to the conclusion that the law or the Government are not intended for their protection. The *Shankar* refers to the application of section 144 against Pandit Kali Charan at Cawnpore and to a Muslim meeting at Lahore at which speeches calculated to create hatred against Hindus were delivered and says:—We wait to see what action the bureaucracy takes against such transgression of law. If it fails to take any action it will open the eyes of those who still hold that it does not favour the Muslims. The *Abhyudaya* warns the Arya Samajists and specially the Sanatanist Hindus against the present "mean manoeuvre" of Khwaja Hasan Nizami which is intended to create a schism between the two. It refers to Mr. Mahomed Ali's remark that the Khwaja is a Government spy and says that at any rate the failure of the Government to proscribe his book *Dai-i-Islam* or to take any action against him in connexion with his activities calculated to create communal and sectarian hatred goes to confirm the suspicion. Discussing Dr. Moonje's presidential address at the Seva Samiti Conference at Gujranwala on January 29, the *Hamdam* says that while the enthusiasm of Hindus for physical culture is in every way commendable, it would be sowing the seeds of strife to paint lurid pictures of Muslims and to advise Hindus and their womenfolk to arm themselves in self-defence. The need is to create an atmosphere in the country in which both Hindus and Muslims would respect each other's religion and womankind. The *Haqiqat* says that the painful propaganda against Muslims and their religion carried on by the Arya press of Lahore and Delhi under pretext of Swami Shraddhanand's murder is now becoming intolerable. Since December 23 the *Milap*, *Pratap* and *Tej* have been continually publishing articles, some of which will make the blood of every Muslim who reads them boil. The *Arya Musafir* complains that M. Abdul Karim, the editor of the *Muslim Sewak* (Agra), has published in the issue of January 24 a dirty and scurrilous poem entitled "The reality of *shuddhi*" which has seriously wounded the feelings of Hindus by calling Muslims their sons-in-law. Muslims recite this poem in the markets and there is great resentment among Hindus. Government should immediately mete out adequate punishment to the editor of the *Muslim Sewak* for this improper act, otherwise there is fear of a breach of the peace. Hindus should exercise patience on this occasion. One Hamdard Azamgarhi writing in the *Mashriq* complains that Hindus are being unduly favoured at the expense of Muslims in the Education department of the Azamgarh District Board. Hindus are being sent to the Normal School in larger numbers than before and in new

vacancies only Hindus, especially Aryas and Kshattriyas, are being appointed. Partiality is also shown to *pathshalas* as compared with *maktabs*.

Music before mosques.

Commenting on the Madaripur riots the *Abhyudaya* says:—The Government has itself helped to aggravate this malady by not severely dealing with those who take the law into their own hands in connexion with music. The Muslims forcibly stop processions even if they are taken out under a licence. If this action of theirs is not anarchical, what else it is? If the Government wants to maintain peace and uphold its laws its duty is to bring to book those who take the law into their own hands or incite others to do so. High officials ought to exercise firmness and punish the law-breakers of Madaripur. The paper condemns the attitude of the Government towards the Hindus of Barisal and Madaripur and says:—In both these places the Muslims did not show the least regard for law and tried to stop the (Hindu) processions in front of mosques, delivered inflammatory speeches and even desecrated Hindu temples at Madaripur, but far from punishing the miscreants the Government punished the peaceful and law-abiding Hindus. We want to know what justice this is. The Government is aggravating the malady by resorting to such a perverse policy, and if it continues to follow it peace-loving people will begin to think that it cannot protect their lives and property. The *Aj* says that the conviction of the editor of the *Forward* for the allegation that the authorities do not discharge their duty in Hindu-Muslim disputes shows what liberty of writing Indians possess. Patuakhali *Satyagrahis* are being rigorously repressed; Bengali youths are being arrested in Calcutta in connexion with the Saraswati *poojah*; images disappear from roads in a crowded city like Calcutta and yet an editor is punished for saying that the authorities are not discharging their duty. Is this the way to maintain peace? Is it by such acts that the authorities hope to convince the people of their neutrality in communal disputes?

Muslim affairs.

The *Aligarh Mail* deprecates Mr. Haye's suggestions regarding Government inquiry into the affairs of the Aligarh University and writes:—We wish to bring home to the Government that Muslim opinion all over the country will highly resent an inquiry solely controlled by Government and its minions and will take it as a fresh encroachment and a new onslaught on the rights of the Muslim public. That is a point of first-rate consideration for the Government before it answers Mr. Haye's inopportune and inadvertent question in the Legislative Assembly. One Talib writing in the *Mashriq* complains that owing to the overwhelming majority of Hindus in district boards and the election of Hindu chairmen Muslim interests are suffering and appeals to Government to appoint official European chairmen to hold the scales even between the two communities. The *Hamdam* regrets that the *Sangathanist* Hindus of Calcutta are not prepared to let the bones of the New Market *fakir* rest in peace, even though two years have elapsed since his burial and the Calcutta Corporation has decided by a majority to exhume his corpse. The Hindu members of the Corporation are bent on desecrating his grave even though he cherished no enmity towards Hindus. This action will again embitter Hindu-Muslim relations which had of late been improving. The *Medina* also writes in a similar strain. The *Suhail-i-Yemen* says that the editor of the *An-Naim* has shown his dignity and manners by calling the *Shias* "enemies of Islam," "*Rafazi*," etc., in the November number and by asserting that wine and adultery are permissible among them. The paper quotes other passages also to show the bad taste of the *An-Naim*.

Indian States.

The *Medina* cites facts and figures to show that in the Hyderabad State the Hindus enjoy full civic and religious rights and more than their due share in the administration and says:—It will be seen how baseless is the charge that the Hindus are subjected to injustice and oppression by the Nizam. We fear that if the Hindu papers and leaders persist in carrying on false propaganda against the Nizam the Muslims will be compelled to expose the affairs of the Hindu States which are a disgrace to humanity. While the allegations against the Nizam are groundless, the tyrannies which are being perpetrated in Hindu States over Muslims are really shameful. It is a fact that in Bharatpur persistent efforts are being made to demolish mosques. In Kashmir the Muslims have been relegated to the background and a handful of non-Muslims have usurped their rights. Such is the religious bigotry and communal fanaticism of Hindus that even small *jagirdars* and *raises* do not tolerate *azans* in mosques situated in their estates. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that if Indian States had been jealous of their rights

their number would have been double of what it is at present and they would not have been in such a sorry plight that the biggest ruling chief can be deprived of his heritage owing to the displeasure of a single individual. Now, however, they seem to be awaking and are holding a conference at Patiala. This conference should ask the Royal Commission on Reforms to grant complete responsible government to British India and the Princes themselves should grant their subjects a potent voice in the administration so that their political status may be in no way inferior to that of their brethren in British India.

The Bengal detenus.

Referring to the "disclosures" made by the *Forward* regarding the hardships inflicted on the detenus the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The wail that rises from the Bengal homes will soon ring from all over this land. These internments might bespeak strong rule; this might be the best method of combating anarchy, but this is surely not justice and it is certainly not statesmanship to lacerate the feelings of a great population. Even if the detenus are released tomorrow it will take years before the scar disappears. In the course of an article urging the release of the Bengal detenus the *Vartman* writes:—If there are conspiracies, it is the Government which is responsible for them. It wants to crush the natural aspirations of the people. By its behaviour it has taught and is teaching the people how to conspire. It does not want to hear anything evil against it and does not mend its ways. It wants to rule through repression, which is unnatural.

The United Provinces Ministry.

The *Haqiqat* asserts that Mr. Chintamani is furiously intriguing against the present ministry not with a view to serve the public interest, but in order to secure ministerships for himself and his supporters and warns members of the Council not to be taken in by his spurious propaganda. The opposition party organized by Mr. Chintamani is hopelessly outnumbered by the ministerialist party organized by the Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf and that is why the latter has incurred the special displeasure of the *Leader* which is conducting a vigorous campaign against the present Ministers.

The Patuakhali *satyagrah*.

The *Anand* views with approval the Patuakhali *satyagrah* and hopes that Hindu volunteers from all parts of India will come forward to sacrifice themselves at the altar of their religion and will not rest in peace so long as they do not achieve success in their endeavour. The *Shanker* exhorts the Hindus all over India to save India's honour by making the Patuakhali *satyagrah* a success and says that if the people succeed in stopping the bureaucratic injustice the dawn of India's emancipation will be nearer.

Indianization of services.

Referring to the shortage of British officers in the Indian army the *Leader* writes:—India cannot afford to pay more for attracting British recruits and if they cannot be had in sufficient numbers on the existing conditions, it is necessary both on grounds of economy and justice to Indian aspirations that a larger number of Indians should be recruited to the ranks of the King's commissioned officers.

The Moplahs.

In the course of a series of articles headed "Exterminating the Moplahs", strongly protesting against the colonization of the Moplahs in the Andamans, the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—"A quinquennium has elapsed since the outbreak of the Moplahs into a tumult of independence and for it they have paid dearly with nothing less than their own blood, but mean vindictiveness based on brute force has not yet given up its cowardly attempts to drive out poor Moplahs from Malabar . . . . This policy of victimizing which is also incidentally the policy of extermination of the Moplahs from Malabar is being studiedly pursued by Government with cruel hard-heartedness in spite of the fact that its own committee of four appointed some time ago to inquire into conditions of the Andaman Islands has unequivocally and stubbornly opposed the scheme of their colonization with the Moplah prisoners."

Age of consent.

Supporting Dr. Gour's Bill for raising the age of consent to 16 years the *Leader* writes:—The question of a suitable age of consent is one of national importance. We would be glad if it is raised to 16 both in the case of husbands and outsiders.

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ALLAHABAD:
February 19, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 8 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 26, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The Chinese situation continues to receive prominent attention in the Press. The *Najat* says that it is now established that Britain is the most greedy power of the world in respect of enslaving Asiatic nations and establishing her influence in the East and she always despatches her troops wherever European domination appears to be endangered. Seeing the Chinese successes she began to be afraid of the loss of her privileges and trade in China and incited other powers to take action. They have all refused, and it is Britain only which is so solicitous of the safety of her nationals that she has sent heavy reinforcements. Britain's action in helping the Chinese rebels shows that she is not sincerely desirous of a settlement and wants to retain her special privileges. Britain's policy of deceit might have succeeded with a less acute people than the Chinese who are already fed up with British high-handedness, and the only way for Britain to maintain her prestige is to concede Chinese rights before she is forced to yield them. The *Desh Bhagat* regrets that the British are bent on picking up a quarrel with the Chinese by concentrating troops at Shanghai simply because it is the cheap blood of poor and innocent India which will flow and says that if Indians unite and make it impossible for Britain to get aid from India in the Chinese operations she would immediately come to an agreement with China. Indian nationalists should therefore at once map out a programme to deprive Britain of Indian aid. The *Aj* urges the Army department to publish a *communiqué* to make clear why Punjabi battalions are being returned to Hongkong from Shanghai. The *Hamdam* complains that Ibn Saud has practically placed himself under British tutelage to gain British assistance against Yemen and urges the Khilafat Conference and Moatmir Islam to vote against the Hedjaz being allowed to remain under his control.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

A poem entitled "The reality of Shuddhi" reproduced by the *Muslim Sewak* (Agra) from the *Zarif Punch* of Delhi has evoked a storm of protests in the Hindu Press. The *Pratap* says that the writer of the poem has heartily abused the Hindus. He has called the Muslims the sons-in-law and the sisters' husbands of the Hindus and has asked them "not to feel shy or cast down their looks (in shame)." The poem is full of mischievous sentiments. It evinces meanness, brutality, barbarity, shamelessness and savagery. This is due to the indifference, cowardice and heartlessness of the Hindu community. If the Hindu community possesses the least sense of self-respect it should render impossible the hurling of such attacks, otherwise it should be taken for granted that it does not know how to protest. The *Shankar* refers to the poem, to the Government's attitude in connexion with the playing of music before mosques and to the action taken by it against the *Vichitra Jiwan* and observes:—All this shows to what a great extent the bureaucracy is oppressing the Hindus and siding with the Muslims. It is showing absolute partiality to Muslims. If any Hindu had published any such poem the readers can imagine what his fate would have been, but what can we say of the policy the object of which is to set the two chief communities of India by the ears? This poem will surely incite the Hindus, but they should not allow themselves to be carried away by this, inasmuch as all this is being done by a third enemy with the object of increasing his strength. The *Arya Mitra* says:—In the poem published by the *Muslim Sewak* every effort has been made to incite the feelings of the Hindus. Does the Government think that the publication of such filthy verses is justifiable? Can

one party shower filth over the other under British protection? Referring to the action taken by the Government against *Rangila Rasul*, *Vichitra Jiwan* and the *Milap* the *Jat Vir* wonders why the Government does not take similar action against Muslim papers like the *Muslim Sewak* which are making filthy attacks on great Hindu personalities. It urges the Government to restrain Muslim papers, preachers and writers from emiting poison against the Hindus. The *Parivartan* (Saharanpur) complains that a most offensive poem, likely to endanger the peace of the city, has appeared in the local *Zarif* dated February 4, and inquires of the United Provinces Government whether it takes action only against Arya writers. It reproduces the poem which is entitled "India must needs become the centre of Islam" and in which the following lines occur among others. "Islam must needs become a bed of roses in India; the Arya satan will be annihilated and become nameless. The times are fully aware of your reality . . . You have turned into sons of Satan by becoming reciters of the Vedas. O Aryas, hear from me one absurdity of the Vedas . . . Sometimes she is (your) wife who was (your) mother. One day the temples will become mosques. India must needs become the centre of Islam. *Firaq*, we also are sitting with iron clubs and fiery whips. The Arya satans will be thrashed for becoming opposed to the readers of the *Shariat*". Commenting on this the paper (*Parivartan*) says that the insult offered to the Arya Hindu community and the holy Vedas is extremely deplorable and inquires whether a breach of the peace would not occur if the Hindus were to indulge similarly in improper language regarding the Holy Quran and the Prophet. The *Zarif* ridicules the objection taken by the *Parivartan* to this poem and says that Muslims are really showing remarkable restraint as will appear from a perusal of the following extracts from an anti-Muslim poem which was sung in an Arya procession at Amritsar:—"We shall have to sound the drum of *Shuddhi*; we shall have to burn the Quran; we shall have to come into the field; we shall have to annihilate Islam; we shall have to demolish Mecca and Medina. Hindu, Muslim and Christian brethren, all will have to be converted. All will have to enter the fold of the Vedic religion. All will have to have their *Niyog* (temporary marriages) performed." The *Sewak* inquires of Government why no action has been taken against the *Zarif* which has seriously outraged Hindu sentiment by publishing a poem in which the Aryas have been called satans and sons of Satan and wonders whether Government is intimidated by the bravery of Muslims. The *Najat* is convinced that the Hindu leaders have now adopted a settled policy of injuring Muslims and keeping them down, being firm in the faith that the Hindus being in a majority can carry all before them only if sufficient enthusiasm is created. It therefore advises Muslims to make up for their paucity of numbers by compactness and organization. If they do not unite against their enemies they will be annihilated as a nation and reduced to the helpless state of the Jews. The *Musalmanon ka Akhbar* complains of the anti-Muslim attitude of the Hindus generally and of the foul abuse indulged in by Arya papers of the Punjab, ever since Swami Shraddhanand's death and hopes that the warning issued by Government will prove effective and relations between the two communities will now improve. The *Bedar* reproduces as a sample of offensive Hindu propaganda after Swami Shraddhanand's murder a poem from the *Shahid* number of the *Tej* (Delhi) in which it is said that Swami Shraddhanand gained a higher status than the prophet Muhammad because while the former attained martyrdom, the latter did not and that the teachings of Islam are to blame for the act of Abdul Rashid and should be wiped out from the world. It also publishes as a rejoinder to the above a poem entitled "Muslim's Rashid" by *Muslim* in which it is said that his (Swami Shraddhanand's) wickedness ordained him for hell and that when he (Swami) raised the undesirable question of *Shuddhi* the truth-seeking murderer thought that he (the Swami) was a mischief-maker and he would gain merit before God by beheading him. Though this is not the teaching of Muslim law, yet he had to be punished for his wickedness. If anybody killed him (Swami) in excitement, he (Swami) received the fruit of his mischief-making. There is no defect in the teachings of Islam and there can be no peace in India until the Aryas are wiped out of the country. The *Tarjuman* inquires whether Government which is so proud of its justice has seen the *Shahid* number of the *Tej* which contains matter highly offensive to the feelings of Muslims and quoting some lines from it writes:—Can there be anything more insulting and offensive? Does Government want to see the fun of the patience and forbearance of Muslims by keeping silent? One *Shams* of Gaya writing in the same paper complains that the venomous writings of the Aryas are taxing the patience of the Muslims and

appeals to Government to intervene in the interests of peace and order. He quotes from *Al Aman* of January 23 a poem entitled the "Corpse of Tabligh" and inquires how Muslims can put up with being styled as mean and then gives a poem by himself written as a rejoinder. It is entitled "The marriage of Bi-Shuddhi—reply to the brickbat" and the following lines occur among others in it:—O *Soz*, if you thus pour forth the venom of your heart I will say openly that you are mean. When Bi-Shuddhi collided with a Muslim Swamiji pursued her very much He inquired why she had joined the enemy. She replied that she had gone to lift the corpse (of Tabligh). (There) a Maulvi violated her chastity and married her to Islam. She remained with Islam for six months; no Arya reached there even by mistake and not even Madan Malaviya inquired about her. When she began to serve Islam signs of pregnancy began to appear, and when her belly swelled then the Muslim said that ..... ji had been reborn. The *Aj* complains that there is no provision in the Penal Code to punish forcible conversion from one religion to another as disclosed by the remarks of the special magistrate of Pabna in a communal case against Muslims and urges that this deficiency should be made good as early as possible.

Indian in the Colonies.

With a few exceptions the South African settlement has been favourably received by the Press. The *Leader* writes:—We have to judge the settlement not by an absolute standard, but by the practical test of what was possible in the circumstances. The question is not whether it is the best that could be conceived, but whether it is the best that was possible. Our answer to it is the same as Mahatma Gandhi's:—"It is the best that was possible." Its first feature that would strike every one is that the Areas Reservation Bill has been dropped. In other words, that for which every one strove has been accomplished. Certain details of the new scheme of "assisted emigration" are open to criticism and its operation will have to be watched with care. But we have no hesitation in saying that viewed in the whole and in relation to the circumstances the new scheme is much less objectionable and will be attended with much less hardship than what we have been familiar with, and deserves to be supported by Indian opinion. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The Government of India must be congratulated on the superb stage management of the South African settlement. They have condescendingly taken Gandhi into confidence and secured his qualified support. But we must express disappointment on a compromise that has now and for ever acknowledged the principle that the Indian is an alien in a place which he has helped to build up and that the moment he is not wanted he can be repatriated or re-emigrated. South Africa has gained all along the line in this game of compromise. We wonder what the Britishers would think if ten years hence a self-governing India found that the average Britisher must either conform to the "eastern standard" of existence or be sent away from India on payment of passage money from Bombay to London and three hundred rupees. This settlement which has considerably strengthened South Africa most cruelly humiliates India. It has branded our countrymen as slaves waiting to be transferred to service anywhere. The human cattle are to be flocked into the *Pinjrapole* with a provision of twenty pounds for fodder. The process is absolutely non-violent, and hence perhaps the unstinted blessings of Gandhi. The *Vartman* writes:—In spite of Mahatma Gandhi's appreciation of the settlement the country should not exult at it. We should not forget that the Class Areas Bill has been merely suspended; it may be taken up again. The settlement is not irrevocable and what is the guarantee that it will not be violated like the Gandhi-Smuts agreement? The provision of assisted emigration is most terrible. The settlement is calculated to benefit South Africa more than India. A superficial observer may find some good points, but there is no substance in it, nor can there be any until we acquire the strength of compelling others to respect our rights. The *Aj* more or less agrees with the views of Mr. Gandhi and welcomes the declaration regarding the arrangements to be made for the education of Indians domiciled in South Africa, but entertains misgivings in this connexion owing to wide discretion being given to provincial Governors. It remarks that the condition laid down for giving equal wages to Indians as against Europeans for similar work will adversely affect the Indians and urges the Legislative Assembly to give due weight to this question and its implications. It insists that in carrying the scheme of assisted emigration Indians should not be repatriated to other countries except with the consent of the Government of India and that the Legislative Assembly should be entrusted with the task of preparing the list of such countries. The *Abhyudaya*

congratulates the members of the South African deputation on the settlement and remarks that though it is not the best, it is the best that was possible under the circumstances and would improve the condition of Indians in South Africa. The *Hamdam* welcomes the settlement in so far as it saves Indians in South Africa from the Asiatic Bill, but demurs to the clause requiring Indians to adopt Western civilization. The satisfaction of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Andrews with the settlement is a happy augury, but Indians in South Africa should not permit themselves to be lulled into a false sense of security and should be fully prepared to combat future emergencies.

Music before mosques.

The *Aj* writes:—Hindu-Muslim lawlessness has increased awfully in Bengal as if there is no ruler there. The only means which occurs to the authorities to preserve peace is to stop Hindu religious functions. The Muslims will commit disturbances if music is played before mosques. It therefore follows that the public rights of the peaceful Hindus should be forfeited. This is the sample of administrative justice. This dispute cannot be satisfactorily settled without organized and collective *Satyagraha*. If the leaders of Bengal will not pay heed in this direction, they will fail in their duty and the masses may commit improper acts which will give an easy handle to the "steel frame" to justify its existence. The *Anand* commends the example of the inhabitants of Barisal in insisting on their right of taking out processions with music on public roads although they have been arrested for it, and urges the Hindus of other provinces also to follow their example and to be ready to sacrifice their all for the vindication of their religious rights. The *Desh Bhagat* reproaches the Hindu Sabha leaders for their indifference towards the Patuakhali *Satyagraha* which is being carried on to protect the all-India Hindu right of music before mosques, and says that it is this that has encouraged Government and Muslims to adopt an increasingly severe attitude towards the Satyagrahis. Local organizations should be set up everywhere to provide men and money for the struggle.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* writes:—Britain is much exercised that European countries supply aerial armaments to China. Imperialist whites think that nobody except themselves has the right to keep arms because God has given them alone the monopoly of ruling the world. Signs are not wanting that the lease of such a monopoly is to terminate in no distant future. The paper heartily supports the suggestion to invite the Chinese delegates to the conference of oppressed nationalities to India to make them acquainted with public opinion in this country and thereby convince them that Indians have no sympathy with Britain's policy in China. It says that in order to create sympathy between oppressed nationalities their respective representatives should visit one another's country. Referring to Syed Tufail Ahmad's speech in the United Provinces Council on educational backwardness in these provinces the *Medina* writes:—What else can be expected of a foreign Government than this that it would keep us ignorant and illiterate in order to impress upon us the need of its guidance? If the destiny of India were to-day placed in the hands of her own sons, we would in the course of seven years raise the percentage of literacy to 93 per cent. Nothing but ignorance and poverty can be expected of slavery and subjection.

Muslim affairs.

Syed Nazir Hashmi writing in the *Mashriq* says that in view of the fact that the Hindus are not generous in their treatment of their depressed classes and the Aryas are persistently fomenting anti-Muslim feeling, it would never be safe to leave Muslims at the mercy of the Hindu majority by abolishing separate representation. In the course of a leading article strongly criticizing Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's Bill for the registration of marriages and divorces among Muslims the *Medina* writes:—It is impossible for us to find space for the publication of the numerous communications and resolutions which we have received against this Bill which involves serious interference with the religious liberty of the Muslims. Opposition to this measure has been growing apace and has now become very intense. We shall lose faith in the prudence of the Doctor if in spite of this he has the temerity to proceed with the Bill in the Council. We have not found a single point in justification of the measure. The Islamic injunctions relating to marriage and divorce are clear enough and are higher than all such mundane laws. The *Ulema* regard the Bill as an undue interference with the *Shariat*. Mercy should be shown to poor Muslims. Their married life should not be taxed for the financial requirements of local bodies.

Muslims are poor. Their lot should not be made harder. Cases of misbehaviour are rare in the Muslim community and they should not be increased through this measure. The proposed law would also encourage litigation. The *Sada-i-Muslim* urges Government to accept Sir Ibrahim Jafar's proposal for the expenditure of the accumulated interest on savings bank accounts of Muslims on Muslim education. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Muslim members of the Azamgarh district board tired of the anti-Muslim attitude of the Hindu majority as shown by its refusal to help maktabs with a single pice beyond the grant fixed by Government and to sell pound cattle to butchers, have resigned in a body. It is to be hoped that influential persons will try to bring about reforms and reconciliation.

The Kharagpur strike.

Protesting against the shooting of strikers at Kharagpur the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—If employees cannot protest against their grievances without being shot, the sooner all legislatures are abolished and martial law introduced with General Dyer as Viceroy the better. It makes the heart sick to realize that such things can happen under a Christian administration. This recklessness in endangering human life is appalling. The *Aj* writes:—Who will not be reminded of his terrible state of subjection on reading accounts of the strike on the Bengal Nagpur Railway and of the deeds of the champions of peace? Indeed, India is such a subject country that its rulers can do anything in the name of the preservation of peace. It is no use complaining against firing. It has now become a common occurrence. We fail to understand how firing was resorted to "with the previous permission of the district magistrate." This means that blank forms of death-warrants were signed even before trial. It is useless to comment further on this. The heavenly rulers have received from on high the right to interpret law in any way they like and to enact fresh legislation according to their sweet will, and it is useless to take exception to it. But one cannot help asking why firing was not resorted to on the occasion of the general strike in England, while this was the case in dealing with an insignificant strike in India. The *Pratap* also strongly protests against the bayoneting of the strikers and says:—The demand of the Kharagpur strikers is just and their quiet attitude testifies to their spirit of forbearance. Their grievances should, therefore, be fully investigated and a thorough inquiry should be made into the cases of bayoneting and firing. The *Abhyudaya* condemns the attitude of the Government in connexion with the bayoneting of the strikers at Kharagpur and referring to Mr. Joshi's statement that no other Government in the world makes such a use of bullets and bayonets observes:—Mr. Joshi has probably forgotten that the Government of India is far more civilized than other Governments of the world and that its code of civilization justifies the shooting and bayoneting of the unarmed, the helpless and the labourers. We deem it sufficient to say that we do not see any difference between this civilization of the Government and the barbarity of the barbarous nations, and if it continues to behave in such a civilized fashion it will have to repent for its doings some day.

The Steel Protection Bill.

The *Aj* apprehends that with the help of Mr. Jinnah and his followers the principle of imperial preference in respect of British steel may be adopted in the Legislative Assembly and the Indian consumer may be compelled to purchase costly British steel. It says that so far the bureaucracy quietly helped British industries with Indian money and caused loss to the Indian tax-payer, but now the disastrous system of openly promoting British industries with the help of legislation is also being introduced. The only suitable reply to this terrible injustice will be to start an agitation for the boycott of British steel. It is to be hoped that the All-India Congress Committee will thoroughly consider this question in consultation with steel dealers.

Indian States.

The *Hamdam* thinks that the Muslim labourers killed by gun fire in the recent rioting at Indore must have been unarmed and says that in view of the fact that Muslims lose their lives in larger numbers in all disturbances, the Muslim members of the Assembly should demand an assurance from Government that innocent Muslim labourers in the State are not falling a prey to communal prejudice. Reverting to the subject in a subsequent issue the paper recalls the demolition of a mosque last year in Khargon, Indore State, when Mr. Balwant Singh was the provincial governor there and says that as there is no Muslim in any high office in the State, the poor Muslims who have been the greatest sufferers in the recent riot and

are now being arrested in large numbers will not get justice and urges Muslim members of the Assembly to come to their aid.

The new public school.

Referring to the appeal for the establishment of a new type of public school the *Abhyudaya* says that this school is evidently meant for the rich only as none among the common people can afford to spend Rs. 125 per mensem over the education of their children, but it can do no good even to the rich and is sure to defeat its objects inasmuch as true unity and co-operation are impossible so long as the higher classes do not associate with the common people in educational institutions and Hindi is not the medium of instruction.

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ALLAHABAD :
February 26, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 9 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 5, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the "threat" of Britain to Russia the *Aj* says:—It is idle to blame Russia. She is only taking advantage of Britain's blunders. The British imperialists are unable to resist the temptation of domination. They themselves declare that Russia wants to create trouble in India too, and yet they do not make a friend of the latter. The best reply to Russian propaganda will be to accord a good treatment to the non-white portion of the British Empire and then Britain can have no fear of Russian hostility. In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The Russian Government has given a crushing but well-deserved reply to the British threat. We too can judge from the speeches of the British authorities and writings in the British press that the Russian charge against the British Government of breach of even ordinary rules of courtesy in its dealings with Russia is not without foundation. The very letter to which Russia has given the reply furnishes an example of this charge. The *Medina* writes:—The most wonderful feature of the Chinese imbroglio is the unusual and unexpected forbearance evinced by British statesmen. The spirit of General Dyer has to remain restless in the scabbard. Events are daily tending towards a sanguinary conflict, but it is certain that Britain will not fight singly with China and is on the lookout for a sacrificial goat.

The budget.

The budget has been accorded a mixed reception in the Press. There is a general complaint that there has been no reduction in military expenditure and no grants have been given to the Hindu and Muslim universities. The *Leader* writes:—"Sir Basil Blackett's stewardship has been marked by a considerable improvement in the financial position of Government, and though he has been subjected to much bitter criticism in connexion with his exchange policy, it cannot be denied that he has handled the Indian finances in a masterly manner. . . . It is a notable achievement that in addition to announcing the extinction of the provincial contributions, which we hope will be permanent, he has proposed reductions in the duty on motor cars and tires, the abolition of export duty on hides and tea and of the stamp duty on cheques and bills of exchange payable on demand. . . . It is surprising that in spite of the demands that have been made for the further reduction of military expenditure Sir Basil Blackett should have acted as the mouthpiece of the military department in saying that no further reductions are possible. Everyone knows that the existing forces are not all required for the defence of the country, and that they are being maintained at their present strength and state of efficiency for imperial purposes. The expenditure on them should be reduced at least to the figure recommended by the Inchcape Committee." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* characterizes the budget as a rich man's budget and says:—The budget is a tempting morsel on the whole, but even after a casual perusal of the Finance Member's speech one cannot but be struck with the thought that Sir Basil was making a strategic use of the surplus budget in his forthcoming duel on the ratio issue with the stalwarts of the Currency League. Viewed in this light, Sir Basil's prosperity budget assumes certain sinister aspects. The remission of the provincial contributions is the sugar coating for the bitter pill of the 18*d.* ratio, which the Finance Member guilefully wants the Assembly Members to swallow unquestioningly.

Railway administration.

The Railway administration has come in for a good deal of strong criticism in connexion with the Railway budget. The *Leader* writes:—The strong criticism to which

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the Railway administration was subjected in the Assembly and the crushing indictment of the Railway Board by Pandit Motilal Nehru were well deserved. The Railway administration is in the hands of irresponsible men who may not care much for non-official criticism, but unless they pay heed to the warnings and criticism uttered and take steps to check abuses and extravagance, a crash will come sooner than later. The appointment of a capable and independent Indian as a member of the Railway Board is absolutely necessary to safeguard Indian interests. The *Aj* writes:—The greatest wrong is done to India in the matter of purchasing railway materials for her. Indians have to pay more for their purchases and still British and not indigenous industries are benefited thereby. Although many crores of rupees have been spent on railways in this country, yet the country has not been able to produce a single indigenous expert and we have still to depend upon others for the management of railways. Not only have thirty thousand waggons been unnecessarily purchased for fifteen crores of rupees for India in England to relieve unemployment there, but to add insult to injury, the British steel industry is now to be developed at the cost of India. India has to suffer all these losses simply because the bureaucracy is not responsible to the legislature, does not care in the least for public opinion and has the support of the army at its back. Commenting on Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's resolution regarding the Railway Board's grant, the paper says that although the Government now manages four important railway lines, yet it follows the same illiberal policy towards Indians as was done by companies. The worst feature of the existing irresponsible government is that on the one hand doors have been closed against Indians acquiring fitness and experience, and on the other they are taunted for want of capable members among them. Under this Government Indians have been emasculated by being disarmed and high military posts are not available for them. Who are to blame for this? Those who have destroyed the manliness of the country taunt the Indians that they cannot grant *swaraj* to them lest the latter should fall an easy prey to other foreigners in case the former leave their country. There will be found many instances in history of deceit, trickery and crookedness, but this example of shameless selfishness stands prominent by itself. It is the misfortune of this country that its money is spent on encouraging foreign industry at the expense of the indigenous one. Railway expansion in India at the cost of thirty crores of rupees annually was undertaken simply to relieve unemployment in England and with the same object in view has legislation now been passed for the protection of British steel. All this calls for a wholesale reorganization of the Railway Board and the departments connected with it and for the appointment therein of capable Indians who can look after the interests of the country which are betrayed by foreign interests. The *Abhyudaya* views with amazement the purchase of 30,000 waggons with the object of removing unemployment in England and enriching that country and says that it is in this way that the trade of India is ruined and people of England make merry.

Political propaganda.

The *Abhyudaya* takes Mr. Moberly severely to task for opposing the resolution regarding the release of the Bengal detenus and remarks that it is really the Government's cruel policy which is responsible for the spread of anarchism in the country, and the only way to uproot it is that officials should change their attitude and at least maintain the sanctity and importance of justice. The leaders have done their best to uproot anarchism, but if still it continues to exist, the responsibility for it lies on officials whose actions are nothing short of naked injustice. The *Aj* writes:—Mr. James Langford in his speech at the annual meeting of the European Association, Calcutta, expressed surprise that nationalist India and her press took delight in Bolshevik successes, but were grieved at British ones. But there is nothing to be wondered at in this. This is natural. Who is not pleased at finding an equal adversary to his opponent? The bureaucracy does everything to remind us that we are an utterly subject and helpless people. Can such things inspire love in Indians towards their autocratic rulers? Mr. Langford says that India has no worse enemy than Bolsheviks. How can we believe it? Bolsheviks are certainly the enemy of the British Empire, specially of its Eastern domination; but they have never manifested hostility towards India. Can we become lovers of that domination for the protection of which the British Colonies are not prepared to give a single soldier or a single pie, but poor Indians are required to spend crores of rupees every year and our armies are sent to fight against our own neighbours? Militarist administration,

black Acts and police frightfulness can never turn a country into a well-wisher of its foreign rule. Referring to Sir Frederick Whyte's remarks that the reforms had banished all fear of a revolution in India, the *Najat* asserts that the changed attitude of Bengal does not betoken the success of the reforms. General dissatisfaction still prevails in the country and Indians know full well that causes of discontent like general indigence, prevalence of disease, semi-starvation of a large part of the population, lack of sanitary arrangements and means of communication are still oppressing weak India. The only difference is that Hindu-Muslim differences have given Government a little breathing time. If this is to be interpreted as the success of the so-called reforms and our real grievances are not to be attended to, Government may rest assured that a time is sooner or later to come like that when Lord Reading had to send Malaviyaji as a messenger of peace from the snowy heights of Simla to the hut of Mr. Gandhi. Government should not pride itself on the present state and should instead of clapping hands set itself to removing long-standing grievances, else it will see times much worse than what it has seen previously. The *Desh Bhagat* says that complete freedom is the only remedy for India's troubles and can be gained by following Mr. Saklatwala's programme of communism and organization of labourers and peasants. It was this programme of boycott and mass organization which released Russia from the clutches of the Tsar's despotic government. This programme is also practicable as most of the men who join the police and army are peasants and labourers. After this organization has been effected, aid should be taken of foreigners and of the boycott of goods as was done in China to commence the struggle for liberty. Young men should volunteer for this work and thus put an end to the political apathy prevailing in the country. The *Krishna* takes exception to Mr. Saklatwala's characterization of Mr. Gandhi's advocacy of boycott of British goods and of non-violence as his two grave blunders and says that no undue tenderness for British labour should stand in the way of Indians exercising pressure on Britain to concede their political rights and that violence is impracticable in the present circumstances.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Tarjuman* publishes a lampoon satiring transmigration and pointing out that according to this theory Hindus can be re-born as beasts of prey and carrion-feeders and partake of all sorts of dirty things. The *Mashriq* urges that in view of the atrocities practised on Muslims in the recent riot at Bahadurganj (Ghazipur district) only Englishmen should be posted as Collectors and Judges in the districts of Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Ballia and Gorakhpur, and the Government of India should recommend to the Secretary of State that the Royal Commission should not be sent out and the Reforms should be suspended. The *Haqiqat* says that the news of the Hindu attack on Muslims at Bahadurganj (Ghazipur) is creating excitement and anger among Muslims. Such are the effects of the sangathanist teachings of Malaviyaji and Lalaji and it has to be seen how far Government does justice to the innocent Muslims. The *Mashriq* says that the condition of Muslims is bad in all local bodies and Government should suspend the reforms until Hindus and Muslims abandon their present selfish attitude. Members of local bodies should be nominated in such a manner that neither community might be in a majority and the chairman should always be a European Collector.

Indian States.

The *Aziz-i-Hind* urges the responsible officials of Dholpur to publish a statement showing the proceeds of the lottery, the amounts received by Jolly Brothers and the Maharaja Sahab and the amounts disbursed to the unfortunate purchasers of tickets. In another article the paper urges the deputation of responsible British officials to Bharatpur to put a stop to the Maharaja's extravagances and follies. The *Sada-i-Muslim* invites the attention of the Government of India to the fact that Muslims are not allowed in Indore to offer prayers *en masse* as enjoined by their religion and says that unless matters are mended immediately serious dissatisfaction will spread. Referring to Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang's telegram to the Government of India praying for intervention in the matter of prohibition of prayers in mosques in Indore, the *Hamdam* regrets that Hindu-Muslim tension has now spread to the Indian States also, and says that it shows gross maladministration to interfere with the religious freedom of the subjects. The *Medina* says:—Only recently Dr. Moonje held out the threat of becoming a Shivaji and a practical demonstration of this has been given in the disturbance in the Mahratta State of Indore. All our correspondents unanimously report from Indore that the Arya Samajists, are fomenting trouble in the State and taking

advantage of the Hindu raj, are harassing Muslims. The *Zulqarnain* fears that as there is no Muslim high official in the Indore State the Muslim accused in the recent riot will hardly get justice and hopes that Muslim members of the Assembly will come to their rescue.

Indians in the colonies.

Commenting on the South African settlement the *Sainik* writes:—As it is the settlement is not bad and is sufficient for consolation. What else could we do in our present state of slavery and helplessness? The future alone will show how the term "western standards of life" is interpreted. The *Azad* welcomes the South African settlement as the best in the circumstances and says that Indians cannot enjoy their cherished status in foreign lands until they gain *swaraj* in their own homes. The *Sada-i-Muslim* congratulates the Government of India and Sir Muhammad Habibullah on the satisfactory settlement of the South African question and says that the dropping of the Class Areas Reservation Bill has been a great concession to Indians. The *Hamdam* agrees with the suggestion of Mr. Gandhi that Mr. Shastri should be appointed as Indian agent in South Africa. South African Indians really need a leader of his calibre and sincerity at this stage.

The Bengal detenus.

In an article headed "Terrorization by Government" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* strongly criticizes Mr. Moberly's speech on the resolution in the Bengal Council regarding the release of the detenus. It says:—To think that such nonsense will be taken seriously in this country is to insult our intelligence. This comes as part of the propaganda of the kind that the Huns excelled in during the great war. Every time the Government has made a statement on the detenus, it has only helped to strengthen public agitation by showing up bureaucratic weakness. The *Krishna* says that it is downright *Nadir Shahi* to confine persons without trial and inquires why all the Bengal detenus are not released when the Government does not dare to take its case into court. India must needs be displeased when neither their release nor their trial takes place as she regards them not as criminals but as the vanguards of Indian freedom. Political prisoners, internees and exiles, it goes on to say, are our leaders. They are the true and loyal sons of India and Indian co-operation cannot be won by Government without their release.

The *Khilafat* Conference.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The *Khilafat* Conference held at Lucknow was a total failure in every sense. The *Khilafat* question is dead and buried in the limbo of oblivion. The *Khalifa* is dead and buried with the movement. To hold a *Khilafat* Conference now is like holding a conference on the Bengal partition question or to continue the agitation on the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. The *Medina* agrees whole-heartedly with every word of the presidential address of the conference and says:—Until the gates of western capitalism and militarism are closed it will be extremely difficult for India to attain independence. These gates are situated in the Muslim countries of Arabia, Egypt, Asia Minor and Palestine. The programme of *tanzim* which the president has put forward to attain these objects deserves consideration. If India wants freedom, if she wishes to reap the benefit of her natural resources, if she wants to occupy a place of distinction in the world, if Muslims want the restoration and rehabilitation of the *Khilafat*, if they want to settle the Hedjaz problems and to strengthen inter-Muslim relations and wish to live peaceful lives in India, then it is essential to act upon the suggestions contained in the learned address. The *Najat* observes that the views of the president deserve the attention of all Indian Muslims on account of their comprehensiveness, sobriety, dignity and tolerance and deep insight into the needs and sentiments of Muslims.

The Patuakhali *satyagrah*.

Urging the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha to assume control of the *satyagrah* campaign the *Aj* writes:—We require organization and leadership as was displayed by the Akalis. The time has come when the unjust orders of the bureaucracy should be courageously disobeyed. If the communal leaders will undertake this work the Congress will be constrained to help them. The Bengal Congress Committee will be well advised to assume control of this agitation and show that it is not a communal or religious question, but one relating to the civic rights of the people. Who knows that the bureaucracy which sides today with the Muslims and disallows Hindu religious processions on public roads will not side with the Hindus tomorrow and deprive Muslims of their civic rights? This question

does not concern Hindus or Muslims, but affects the entire nation. It is a question of the protection of the rights of the people by saving them from those who fight in the name of religion and those who make them fight. When such an aspect of the question has been made evident the Congress will be able to assume its control.

The exchange ratio.

The *Pratap* contends that India would lose if the exchange rate of the rupee is raised above 1*s.* 4*d.* and says that the Government is trying to raise it because it is foreign, and its real object is to rob Indians and capture Indian markets. This it can do only by increasing the consumption of British goods in India. If the rate of exchange is raised, the foreigners will be able to fill their godowns by purchasing raw materials from Indians at cheap prices and also sell their finished products to us at cheap prices. Indians will thus be losers in every way.

Adi-Hindu Conference.

The *Medina* whole-heartedly supports the demands made on behalf of the depressed classes by the president of the Adi-Hindu Conference held at Allahabad and says :— We assure the president that Muslims stand by him with regard to these demands and are prepared to help him. If he wishes, Islam is ready to receive him with open arms and will accord him the same position as is given to Syeds and Sheikhs.

Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, which of late has been persistently carrying on propaganda on behalf of the Maharaja of Nabha, publishes a letter from its Delhi correspondent reporting the talk he had with a Sikh—" probably a retired military man ". The latter is reported to have said :—The Maharaja is a martyr to our cause. His place in our heart is next to our *gurus*. The treatment he has received at the hands of our uncharitable Government has taken the lance deep into our hearts. The wound will bleed and bleed until the last drop is exhausted.

The Barisal riot.

Referring to the riot in the Barisal district the *Leader* writes :—The main cause of the disturbances that have taken place is the issue of music before mosques. If the Government of Bengal had adopted a firm attitude from the very beginning and had not in any way countenanced preposterous Muslim claims in this matter, the situation would not have grown so serious as it has. They followed a short-sighted policy and are reaping the fruits thereof.

Muslims affairs.

The *Najat* asserts that there are numerous evils among Muslims in regard to marriages and divorces and wonders why some Muslims are opposed to their registration. If they object to Government restrictions, they should suggest some better method of reform.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD :
March 5, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
4 APR 27
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 10 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 12, 1927.

Foreign affairs,

The *Aj* hopes that the whole of nationalist India will welcome the Chinese delegation to this country and thereby impress upon it that though the Government of India under instructions from the British Government may do whatever it likes, the heart of nationalist India is with nationalist China. It also hopes that later on a similar delegation will be sent from India to China, and in this manner mutual sympathy will be created between these two big countries of Asia. The time has come when we should take part in international politics and strive to create mutual sympathy and understanding among Eastern countries. For this purpose the Congress should establish a separate foreign department.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Charges and counter-charges regarding the publication of offensive and blasphemous articles, especially poems, are becoming a feature of the Hindu-Muslim tension. The *Balidan* complains that the Muslim writers are emitting the most virulent poison against Hindu gods and goddesses and says that so long as the sale of such books is not made impossible they cannot be stopped from doing so. It regrets that the tendency to wound the feelings of the Hindus is increasing among Muslims day by day and that the Government does not take any notice of it. One Parmeshwari Sahai writing in the *Arya Mitra* quotes a number of passages and verses from the *Radd-i-Hindu* (published in 1845), *Tuhfatul Hind mai katha saloi* (published in 1861), and *Tegh-i-Faqir bar gardan-i-sharir* (published in 1873, i.e., two years before the establishment of the Arya Samaj) to show that the Muslims who blame Arya Samajists that their writings are full of attacks on Islam, had themselves been showering indecent and filthy abuse on Hindu deities, saints and religious preceptors even before the existence of Arya Samaj. The *Chand* publishes a lengthy rambling article dealing with the weaknesses of the Hindu community and their remedy. It urges that "Hindu organization" based on justice and equality to all classes and sexes is the only means, whereby the Hindus can exist as a living community. This organization should not be inspired by hatred towards Muslims, but should surely strive to suppress mischief-making by fanatical Mullas and Maulvis and to wipe out of existence the name of mischievous and bloody Abdul Rashids from the Indian history. Babu Jagannath Saran writing in the *Arya Mitra* emphasizes the importance of the Arya Samaj *nagarkirtan* processions and says:—The Government ought to formulate its policy in this matter in accordance with justice and to study the feelings of the Arya Samajists, because if this unrest among them continues to increase and the Arya Samajist youths make ready to sacrifice themselves at the altar of religion, the result will be highly undesirable and the Government will have to encounter great difficulties. The *satyagraha* of the Arya Samajists would be something different from that of the Congress or the Akalis. The *India* ridicules a poster by one Tufail Ahmad stating that the Prophet had appeared in a dream to urge the pushing on of *tabligh* work and says that the *shuddhi* of the Aryas has created a commotion not only in this world but also in Paradise and the Prophet himself has to work by visiting people in dreams. God cannot bear to trouble his friend and has therefore started *tabligh* work in the heavens by means of magic lantern shows. The paper publishes a poem in which the following lines occur among others:—O Aryas, do not break the heart of God's friend (the Prophet); for God's sake, do not become the pilots of this *shuddhi*.

What for will God retain this earth if there is neither *Kaaba*, nor *Medina* nor *Karbala*? If the soul of Mustafa (the Prophet) will wander from home to home in dream God might suspect it to be a public woman (*harjaipan*). The *Arya Musafir* ("*Shahid*" number) publishes Arabic verses parodying the style of the *Quran* in which it is said that the word of God was revealed to Kali Charan Sharma, that "*Om*" is to be praised as it redeems souls through transmigration, that the *Quran* is to be rejected and *shuddhi* should be obtained through the Aryas. The paper publishes a poem by Jugal Kishore Sharma, Arya Samaj, Bulandshahr, in which the following lines occur among others:—It (the *Quran*) has been proved to be the book of Hazrat Osman; the banner of the *Vedas* is flying aloft and that of the Bible and the *Quran* has been lowered in the world. That which *Sheikhji* regards as the word of God has been proved to be the book of Hazrat Osman. The sacred thread graces the body in place of the rosary; the false faith in fairies and boys has vanished. The paper publishes another poem headed "The reality of the letter *lam*" written by M. Hardayal Singh of Basti in which the following lines occur among others:—Why should we not raze to the dust *Is* (the) *Lam* (letter *lam*) (double entendre meaning both this letter "*lam*" and the religion of Islam). If you carefully consider the meaning of *Is Lam* after consulting dictionaries you will find high-handedness and oppression in *Is Lam*; it is the store-house of deceit and the soul of disorder. May the existence of *Is Lam* be wiped out from this world forthwith. Hate *Is Lam*, do not give it a place in your heart, otherwise it will lead to ruin. The state of *Is Lam* is bad. The paper publishes an article by Atmanand Shastra Vachaspati in which he says that Islam was spread by the sword and asserts that fanaticism is encouraged by promise of the joys of Paradise. Imaginary glowing descriptions of Paradise have enamoured people of Islam and the kisses of the life-giving lips of *Hurs* (fairies) have warmed the hearts and minds of Muslim religious warriors. Even the piety of Muslims is for this Paradise and these *Hurs*. Prayers also are for charming fairies. Sir Syed has said in his book *Najmul Hind Tafsirul Quran* that people in Paradise embrace and kiss and do shameful acts with *Hurs*. Even this Paradise will be enjoyed by a very few Muslims. They should therefore give up Islam and adopt the true faith. The *Muslim Sewak* says that the poem "*Shuddhi ki Haqiqat*" was a reproduction from another paper and recorded true historical events. It urges that it did not mean to incite a breach of the peace or to wound the feelings of any community, but only wanted to show what favours the Muslim kings did to other communities in the past and how the Hindus and Muslims were so united that they did not have any grievance against one another. The Arya Press has been crying for the head of the *Muslim Sewak*, though it itself has been publishing most objectionable matter insulting the Prophet and Muslims. The *Shahid* number of the *Tej* is a case in point. Government should prosecute the Aryas and have pity on its poor Muslim subjects. The *Agra Akhbar* asserts that while the *Muslim Sewak* has only reproduced the poem "*Shuddhi ki Haqiqat*," almost all issues of the *Arya Musafir* and the *Agra Samachar* contain actionable matter calculated to wound the feelings of Muslims and to excite hatred. Agra Muslims should appeal to the Magistrate for action under section 153A. The *Shuddhi* (*sic*) (Shahid) number of the *Arya Musafir* is full of objectionable matter. Referring to the disturbance in Bahadurganj the *Medina* writes:—According to the account of our correspondent the houses of Muslims were attacked by the Sangathanists without any cause and a Muslim *fakir* was killed. The whole village is said to have been desolated. May we ask the Collector of Ghazipur and the United Provinces Government what steps they have taken to protect the poor Muslims and to restrain the law-breakers and robbers? The *Tarjuman* refers to the resignation of Muslim members from various district boards and says that the situation in Azamgarh is due to the desire for domination of the Hindu majority. It recalls the riots in Mau and Mubarakpur in which the Hindus were worsted and wonders whether bureaucratic power is now sought to be utilized to make amends for defeats on the field of battle. If the authorities do not give their attention the old conflicts might be revived. If separate representation is not to be granted the Muslims would prefer to bid good-bye to the reforms and to have the control of the Government instead of the Hindus.

The firing at Ponobalia has evoked angry protests in the Muslim Press.

The Barisal riot.

Criticizing Sir Abdur Rahim's speech at the meeting of Muslims held at Barisal in connexion with the incident and the resolutions passed by it the *Leader* writes:—Will Sir

Abdur Rahim, who occupied a high position in the Government, say what those charged with the maintenance of law and order are to do when they are surrounded by an excited fanatical mob carrying lethal weapons? Are they to allow themselves to be meekly massacred? If the meeting had condemned those who defied the constituted authorities not in a peaceful manner but by a show of force and had also asked for an inquiry for fixing responsibility for the error which had led to more rounds being fired than were authorized and into the circumstances attending the firing, it would have received the support of all right thinking men, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, but the resolution as passed betrayed a spirit of irresponsibility and implied a support of lawlessness which was most probably due to the atmosphere of excitement caused by the tragic incident in which the meeting was held. Referring to the shooting at Ponobalia the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We must severely condemn an administration that cannot maintain peace in a village not proclaimed as a rebellious area without firing thirty rounds of ammunition and laying low twenty human beings. The executive that could not anticipate the trouble and prevent or provide against it deserves extinction. Again, the authorities have always hitherto bent their head before the Muslim *lathi*. If district authorities showed their will to prevent, as they shoot to cure, there would be no trouble at all. The *Aj* says that things would not have assumed such a serious aspect as they did in Barisal if the authorities had acted with firmness from the very outset in the matter of the protection of the civic rights of the people. Now the general Muslim public has come to think that it has acquired a right to stop Hindu processions in the name of mosques. The *Haqiqat* says that the terrible massacre of Muslims at Ponobalia has seriously outraged Indian Muslim feeling and urges the Bengal Government to appoint an independent inquiry committee as the statement of the local authorities is totally unsatisfactory. In fact this incident is no less painful and sad in its cruelty than the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. The *Hamdam* says that the blood of the unfortunate Muslims now appears to have become extremely cheap. The very fact that the Hindus and the police were not wounded shows that the Muslims did not make any attack, and it is strange that the military were ordered to fire. The loss of so many human lives is very terrible and painful, and we hope the Bengal leaders will force their Government to demand an explanation from the local authorities. In an editorial note headed "Hindu Dyerism in Bengal" the *Medina* writes:—The Hindu officials of Government have revived the memory of Jallianwala Bagh. There was Hindu *raj*, the Magistrate was a Hindu, the news agency was a Hindu concern, the telegraph master was a Hindu, the sky was Hindu and the land was Hindu and the atmosphere was *Sangathanist*. Who could in these circumstances come forward to save the lives of Muslims? Referring to the recent communal disturbances in Bengal the *Desh Bhagat* appeals for Hindu-Muslim unity and regrets that even those Hindu and Muslim leaders who desire complete independence for India are silent at this juncture. Reports go to show that Muslims are now taking the offensive everywhere. Matters have now reached extremes and the actions of Muslims are due to the partiality of the Government of India. Muslims had never done during the Moghul period what they are doing now. No doubt the English Government approves in every way of these actions of the Muslims and is inciting them by all possible means, but it is not wise on the part of Muslims to play into the hands of Government. Just now they have the support of Government and can thus injure Hindus, but they would be leaving a legacy of trouble for their coming generations which can lead only to the ruin of Islam and to the aggravation of their depressed state. The condition of Muslims is already pitiable and if sensible Muslims do not control the present situation Hindus will be forced to concentrate their attention on this question and to prepare like the Chinese for a civil war in which the Hindus will be alone and the Government and Muslims will be ranged together on the opposite side. The contest will prove disastrous to Muslims, though it will prove very embarrassing to Hindus also. But the Hindus are being forced by circumstances and cannot but adopt this remedy. Muslim leaders should, therefore, try to put a stop to these communal troubles. We believe that British statesmen are doing all this to crush the movement for freedom. They should, however, bear in mind that these actions will lead to their own undoing. The Muslims are becoming warlike owing to the support of Government, but martial spirit may be developed among Hindus also owing to repeated attacks and they may leap into the arena of warfare to defend their honour, lives and property. Government is not ignorant of the strength of the Hindus and must be aware that they

are far better equipped than Muslims with knowledge of military scientific technique and modern methods of warfare.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article complaining of the tyranny of the rich over the poor the *Vartman* writes :—There is theft in trade and robbery in business. The rate of exchange is raised and crores are robbed. What is all this that is being done in broad daylight? Robbery is committed, but the thief is not convicted. This is the progress shown by civilization. It has increased the thirst for blood. In the name of protecting one's interests excuses are put forward for declaring war. One Dammi Lal Sharma, vakil, writing in the *Aj* discusses the respective programmes of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Saklatwala and comes to the conclusion that *khaddar* cannot bring about the emancipation of India and that the organization of labourers and peasants, the boycott of foreign goods and cultivation of strength are an absolute necessity for the attainment of her true liberty. The *Pratap* says that in the aerial demonstration held at Delhi Indians were treated as no better than slaves. Black-skinned people were not allowed even to stand side by side with the white-lords. Some Indian *raises* were standing with their ladies among Anglo-Indians. A white military officer ordered some Gurkhas to turn them out. On the conclusion of the demonstration the carriages of Indians were detained so as to allow those of the Europeans to pass. When some Indians remonstrated the constable said that he was helpless as he had been so ordered by the *Sahib*. And we are so shameless, so fallen, such cowards and beasts that we allow ourselves to fall victims to such foolish, barbarous and brutal treatment. When the Gurkhas were turning them out Indians should have resisted with sticks and fists, but they lacked soul-force. We always humiliate ourselves and do not feel shame in doing so.

The budget.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—By its majority vote on the Executive Council charges the Legislative Assembly has recorded the resolution of the country that bureaucracy must perish. The Muslims had no hesitation in allying themselves with Mr. Jayakar and Lala Lajpat Rai. This has a significance as much to the Government as to the public : to the Government in that the policy of divide and rule may perhaps find support for some time more among the illiterate, but not with the educated Muslims : to the people that there is no cause for utter despair regarding the Hindu-Muslim problem. The *Aj* complains that the new taxes levied during the war have not yet been abolished and says :—The proceeds of the increased taxation have been devoted to the improvement of the prospects of high foreign officials and the development of foreign industries. The Finance Member has confronted the Assembly with a serious problem by raising the question of the exchange ratio after the budget and not before it, and it is to be hoped that the elected members will give him a reply similar to that they gave on the occasion of the enhancement of the salt duty and the question of the abolition of the cotton excise. Their foremost duty is to protect crores of cultivators by maintaining the exchange ratio at 16*d*. A comparison of India's expenditure on the army in proportion to the income of the Government with that in other countries fully exposes the hollowness of the official contention that no further curtailment in military expenditure is possible now. Although the reforms have been nullified by the powers of the officials being maintained intact, India has been saddled with extra heavy burden as a result of the recommendations of the Lee Commission and yet the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee to reduce military expenditure to fifty crores of rupees has not been accepted. This administrative policy—carelessness in the matter of expenditure and love of power—is the main cause of the dissatisfaction of Indians. If the maintenance and extension of British domination in Eastern countries were not included among the military requirements of this country, even half the strength of the existing army here would have been in excess of its needs. The *Vartman* writes : -We see that in spite of a surplus the Government of India do not propose to do anything to relieve the poverty of Indians. Every action of Government is intended for the benefit of white merchants and British officers. Indians will get no benefit from the surplus of three crores. The hard-earned money of the poor is being wantonly wasted, and this is what the bureaucracy regards as conducive to the welfare of India. Out of these tens of millions not a pice comes back to the pocket of the Indian peasant or labourer. The *Surya* says :—The huge military expenditure is a grave injustice to the tax-payer, especially in view of the fact that the troops maintained are far in excess of the needs of the country, that Indians hold very few commissions in the army,

and that the army is repeatedly utilized to satisfy territorial greed. It is hoped that elected members will see through the game played by Sir Basil Blackett in making the remission of provincial contribution contingent on the acceptance of the 18*d.* ratio and will reject it in the national interests of the country as a whole. The changes proposed in taxation are more calculated to benefit foreign manufacturers than the general Indian public.

United Provinces budget.

The *Pioneer* writes:—Sir Sam O'Donnell was able to give a very good account of his stewardship of the finances of the United Provinces during the last four years and when he hands over his office the province should be in a sound financial position. The *Leader* writes:—The statement made by the Finance Member in the United Provinces Legislative Council in introducing the budget for 1927-28 on March 4 was as dry as a plethora of figures could make it and had nothing remarkable about it. The finances of the provinces would have been in a parlous condition if relief in the form of successive remissions had not come from the Government of India. In the Finance Member's opinion the debt position "is satisfactory and gives no ground whatever for anxiety." In our view if a more cautious and conservative policy of incurring capital liabilities had been followed, more money would have been available for the urgent needs of the province. But an extravagant policy has been followed in the matter. The Finance Member took an optimistic view of the future, but if the pace at which expenditure has been going up, in spite of efforts at retrenchment and economy, is maintained, then there can be no guarantee of less anxious times in the future. The budget as presented must be regarded as incomplete. Now that the Government have received a big windfall, will they in distributing their largesses keep in view the pressing need of the Benares Hindu University? The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The Finance Member's method of presentation of the budget lacked in clearness and lucidity. The financial situation revealed by the budget is on the whole an unsatisfactory one as the figures for income and expenditure show a deficit of 39 lakhs. The *Aj* says:—Although we would welcome the remission of provincial contributions, yet if this means that the burden of the cultivators should be increased as a result of exchange manipulations, we would pray to be saved from such generosity and would advise the Provincial Government not to build any hopes on doles from the Government of India, but to frame its budget in such a manner as not to allow expenditure to exceed the income. The excess of expenditure over income is a result of the "Lee loot". Although, as a rule, the remissions of provincial contribution are devoted to beneficial departments, yet their administration is not satisfactory simply because the cost of general administration and especially of the Police department and the salaries of high officials have been unduly increased. Besides, a very large portion of expenditure on beneficial departments is spent up in buildings and inspection. In a subsequent issue the paper gives figures regarding votable and non-votable items of expenditure to show how hollow the reforms are and how the Ministers and the Legislative Council are expected to perform the miracle of working them with officials who are not under their control. A study of these figures, the paper adds, will fully expose the hollowness of the contention that the reforms are the preliminary stage of *swaraj*.

The Indian States.

Muslim papers are protesting unanimously against the alleged restrictions on prayers in the Indore State. The *Medina* complains that as a result of sangathanist activities the Muslims in the Indore State are being treated as strangers. Even in small posts the number of Muslims is negligible. Since the recent disturbances congregational prayers of Muslims have been forbidden. Such is the effect of the poisonous atmosphere generated by *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* that *namaz* has been prohibited in Hindu States. The reports received by us go to show that a wave of anger is surging among Muslims in India. The *Mansur* regrets that the Hindu State of Indore is going to inflict religious injury also on Muslims after the physical and monetary loss that they have already suffered. Congregational prayer is a necessary element of Islam, and this has been made impossible by the recent orders of the State which should be at once rescinded. The *Tarjuman* holds that in view of the manner in which the trouble commenced at Indore as also in view of the losses suffered by the Muslims it is downright "*Changhezi*" oppression to place restrictions on the Muslim right of offering prayers. Imams have been ordered not to assemble more than five Muslims for prayers and severe restrictions have been placed even on Juma prayers. Congregational prayer is a right which no Muslim can ever forego,

and Government should immediately intervene in the matter. The *Aziz-i-Hind* attaches little importance to the opening of a council in the Bharatpur State and urges that a strong British officer should be sent there to replenish the depleted treasury and reform the administration. The state of affairs there is simply deplorable and the Resident should publish the true facts. It is a pity that the Maharaja had mosques demolished little knowing that God would visit his wrath on him by sending a devastating flood. The *Tarjuman* complains that the tyrannies of *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* are widespread in the Poonch State. A nau-Muslim accused of cutting two trees surreptitiouly has been offered immunity from punishment if he comes back into the Hindu fold and every method is being tried to convert Muslims

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Aj* disapproves of the proposed appointment of Sir George Paddison as the official agent of India in South Africa on the ground of nationalism, says that failing Mr. Srinivas Shastri, Sir Muhammad Habibullah is the most suitable candidate and wonders why the post is not given to him. The *Abhyudaya* also pleads for the appointment of an Indian. The *Medina* says that those who are rejoicing at the South African settlement are under the hypnotic spell cast by the Government, for when all the details are finally settled the position of Indians will be found to be the same as it was before.

Communal representation.

Referring to Sir Malcolm Hailey's condemnation of the activities of those who foment and exploit communal differences the *Leader* writes :—The Government of the country deserve all the help people can render in exercising the demon of communalism and in restoring cordial relations between the two communities. But Government might also consider whether, whatever other causes of communal differences there might be, it is not in the nature of the system of communal electorates and communal representation in the legislatures, local bodies and public services to accentuate communal differences and whether the country can afford to give a further lease of life to the system.

The next Governor of United Provinces.

The *Haqiqat* agrees whole-heartedly with the view of the United Provinces Liberal League that the next Governor of these provinces should be a statesman belonging to public life and not a civilian and should preferably be an Indian and says that it is downright injustice to saddle the people of these provinces with a civilian Governor on Rs. 10,000 a month.

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ALLAHABAD :
March 12, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

11 APR 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 11 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 19, 1927.

Ponobalia firing incident.

Angry protests against the Ponobalia firing incident continue in the Muslim Press. The *Aligarh Mail* writes :—The shooting, wounding and killing of Muslims at Ponobalia must send a thrill of horror and indignation in every Muslim heart. That twenty Muslims should be shot dead and forty wounded merely to provide victims to official arrogance and false sense of prestige is a conclusive proof of the incontrovertible fact that with all the progress of democracy medieval tyranny is not yet dead. Hindus preponderatingly man the service of the Associated Press of India. It is but natural that they should send out from their respective places of reporting messages which are favourable to their own community. The correspondent at Ponobalia has absolved the Hindus and the authorities of every thing sinful and criminal and has placed all the burden of sin and crime on the heads of the damned rogues, ruffians and rascals, the Musalmans, who are called "bullies" in order to produce bullies among Hindus. The author of the message has tacitly made a scapegoat of the Ponobalia Muslims. To the inward joy of the sangathanists the scapegoat has been led to the shambles of autocratic officialdom and there shot and killed in the most up-to-date fashion of modern butchers. The heartless manner in which Muslims have been mercilessly shot and killed must boil the blood in our veins and invoke our righteous indignation. The blood of the targets of official shots and shells at Ponobalia is crying out for revenge. We do not ask anybody to take revenge, but we do ask the law to wreak it on no other than the author of the Ponobalia tragedy. The *Aj* approves of the action of the district magistrate at Ponobalia and says that unlike the district magistrate of Allahabad, he did not show weakness but faced the danger and discharged the duty of a ruler. The authorities of other places also should similarly protect the rights of the people and should not be cowed down by the threats of rowdies. The attitude of Sir Abdur Rahim in connexion with the incident is deplorable. An inquiry should, however, be held to find out whether peace could not have been restored by a smaller number of bullets being fired and if there was a mistake the official responsible for it should be punished. The *Pratap* appreciates the change in the attitude of officials towards the religious rights of the Hindus, but condemns the manner in which firing was resorted to. It says: Even if it be admitted that the Muslims were in the wrong they could surely be dispersed by sowars with batons. Only fourteen bullets were ordered to be fired but actually thirty-three bullets were fired. Why? It is said that orders could not be heard on account of noise. Fie upon such orders. The practice of holding human life cheap has become current in our country. This ought to be stopped. What has been done to Muslims today can also be done to Hindus tomorrow. The *Hamdam* contends that the attitude of the Muslim crowd was not menacing and that not even ordinary precautions were taken before ordering fire. Blank shots were not fired and the bullets were aimed at the head and chest instead of at the legs. The matter has assumed a national importance. The *Medina* says that Indian Muslims everywhere are in difficulty and trouble. What, it exclaims, are the Nadiri laws of the Government, the tyrannical mentality of the constituted courts, the Pharaoh-like officials and whites, the bigotry of the compatriots, the trials of strength of *shuddhi* and *sangathan*, the rising waves of hatred and contempt and the fiery and discord-breeding anti-Muslim utterances of Moonje and Malaviya! They are a general massacre ground for the indigent and disunited Muslims and

a place of trial for their souls and lives. If the events of a week are taken it will be found that owing to the laws and magical manipulations of Government and the rising aspirations of the Hindu neighbours about one thousand Muslims have been sacrificed at the altar of death, dishonour, disgrace and disrepute. At Bahadurganj the Muslims lost lives and property at the hands of the Hindu tyrants, in a tahsil in Lucknow a Hindu numbardar practised excesses on Muslims, at Rewari the Nagarkirtan party raised a hubbub before a mosque just at prayer time, at Pabna the special magistrate sentenced 196 Muslims to rigorous imprisonment for two years, at Rawalpindi 50 Muslims have been consigned to the rigours of jail life, at Indore congregational prayers have been banned, many Muslims have been wounded owing to the irresponsible and autocratic attitude of the Hindu magistrate, any number of Muslims have been thrust into jail along with Mr. Abdul Ghani and the honour of Muslims on the public highways is now in the hands of Hindu sangathanists and now this last and powerful stroke has fallen on Bengal Muslims. Why has all this happened? Because the justice of Government is one-sided. The Hindu magistrate, Gurkha soldiers and the police fired full thirty-three rounds, which was not done even by Dyer and that also against 500 unarmed Muslims who had collected only to protect their mosque from insult. When the Muslims had not taken the offensive, why were they fired at and specially in the head. More blood has been shed than in the Jallianwala Bagh but all are silent because the sufferers this time were only Muslims. The blood of Englishmen, Hindus and Sikhs is precious but not so that of Muslims. It is water and that also rain water, of no worth and unwanted and can be shed without necessity. But O! clouds of the rain of mercy, you are seeing. Go and take these corpses writhing in blood to the Court of the True Avenger and say:—Paganism is laughing, Dost Thou feel or not? Hast Thou any regard for Thy unitarianism. The *Tarjuman* says that Muslims cannot remain silent over the firing at Ponobalia, the oppression at Indore and the rioting at Bahadurganj. It is clear that they are now on the defensive against the Hindus, but it is strange that it is they who are visited with punishment. The *Sada-i-Muslim* inquires how long the officials of the British Government will continue to dye their hands with the blood of Muslims. The time has now come when both Hindus and Muslims should ponder how long officials will have freedom to rain bullets in this fashion on crowds.

Political propaganda.

Referring to Mr. Saklatwala's open letter to Mr. Gandhi the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Mr. Saklatwala is at his strongest in attacking the supposed talismanic virtues of the *charkha* as an economic factor and at his weakest in his attack on the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. All the same we welcome Mr. Saklatwala's criticisms as they are honest, virile, fresh and without malice and as they will serve to redirect and focus the attention on Gandhi's programme. In the course of a leading article the *Bharat Dharma* dwells at some length on the state of affairs in England in the seventeenth century, and remarks that the British people had themselves to resort to non-cooperation, passive resistance, civil disobedience, and strikes etc. in order to win liberty. But it should not be forgotten that they did not ignore Parliament. Similarly the leaders of India should in their fight for *Swaraj* make use of the legislative councils for what they are worth. That is the lesson that the history of England teaches us. The paper lays stress on the need of a tremendous amount of effort being put forth by Indians in their struggle for *Swaraj*, for in the case of India there is no natural bond of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled who do not belong to the same nationality. The *Abhyudaya* publishes a lengthy article by one S. Khuda Baksh who says that the British police is entirely responsible for all the ill-treatment that is meted out to Indians at Pondicherry. He asserts that the Madras police concocts stories in regard to them simply to justify its existence and observes that if the Government would but make inquiry it would find the allegations to be true. Referring to reports of the anti-British intrigues of the Bolsheviks, the *Najat* says that the situation on the north-western and north-eastern frontiers is not free from danger. Afghanistan and China will prove decisive factors in them but it is a pity that the attitude of both is doubtful and the news of the immediate summons of the Afghan envoy at Delhi to Kabul and the visit of the British Ambassador at Kabul to England is disquieting. Anyway in view of these circumstances it can be said that a conflict between British capitalism and Bolshevik democratic teachings is inevitable whether it occurs on the Indian or Chinese frontier or elsewhere. It is clear that the Bolsheviks are adopting against the British the very methods employed about fifteen years ago

by Germany to humiliate the English and if the British are obsessed by the Bolshevik nightmare they are not far wrong.

The Legislative Assembly.

Referring to the passing of the motion of Mr. Jayakar regarding the reduction of the demand for the Executive Council to one rupee the *Aj* writes:—We are sick of these motions and speeches. Since the Assembly has passed the motions regarding the protection of British steel and exchange ratio all its work appears to us to be insincere. Mr. Jayakar seceded from the *Swaraj* party simply because he wanted to work the reforms and yet he moved the motion for the reduction of the demand for the Executive Council knowing full well that it was bound to be restored. This shows that such motions are only intended to delude the people. It would be much better if lovers of reforms openly joined the bureaucracy. This would at least impart a tone of reality to our public life. In another article the paper says that the doings of the Legislative Assembly which so far used to cause only grief have now become utterly disgusting. So far the bureaucracy could not get the support of elected members in its autocratic legislation but now the passing of the Steel Protection and Currency Bills has shown what shameful and harmful example some of these elected members have placed before the country. The communal venom introduced into the Assembly since the last election has relentlessly trampled upon the national interests and has only benefited the bureaucracy. The so-called leaders alone are responsible for such a deplorable degradation of political agitation.

The United Provinces Budget.

Referring to the passing of the demand for furniture for Government Houses in the Provincial Legislative Council the *Aj* writes:—They do not care if the people famish but it is necessary that the burden of cultivators should be increased in the interest of foreign manufacturers and officials and Rs. 18,000 should be spent to purchase new furniture for the use of the new Governor. This is what provincial autonomy means. This is how communal interests are protected and the reforms are worked. This decision to spend Rs. 18,000 for new furniture for Government Houses, specially at a time when the provincial exchequer is empty, when the unproductive debt has awfully increased and when the province is badly affected by scarcity shows what gulf exists between the people and their representatives. The *Surya* says that the tour expenses of the Governor, Executive Councillors and Ministers and expenses of the Governor's household should not be so heavy. Whereas large sums of money are going to be lavishly spent on the new police buildings, it is a pity that the pruning knife of economy should have been so mercilessly applied to the Education department in which a total reduction of Rs. 1,03,000 has been made in the grants for primary, secondary and higher education.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Anand* gives a short sketch of the life of Muhammad Bin Kasim, the first Muslim invader of India and says that as Khwaja Hasan Nizami is making elaborate arrangements for the celebration of his anniversary the Hindus should also celebrate the anniversary of Sivaji, Ranjit Singh, Hari Singh, Rana Pratap and Guru Govind Singh, the mere mention of whose names brings the dead to life. Muhammad Bin Kasim, Muhammad Ghori and Mahmud Ghazni are nothing in comparison with these great personages. The *Awaz-i-Muslim* says that the *Shahid* number of the *Arya Musafir* (Agra) published by Kali Charan Sharma, editor, contains articles offensive to the sentiments of Muslims and it is feared that it may lead to Hindu-Muslim tension and disorder. It strongly appeals to the United Provinces Government to keep the atmosphere of the country peaceful by scotching this mischief. The *Aiena* has little faith in the protestations of high caste Hindus to treat their depressed brethren as equals and cites the speech of the president of the Adi Hindu conference in support of its view. It says that the speech clearly shows that this depressed classes movement is inspired by selfish motives and Muslims have every right to object to it. If Hindus were not desirous of crushing Muslims by these means the latter would not have objected to a work of purely social reform.

Indian States.

The *Hamdam* says that the attitude adopted by the Indore State officials towards Muslims is so disquieting that if it is not soon changed Muslims would never be able to live there as true Muslims. The banning of congregational prayers is an unprecedented event and all Muslim associations should be prepared to co-operate in this affair. The *Sada-i-Muslim* holds the Agent to the Governor General alone to be

responsible for what is happening in Indore as he is ruling the state. The arrested Muslims have not got the services of counsel and are being treated with barbarity in prison. Fresh arrests are being constantly made and false statements are being forced out of prisoners. The protests of the Muslims have so far proved unavailing and the police and other state-officials are all Hindus. Indian Muslims should help their brethren in Indore and the Government of India should publish a communique early giving the true facts with a view to allay Muslim unrest. The plague of communal strife has now spread to the Indian states also and every Indian should try to eradicate it The *Aiena* writes in a similar strain.

The U. P. Ministry.

One Syed Sakhawat Husain, journalist, Bijnor, writing in the *Haqiqat* says that the present ministry has been persistently assailed with threats of dissolution ever since Mr. Chintamani's entry into the Council. Beyond the vague charge of incapacity to support which no facts have been furnished, no charge has been brought home to the present ministers. The present ministers have always been popular and have done their duty well and it seems that it is sheer jealousy which inspires the zeal of Mr. Chintamani's supporters in discrediting them. In fact the record of the present ministers is better than that of Messrs. Chintamani and Jagat Narain. In spite of his admitted capacity and sound judgement people have generally begun to suspect that Mr. Chintamani is inspired by personal selfishness and love of power in his present course in the Council.

Music before mosques.

Commenting on Mr. Mohammad Yakub's statement in the Assembly that Islam contains no injunction for the stoppage of music before mosques, the *Abhyudaya* refers Sir Alexander Muddiman to his own statement that the Muslim demand for the stoppage of music before mosques was old and says that the Muslims are insisting on this demand simply because the Government is supporting them. They realize that the Government has nothing to do with mosques and that its only object in doing so is to keep the Hindus and Muslims at loggerheads, but even then they think that there is no harm in this inasmuch as it would only enhance their power and prestige and suppress the Hindus. It is to be seen what the Government says in regard to this demand now that a staunch member of the Muslim League has made such a statement.

Legislative Council's session at Naini Tal.

The *Abhyudaya* regrets that although ever since the birth of the Congress public opinion has been opposed to hill exodus Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the leader of the Congress party, urged that the council session should also be held at Naini Tal every year. His arguments were the same as those always advanced by officials. Mr. Pant should remember that the High Court is never closed in the summer season. When the judges and vakils, who admittedly do more brain work, are not affected by the heat, what need is there for the members of the council, who are representatives of the public and have been born in this very climate to go to hills?

Indian Budget.

Commenting on the Indian Budget the *Bharat Jiwan* says that only such taxes have been abolished as do not affect the people. Sir Basil's argument that the income accruing from the 18d. ratio would be devoted to beneficial departments is a mere trick. We would have congratulated the Finance Member if income had been increased by imposing duty on foreign piece goods and expenditure on the army had been reduced and the 16d. ratio adopted.

Military Policy of Government.

Referring to the "comprehensive indictment of the utterly indefensible military policy of Government which Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru made in his impressive speech in the Assembly" the *Leader* writes:—The military policy of Government is utterly at variance with its unctuous professions and proclaims nothing but the insincerity and the hollowness of the claim that the goal of British policy is to lead India to self-government as quickly as possible. The whole system of army organization, from the national point of view, is extravagant, wasteful and iniquitous.

Duty on newsprint.

Referring to the cut moved by Colonel Crawford in the Legislative Assembly to protest against the recent ruling as to the assessment of duty on imported paper the *Leader* writes:—As it is, the duty of 15 per cent. on newsprint is high enough, for it is levied, so far as we are aware, on an assumed market price which is appreciably higher than the invoice price. Now it seems that a greater piece of injustice is going to be perpetrated against Indian newspapers, the vast majority

of which manage to live with difficulty. The last word does not and ought not to rest with their expert advisers, however trained they may be. If there is a flaw anywhere which defeats the intention of the Legislature and threatens to cause hardship to the users of newsprint it ought to be removed without loss of time.

The next Governor of United Provinces.

The *Aziz-i-Hind* suspects that the agitation got up by the Liberal Association in regard to the next Governor of the United Provinces is designed to secure the gubernatorial *gaddi* of these provinces for Sir Atul Chandra Chatterji and says that in view of the vitiated atmosphere here at present it will be highly undesirable to get an Indian as Governor. It would be best to appoint a European civilian. Sir Sam O'Donnell is in every way fitted for this office and there seems no reason why his claims should be ignored. Failing him, the post should go to Sir Alexander Muddiman.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* urges that in the case of *Haj* pilgrims children below three should be exempted from payment of fare and children up to eleven years of age should be required to pay only half fare. The Government cannot rehabilitate its reputation for justice unless it does away with this discrimination between *Haj* pilgrims and passengers bound for Europe.

SATYANAND JOSHI,
Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
March 19, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 12 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 26, 1927.

Communal representation.

There is considerable divergence of opinion regarding the decision of the informal conference of Muslim leaders at Delhi on the subject of communal electorates. The *Leader* writes:—The acceptance of the principle of joint electorates by the informal conference is evidence of the nationalist outlook of those who took part in it and they deserve to be congratulated on it. The ideal electorates would be general territorial electorates without any reservation of seats for any community. But in the present stage the best that one can hope for is the substitution of joint for separate electorates with reservation of seats. We believe that the former will so improve the relations of the two great communities that the next step in the electoral reform would be the abolition of joint electorates and the establishment of a fully democratic system with perfect freedom to the electors to choose whomsoever they like to represent them irrespective of his creed or religion. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—By agreeing to abandon communal electorates and accepting joint electorates, with certain safeguards, Muslim leaders have made history. That important leaders, members of the legislative bodies elected by Muslims, should have come to this conclusion is highly significant. If the Muslims had stood adamantine, and not made any concession, they would have laid themselves open for condemnation. The disease required a remedy. They have courageously resolved to find it. On the side of the Hindus, with the experience of the Lucknow Pact and the very unfortunate cleavage between the two communities resultant from that, there is likely to be very careful examination of the Muslim safeguards. But Hindus are the majority, and it lies with the stronger always to make concessions, and generous concessions, to the weak. The *Abhyudaya* is glad to note that the Muslim leaders are ready to accept the principle of mixed electorates, but urges them to examine fully the conditions they propose to offer to the Hindus and see that they do not prove unacceptable to the latter. The Muslims probably want the extension of the Reforms to the Frontier and representation according to their numbers in the Punjab, Bengal and Sindh to ensure their domination in all the three frontiers of the country, but they should bear in mind that the Hindus, in view of their Rawalpindi and Kohat experiences, will naturally feel suspicious over this demand and will not like it. Moreover, though they are in a minority according to their numbers in these three provinces they are not so unimportant from the standpoint of education and wealth. The *Hamdam*, while doubtful of the wisdom of the decision of the conference, holds that it is very necessary that Sindh should be made a separate province and that the Reforms should be extended to Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province. The regard for justice of the Muslims is apparent from their willingness to concede to the Hindu minority in these three provinces the same privileges that have been allowed to the Muslim minority in other provinces. It is only in Bengal and the Punjab that they want representation on a population basis as under the present ratio they are unable to safeguard their interests. The *Haqiqat* urges that a more representative gathering of Muslims than the one that met at Delhi should consider the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement and the terms should be ratified by both the Muslim League and the National Congress. The *Nayar-i-Azam* supports the *Zamindar's* view that Government should reserve a certain proportion of posts of clerks and officers in every department for Muslims, and urges some member of the United Provinces Legislative Council to put questions about the number of Muslim clerks and officers in various departments in these provinces.

Ponobalia firing incident.

The Muslim Press continues to protest vehemently against the Ponobalia firing incident. The *Aligarh Mail* characterizes the message of the Associated Press regarding this affair as a tissue of lies and half-truths and a lying propaganda against the victimized Muslims and says :—If, however, the Associated Press has misrepresented the Muslims, much more the statement of Mr. Blandy and the *communiqué* of the Bengal Government have done the same injustice. Both the communications have tried to white-wash the indelible blot on Mr. Blandy of massacring in a sense in cold blood the poor Ponobalia Muslims. That without inflicting a scratch on the body of a public servant or a Hindu they have been shot and killed is the most grotesque and shocking example of official irresponsibility and high-handedness. It is evident that Mr. Blandy has played with the lives of the Ponobalia Muslims like a child. In the course of an impassioned editorial the *Medina* writes :—This is the second general massacre in India after the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. Far from deploring the incident Hindu papers and leaders are rejoicing over the fact that a Hindu Magistrate has revived the memory of Nadir and Chengez. Not only is the action of the mad and tyrannical magistrate being commended, but the Muslims as a community are being branded as tyrants and barbarous. The *communiqué* of the Bengal Government is self-contradictory, is nothing but an attempt at white-washing and betrays a partisan spirit. We do not think that any other magistrate or Government servant ever disgraced "law and order" to such an extent. The *Mansur* voices the pain and grief caused among Muslims by the firing at Ponobalia, and says that it appears that Muslim blood is now very cheap in the eyes of Government and it is regarded as a matter of no consequence by the powers-that-be to take away the lives of unarmed men. The Muslims were fired at even though they had wounded no Hindu or policeman. The procession was cruelly allowed to pass even before the wounded and killed Muslims had been removed, and this shows the feelings by which the authorities were inspired. In fact, such a tragedy under a civilized Government amounts to a monstrous crime and Muslims would not be satisfied until an inquiry is made through a commission and the guilty are punished. The *Sadaqat* writes :—The massacre at Ponobalia shows that human blood is at a heavy discount in the English Government as its officials very light-heartedly fire on unarmed crowds on the slightest pretext. The terrible tragedy at Ponobalia recalls memories of the Jallianwala Bagh, and the district magistrate has proved himself a veritable General Dyer. We do not seek to justify the Muslim attitude, but question whether it was the duty of the magistrate to make human blood flow like water to safeguard the rights of a community? Even the magistrate's statement itself does not justify his Dyerian order.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Leader* writes : —The appeal issued by the "Fellowship" organization which has been formed in Calcutta, although not the first of its kind, deserves the support of all well-wishers of the country and all God-fearing and truly religious men . . . The bulk of the Hindus are unaffected by the spirit of fanaticism or intolerance. But when they find, as in Bengal, their temples desecrated, their idols destroyed, their religious processions being violently attacked not in one but in hundreds of places, properties looted and other atrocities being perpetrated by the fanatical followers of a religion which has been declared to be the religion of peace, is it surprising that the spirit of intolerance has begun to spread among the Hindus? This is making the position more complicated. A gratuitous and ruinous conflict of cultures and faiths has been precipitated by narrow-minded bigots who have forgotten the essential principles of religion and who are bringing disgrace on this country. We do not know whether the appeal for unity of the distinguished signatories will make them pause, for similar appeals before this have fallen flat on them. The *Hindi Kesari* contends that the riots at Kulkathi (Barisal), Indore, and Bombay have made it clear that Muslim maulvis are at the bottom of all the mischief. If Government wants to eradicate communal strife it should take effective steps to uproot it, but what can be expected of the Government when it imposes punitive police on Patuakhali but exempts Muslims even from paying its cost. *Al Khalil* regrets that Hindu-Muslim tension is becoming widespread day by day, and, referring to the Ponobalia incident, warns Hindus that they should not dream of annihilating Muslims in India. Here unlike Spain the Muslims are allied with Government and with *tanzim* their losses in communal riots will not be as severe as heretofore. The *Mashriq* publishes the statement

of Mr. Shah Badre Alam, M.L.C., in which he says that the Hindu attack at Bahadurganj was premeditated as the Hindus being in a minority locally had summoned their co-religicnists from neighbouring villages and had planted flags for their guidance. Even the looms of the weavers were broken and buried valuables were dug out. There is no sign of Hindu houses having been looted. The rumours about the posting of Hindu officers and the release of arrested Hindus on bail has encouraged the Hindus. Commenting on the above the paper wonders why murderers and dacoits have been let off on bail, and says that the European magistrate who is coming to try the riot case should not only hold charge of the tahsil, but should also be made Collector of Ghazipur when the present Collector goes. The Collectors of the eastern districts should be all Europeans.

Political propaganda.

The *Abhyudaya* refers to Major Graham Pole's article urging the British Government to adopt the same sympathetic attitude towards India as it has done towards China, and observes :—The sympathy which is being shown to China at the present juncture is due to the fact that China is strong and is ready to marshal her armies against all aggressors and also because Britain wants to prevent alliance between her and Russia. The Reforms of 1919 were not granted to India out of love for justice but with a view to win her support at a critical juncture. Major Graham Pole should rest assured that when England is in trouble and stands in need of India's help or when India's position becomes the same as that of China to-day England will show the same generosity to her as she is displaying towards the colonies. The *Aj* says that, although India has certainly gained morally and intellectually by her connexion with Britain, she has suffered heavily in respect of material advantages and found the door to progress closed. If England will accept India's claim to recuperation and unrestricted scope for advancement it will be beneficial both to Englishmen and Indians alike; otherwise the cant of whiteman's burden and God-given trust, etc., can only inflict pain on the Indian heart. The paper is utterly dissatisfied with Mr. Gandhi's justification of the Bardoli decision, impugned by Mr. Saklatwala in his open letter to the former, and contends that it was only after this decision that the bureaucracy began to gain in strength and treat public opinion with contempt. Now the bureaucracy has become so emboldened by dissensions among the political parties and by the readiness of political leaders to kotow to it that it openly undertakes legislation to protect British industries and raise the exchange rate at the cost of the Indian agriculturist to the benefit of foreign officials and manufacturers. All this is the outcome of the Bardoli decision. Mahatma Gandhi may well commend this decision, but all the subsequent events tell a different tale. The Bardoli decision will continue to proclaim the failure of the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and time alone will prove whether this failure is a temporary or a permanent one. Commenting on the passage of the 18*d.* ratio Pt. Manohar Pant, writing in the *Shakti*, says :—This would mean the destruction of Indian industries and encouragement of the foreign and specially the British ones. Indian bureaucracy is very clever. While on the one hand it is posing as the well-wisher of the public by appointing the Agricultural Commission on the other it is pursuing such a reprehensible policy.

Indian States.

Muslim feeling continues to be exercised over the restrictions on congregational prayers in Indore. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* says that the restrictions on congregational prayers in mosques in Indore are an open attack on Islam and will inflame the feelings of Muslims throughout the world. Muslim religious zeal is well known, and the Viceroy should interfere in the matter. The *Haq* says that Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang's telegraphic messages about the condition of Indore Muslims are very heart-rending and show that ever since the abdication of the late Maharaja communal relations have become very strained. The communal riot has so worsened the situation that Muslims are being discharged from the police and military departments. Numbers of respectable Muslims have been arrested and the inquiry is mostly in the hands of Hindus. The *Hamdam* regrets that the *sangathanist* Hindus and Aryas have now gained the upper hand in the Indore State and are harassing Muslims in every way. The Arya procession passed the mosque there three times with music in order to incite the Muslims. Such is the mentality of our Hindu brethren which is forging the chains of India's slavery.—There has been a crop of articles this week in the Urdu press protesting against the alleged growing Europeanization of the services in the

Hyderabad State in spite of the Nizam's readiness to initiate reforms.—The *Farishta* says that the changes in the administration of the Bharatpur State cannot mend matters unless the ruler shakes off his personal weaknesses. The State is being visited by God's wrath. Sometimes the murder of the innocent is revealed. Sometimes ancient State jewels are offered for sale. Sometimes prostitutes are regarded as a means of amusement. The State administration can be reformed only if Government takes over complete charge and the demolished mosques are rebuilt. One Raj Kumar, writing in the *Pratap* appeals to the Government of India and the Kshattriya *raises* of Rajputana to abolish slavery prevailing in the "Darogha" community in the states there and says that men and women of this community have to lead very miserable lives on account of this evil. They are ill-treated by their masters and the private parts of their women are sometimes branded with hot iron.

Indian Budget.

Commenting on the Indian and provincial budgets the *Hitaishi* says:—These two budgets reveal the helplessness of Indians. Recommendations of the Inchcape Committee to curtail expenditure on administration have not been accepted, but those of the Lee Commission to increase the emoluments of high officials have been fully carried out. The sole object of saddling India with the huge military expenditure is to safeguard the interests of the British Empire. The proposed expenditure of ten lakhs over airships with the object of encouraging the British airship industry at a time when nearly half the Indians are starving shows that India is not for Indians. The action of the provincial Government in raising a loan of 8 crores of rupees without the sanction of the Council reflects on the utility of the Reforms. Comparing Englishmen to the plum which is outwardly soft but inwardly hard the *Bharat Dharma* says that in framing the budget Sir Basil Blackett has exhibited his plum-like attributes. Out of 125 crores and a quarter 55 crores will be spent over the army and the rest will be distributed over all other departments. The reason why military expenditure has not been curtailed is that the Government needs white troops for maintaining its prestige in India and black for suppressing freedom-loving countries like China. Some taxes like the duty on the import of motor cars and the export of tea have no doubt been reduced, but in doing so the bureaucracy has thought of benefiting its own community. Its remission of provincial contributions is merely a sop to provincial Governments. It is in these ways that while the Government serves its own ends it professes to act in the name of generosity and public good.

Music before mosques.

The *Abhyudaya* says:—A perusal of the reply given by the Government to Mr. Chintamani's questions in connexion with the playing of music before mosques at Allahabad shows that there are no records of the inquiry made by the Commissioner. The Government is not even prepared to say whether the inquiry was formal or informal. If the Commissioner really made an inquiry why should it be kept confidential, and if the Government's case is strong why does it hesitate to publish the report? The secrecy shows that there is surely something rotten in the state of Denmark. If the Commissioner's inquiry shows that music was never played before mosques at Allahabad, or that the music accompanying the processions was ever stopped at the time of *namaz* either those who gave evidence spoke a lie or the Commissioner misconstrued what they said. The Government ought to conduct an open inquiry summoning Hindus, Muslims, as well as Christians as witnesses. In a subsequent article the paper extols the action of the Hindus of Shahabad (Punjab) in taking out their *Holi* procession without obtaining a licence from the police and says:—In our opinion there is no need to take a licence from anybody in connexion with the processions. All that is necessary is to inform the police in order to enable it to make the necessary arrangements for the passage of processions. This is also the intention of the law, but the epidemic of licences is spreading all over the country and the Government is depriving the public of its ordinary rights by demanding licences on the plea of police arrangements. To-day the sword of licence is not only putting an end to Hindu festivals and processions, but is also preventing the Hindus from passing on roads accompanied by their kith and kin and in the place where the Kotwal is a Muslim and unfortunately a favourite of the Collector, the Commissioner and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police the stopping of Hindu processions has become the order of the day.

New Delhi.

Referring to the falling of a brick near the Commander-in-Chief in the Legislative Assembly at New Delhi the *Aj* says :—This is New Delhi ! This is the achievement of highly-paid European architects ! Surely this shows that the Public Works Department is the Public waste department. Will this building which has cost crores of rupees but has proved to be so weak proclaim the stability of British rule in the country ? It would be better if the bureaucracy even now refrained from wasting money of the poor tax-payers over buildings, for the sighs of the poor cannot but have their effect on these buildings. The *Surya* observes :—We have seen one specimen of the efficiency of British engineering in the Back Bay scheme, this is another. Such is the condition of the building built for the representatives of the people by spending crores of rupees of the poor Indians and opened by the Viceroy himself ! In Benares, Delhi, and elsewhere there are numerous edifices constructed by Indian engineers which have been standing intact for thousands of years.

Indian Navy.

The *Aj* protests against the proposed establishment of an Indian Navy and says :—India is already groaning under the burden of military expenditure, and now she is to be saddled with naval expenditure, too. It is sought to be made out that the possession of a navy will add to the glory of this country, but this is all camouflage. The real intention is to meet imperial needs at the expense of India and enable Britain to make a make-believe reduction in naval armaments. This navy, like India's army, will be utilized in strangling her neighbours. Indians will thus lose money and get discredit in the bargain. The *Hamdam* refers to the solicitude of British statesmen for the expansion of their naval power in the East and to the project for the establishment of a naval base at Singapore at a colossal cost and says that the proposal for an Indian navy is also part of this scheme. In view of Government's ways many Indians suspect that this navy will be used less to defend the coasts of their country and more to further British imperialistic designs. The political history of the world records no more ridiculous anomaly than that the members of the Council of State and the Assembly should have no voice in the control of the Indian navy and that its dispositions should be at the sweet will of the Viceroy alone, unaided even by his council.

Telegraph department.

The *Aj* objects to the practice of sending telegrams by post and urges that if telegrams cannot be despatched for any reason they should be refused or if sent by post the charges for them should be refunded. In another article the paper refers to some vagaries committed by the Telegraph department in the matter of intercepting telegrams, and urges that only those officials who can distinguish between what is objectionable and what is not should be authorized to exercise this power. The authority who intercepts telegrams should at once inform their senders of the fact pointing out the words and sentences held to be objectionable so that further action in the matter may be taken by the latter.

The United Provinces Legislative Council.

Referring to the projected formation of a party in the United Provinces Council containing some zamindars and Muslim members, also under the leadership of Mr. Chintamani, the *Aziz-i-Hind* warns Muslims that Mr. Chintamani's leadership will greatly prejudice the interests of their community and is meant only to wreck the present ministry and to wrest power from it. As some members are jealous of the present ministers and bear them personal ill-will Mr. Chintamani is being egged on. The nobility of spirit, efficiency and alacrity with which the present Ministers are discharging their duties and the advantages at present enjoyed by zamindars cannot be expected when the fire-spitting group comes into power. The paper characterizes as puerile the suggestions of Mr. Chintamani about the abolition of the posts of the Chief Secretary and Commissioners and the appointment of an Indian Aide-de-Camp or Private Secretary and advises zamindar members not to prejudice their happy relations with the officials by supporting such proposals.

The Bengal détenus.

The *Aj* remarks that the bureaucracy has made up its mind to continue to keep in duress the political prisoners for an indefinite period in utter disregard of public opinion. This is inevitable. When public opinion has been weakened by communalism, why should the bureaucracy not take advantage of it ? When leaders, actuated by communalism, are engaged in the task of securing crumbs for their respective

communities by propitiating the bureaucracy by means of co-operation or responsive co-operation why should not the latter then grow more fearless and trample upon our personal liberty relentlessly? The official decision shows that the bureaucracy is neither afraid of the clamouring of the Legislative Assembly, nor does it care for the opinion of its mutually wrangling Indian members. Whatever it does Indians will have to accept as heavenly justice.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Having taught us to beg Lord Birkenhead seems to derive supreme satisfaction in treating us as beggars. His speech at the London Ladies' Carlton Club is a study in administrative arrogance. From the proud position that we occupied but a few years ago we have reached a stage when the Secretary of State can scarcely open his mouth without grossly insulting our intelligence . . . We can contemplate, not without indifference but with a positive sense of relief, the withdrawal of the Viceroy, English lawyers and the English civil service: the opportunities for distinction denied to us hitherto would then be open to us. We are fit to run the civil administration to-morrow: in fact, we were fit to run it day before yesterday. We are sick of the insulting platitude about co-operation and goodwill and absence of violence and menace. This is brutal exultation at our discomfiture. The more our leaders indulge in what they call co-operation the more will they have to endure this kind of gratuitous sneer.

The United Provinces Budget.

The *Haqiqat* complains that the most powerful blow of the retrenchment axe has been aimed at the Education department and there has been reduction of about ten lakhs in its expenditure. The reserved departments have been treated otherwise and the economies effected in them are inconsiderable. Experienced, enthusiastic and wide-awake members of the Council should try to have the reduction in the education budget made up from the remissions in Provincial contribution.

Jails in United Provinces.

The *Vartman* writes:—The condition of the jails of our provinces is very bad. Indian prisoners are confined like cattle and are compelled to do extremely hard labour in order to increase the income of the jail department. They cannot secure better treatment than that accorded to animals and the value of their lives decreases in jails. On the other hand, European prisoners are supplied not only with necessaries of life but luxuries also. They get the same kind of food as is used by ordinary Europeans in their homes. A European soldier receives the same food in jails as he gets in barracks. Will any member of the United Provinces Council have the courage to speak on this open partiality?

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ALLAHABAD:

March 26, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
26 APR. 27
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 13 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 2, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the anti-German propaganda during the last war the *Abhyudaya* warns Indians not to give much credence to the news regarding the Chinese atrocities on foreigners in China. It says that as the foreigners do not want that Shanghai should go into the hands of the Chinese they are circulating these reports simply with the object of enlisting public opinion in America and England in favour of a war with China and for showing that their cause is righteous and that war has been forced on them on account of these atrocities. The *Aj* has written a number of articles vehemently denouncing British policy in China. It says that in view of the Foreign Secretary's reply to Diwan Chaman Lal's question in the Legislative Assembly it is nothing but international brutality to send Indian troops to Shanghai in the name of the protection of Indian life and property. It is only to satisfy imperialistic greed that our money is being wasted and the lives of our brethren are being imperilled. No condemnation is too strong of the policy of British imperialists to get their ends served in eastern countries at the cost of the credit of India. This crookedness may well secure to them temporary advantages, but ultimately it will bring Britain into disrepute in all eastern countries and nobody will trust her word and intentions any longer. The paper invites attention to the emphasis laid by Agha Uglu Ahmad in official Turkish newspapers on the inter-Asiatic importance of the struggle in China and says that the inhabitants of subject countries labour under a delusion if they think that they are to concern themselves only with their own national questions in utter disregard of the general question of the traditional conflict between the East and the West. The occidentals, in spite of their internal dissensions have combined, in violation of all international regulations and practices, to crush China for fear of their imperialistic dreams remaining unrealized by her awakening. It is to be deplored that Indians do not realize that the struggle for emancipation in China and Turkey, in Morocco and Egypt and in Iraq and Persia is but part of a similar future struggle in India and are engaged in throttling each other to the augmentation of the power of their rulers.

Communal representation.

The conditions proposed by the Muslim conference at Delhi for the establishment of joint electorates are being subjected to a searching analysis both by Muslim and Hindu papers and criticisms range from qualified approbation to unreserved condemnation. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* contends that the fulfilment of the proposed conditions does not rest with Hindus and says :—Surely Government have not withheld Reforms from the North-West Frontier or Baluchistan out of regard for Hindu feelings or wishes. Government have to consider their own interests and they would not be influenced by our desires or demands. To impose these conditions on Hindus as the price of their surrender of separate electorates is simply preposterous. We ask for a little more light on it. Is it mere bluff, pure camouflage or has it any substance in it? The separate electorates must go. We are prepared to make large concessions to our Muslim brethren but we cannot fetch the moon for them. All that we can say is that we will support their demands but will the bureaucracy put any value on it? We may be prepared to agree to any terms but what earthly good is there of securing our promise on matters which are the sole concern of Government? The *Aj* doubts if communal leaders will allow the principle of mixed electorates to be accepted. It says that even from

the political standpoint Hindus will have to examine with great care the conditions laid down by Muslims. It appears impossible that the Sindh Hindus would support the creation of Sindh into a separate province. The introduction of Reforms in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan should not be resisted by Hindus but representation on the basis of population in the Punjab and Bengal will be unfair in view of the influence and financial position of the Hindus there. The utmost that can be done in these two provinces is to allow equal representation to the two communities. The *Abhyudaya* says that the Muslim demands in connexion with the question of joint electorates mean the sacrifice of Hindu nationalism. They show that the Muslims distrust the Hindus and want not only to protect but also to further their interests. Such being the case the Muslims should have no cause for complaint if the Hindus also think of safeguarding their interests. The *Udyog* commends the efforts of Indian leaders for the abolition of the system of separate representation but thinks that on account of the narrow communalism of the Muslims there is little chance of their proving successful. If the leaders really want to restore peace in the country they should infuse patriotism in the hearts of Muslims otherwise their agreement will also share the fate of the Lucknow pact. The *Surya* says that although the conditions laid down by Muslims are improper and are not beneficial for the Hindus they should be accepted with some modifications. The *Najat* says that the acceptance of joint electorates by the Delhi Muslim meeting will further the cause of Indian nationalism. It is a matter for gratification that the agreement has proved acceptable to Hindus and it is to be hoped that Government also will agree to it. The *Sarfaraz* says that if the Hindu leaders grasp the hand of fellowship and good-will extended by the Muslim leaders at Delhi the political atmosphere will be assuredly purified and communal tension will be considerably lessened. The *Haqiqat* publishes the views of a number of prominent Muslims of the United Provinces against the Delhi decision in favour of joint electorates and says that all Muslim M. L. C's., so far interviewed by its special representative, have supported separate representation. The *Hamdam* says that in view of the mentality displayed by Hindus in recent years the Muslim members of the United Provinces Council are quite justified in opposing joint electorates and their views merit the consideration of the leaders who met at Delhi. The *Medina* writes:—By their just and reasonable demands in connexion with the constitution of joint electorates the Muslims have shown that they are greater friends of India than Hindus. But it is difficult for the narrow-minded *sangathanists* to grasp the hand of fellowship extended by the Muslims so long as persons like Malaviyaji, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bhai Parmanand are alive whose sole aim is to wipe the Muslims out of existence. The Muslims made a great mistake in evincing a desire for uniting with the narrow-minded, bigoted and time-serving Brahmans and Kshattriyas who have been slaves for thousands of years and have in many ways tyrannized over the poor inhabitants of India and who cannot tolerate any understanding with the Muslims even for a moment, for their religion which consists in the worship of god Ganesh having the head of an elephant and of the *ling* (organ of generation) of the god Mahadeva leaves no room for a belief in the unity of God. If the Hindu sabhaites do not accept these demands of the Muslims let the latter also spurn all talk of unity with these blind and wretched fellows.

Ponobalia firing.

The Muslim press continues to protest against the Ponobalia firing incident. The *Tarjuman* characterizes the firing as an exhibition of wanton blood-lust and says that it will go down in history as a sad commentary on British justice. Muslims were slaughtered like dumb driven cattle. Will Government see its way to punish the person who proved a traitor to it by murdering its subjects. Muslims should not be silent until they get the price of the blood of the martyrs of Ponobalia. The *Mansur* regards the Ponobalia firing as a barbarous outrage reminiscent of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and says:—It is a pity that the administration is trying to whitewash the cruel crime of its local agents. The harrowing details furnished by Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy show the extent of the callousness betrayed by the authorities. The misrepresentations of the Government and the Associated Press cannot carry conviction and it is patent that the magistrate abused his special powers in firing on an inoffensive crowd. This blood-thirsty magistrate should be transferred at once and a mixed commission of inquiry should be appointed. If these Muslim demands are not acceded to the administration should be made impossible. The *Bedar* sarcastically remarks that

history will record the Ponobalia firing as an example of British justice and regrets that though this tragedy was no whit less in seriousness than that at Jallianwala Bagh no Hindu leader has so far uttered a word in condemnation of the officials. The *Jadu* deplores the occurrence of the Kalkati incident so soon after the Ponobalia affair and warns Hindus not to be jubilant as even though Muslims are the sufferers in these cases, another time it might be their turn to be oppressed. Both Hindus and Muslims should join hands against the common foreign foe as he has now become bold enough to toy with human lives.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Abhyudaya* opposes the appeal made by Messrs. Hanuman Prasad Poddar and Saklatwala to the Hindus to strive to secure the release of Abdul Rashid and says that it is not prepared to believe that magnanimity will produce any good effect upon Abdul Rashid or the Muslim community. Hindu history is full of such magnanimous acts but in the present days magnanimity is mistaken for weakness and gentlemanliness or simplicity for folly. The *Udyog* publishes a story by Girdhari in which the boy-hero, Birju, who has rescued his aunt from the hands of some Muslim hooligans, is depicted as deploring the apathy of the Hindus towards the forcible abduction of their sisters and daughters by the Muslim hooligans and asks:—What has become of the time when as a result of the dishonour of one woman the entire country was reduced to ruins and when even after killing lakhs of Kshattriyas Bhim's wrath was not appeased so long as he did not break the thigh of Duryodhana? The *Arya Mitra* publishes an appeal for funds by Babu Parmeshwari Sahai of Agra for helping Pandit Kali Charan Sharma's family, publishing the copies of his written statement in the case against the *Vichitra Jiwan* and for filing an appeal before the Privy Council and exhorts the Hindus of these provinces to respond to it. The *Hamdam* deplores the insistence of *sangathanist* leaders on playing music before mosque at prayer time and warns Hindus that by their unjustified obstinacy they are playing into the hands of the alien officials. It welcomes the "Fellowship" formed at Calcutta to combat communal conflict and hopes that its members will rise above communal prejudice. The *Medina* writes:—In the cases instituted in Bengal Hindus are being released everywhere and Muslims convicted. The rulers have adopted a policy of punishing the two communities by turns.

Legislative Assembly.

The proceedings of the Legislative Assembly have come in for a good deal of adverse criticism in the extremist press. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—By its vote for the restoration of the salt tax the Legislative Assembly (*sic*) crowns a long career of utter contradictions, purposelessness, inertia, intolerable vacillation and absolute intellectual paralysis that have been the leading characteristics of the strongest political party in it. The voting on the Finance Bill spelt a disgraceful rout of the popular party. The *Aj* takes strong exception to the attitude of officials in leaving their seats during Mr. Ranga Iyer's speech and says:—They did not want to listen to what popular representatives urged. They were unwilling to see how the Indian heart was vomiting blood. They did what they had already decided upon and what was likely to benefit foreigners. The budget has been passed and the grants rejected by the Assembly have been restored by the Viceroy. Never before has any parliament been so much insulted by its officials. This is only possible in India in this twentieth century. India enacts this insulting drama every year at the cost of lakhs of rupees. The newly elected Assembly has done more harm to the country in a very short time than the previous two Assemblies did during their whole term of life. This time the bureaucracy has secured a complete triumph. Legislators elected on communal tickets have thoroughly throttled nationalism. Reviewing the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly and the provincial councils the *Vartman* says that the powers conferred upon these legislatures are merely illusory and they are therefore unable to do any real good to the people. Proceeding it remarks:—The leaders should cease to think of these councils and should turn towards the villages where lies the real power which can raise India. What is the use of testing a thing which has already been tested? Years have been spent in running after the mirage of these councils, now come to the real field of action where there is no illusion or fraud.

Indian States.

The *Mansur* asserts, on the authority of Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, that the Muslims of Indore are panic-stricken as the state is treating them just as a foreign conqueror treats a vanquished and oppressed people under martial law. The honour of respectable Muslims is in danger, arrests continue and many have left the city. The Muslims wanted the special tribunal to consist of a Hindu, a Muslim and a

European, but it is actually constituted of two capable Hindus and a weak Muslim. There is little hope of justice in these circumstances and the Indore State should concede the reasonable Muslim demands. Muslims all over the country should help their afflicted co-religionists in Indore liberally. The *Hamdam* protests against telegrams from Indore about the recent riots being detained and says that this is an encouragement to the oppressive and tyrannical attitude of the state. It is the acknowledged right of the public to make inquiries and publish the true facts wherever oppression has been practised. The paper protests against the high-handedness of Government in forcing costly English officials on the Hyderabad State and warns it against the consequences of Muslim resentment. A vigorous agitation should be set up against this attitude of Government.

Muslim affairs.

The *Haqiqat* regrets that owing to his continued association with Government as Home Member the Maharaja of Mahmudabad has lost touch with public opinion and has been wrongly advocating British interference in Hedjaz affairs. The recent Mahmudabad deputation to the Viceroy was unrepresentative in character and contained not a single independent nationalist Muslim. Returning to the subject in a subsequent issue the paper characterizes the Mahmudabad deputation as another move to secure British interference in Hedjaz affairs. It is a fact established by experience during the last fifteen or twenty years that British imperial policy is guided not by Muslim sentiment but by its own interests and so the address presented by the Mahmudabad deputation may at any time be utilized to justify British interference in the Hedjaz and the responsibility for this would rest on the Maharaja Saheb and his short-sighted friends. The Mahmudabad deputation has blundered in approaching the British Government in regard to Hedjaz affairs without even consulting public opinion.

Case of Kharag Bahadur.

Papers of all shades of opinion pay glowing tributes to the chivalry evinced by Kharag Bahadur and strongly support the appeal for the exercise of the royal prerogative in his case. The *Pioneer* writes:—Mr. Moberly's reply to the deputation of ladies who made representation to him on the sentence inflicted on Kharag Bahadur Singh seemed to be lacking in force, if the report does not do him an injustice. The exercise of the prerogative of mercy does not connote a reversal of a judge's decision and there is no limit either to the time or to the manner in which it takes effect. A public champion cannot be allowed the use of the knife as a means of private vengeance. Still the ladies in Calcutta put forward a strong case for mitigation of the sentence and it is astonishing that Mr. Moberly, although sympathetic, should have been misled in his interpretation of procedure. The *Leader* also expresses a similar view and urges that the Royal prerogative is unrestricted by law. The *Himalayan Times* writes:—Sjt. Kharag Bahadur, a youth of super-sensitive nature, and gifted with a high sense of racial patriotism, chivalry and self-sacrifice, as he was, his dignified code of morality could not permit perpetuation of the standing disgrace heaped upon the Gurkha nation by an unscrupulous and relentless gang of social parasites. Although taking the law into one's own hands is neither permissible nor advisable, yet the protection of the honour and chastity of our mothers, sisters and daughters is as much as, if not more, than our duty in obeying the various sections of the Indian Penal Code.

Jail reforms.

The *Hamdam* observes that the strong and unanimous criticism of jail administration in the United Provinces Council shows that it needs further reforms and hopes that the authorities will not delay those reforms at least which do not involve extra expenditure but only need stricter supervision on the part of the higher officials and a more honest and sympathetic attitude on the part of their subordinates.

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ALLAHABAD:
April 2, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 14 of 1927.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 9, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

Criticizing British policy in China the *Leader* writes:—The British Government now seems to be on the war-path. The moral issues are being clouded by the spirit of militarism which is asserting itself and the stage is being set for a sanguinary conflict between nationalist China and the forces of exploitation and reaction both within and without. The folly of force in dealing with a militant nationalist movement is going to be repeated. If China emerges successful out of the impending ordeal of fire and sword it will bring the era of international peace nearer and further discredit the creed of unrighteous imperialism. The *Aj* remarks that the evacuation of the Yangtse valley, the strengthening of the Shanghai defence by Englishmen and the publication of exaggerated accounts of Chinese atrocities in the British and American press constitute a very ominous augury inasmuch as they show that public opinion in Britain, America and the British Colonies is being won over in favour of war. If Britain really declares war the situation will become very critical. Indian public opinion will not be able to tolerate the suppression of Chinese nationalism and the Indian loyalty to the British Crown will be put to a very serious strain. In view of such dangerous consequences British authorities will be well advised not to tread this uncertain and thorny path, which is sure to lead to a fresh world conflagration. Referring to the Chinese struggle for independence the *Anand* exhorts the British Government to establish responsible democratic government in India and impart military education to the people as a safeguard against a situation like that in China or an invasion by the Chinese of Indian frontiers in the course of war with the British. The *Haqiqat* says that the incidents at Shanghai and Nanking show that Europeans will have to yield up their special rights in China. As Russia is secretly backing China any interference by the European powers will lead to a terrible conflagration and many Asiatic powers also might become involved in it and Bolshevism might overspread every Asiatic country. It is therefore the bounden duty of every well-wisher of Asiatic nations to see that hostilities do not break out in China and every question is settled by negotiation.

The Sandhurst Committee's report.

The recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee have so far been generally received with satisfaction by Indian papers. The *Pioneer* writes:—The present shortage of British officers is engaging the anxious attention of the military authorities. The publication of the Sandhurst Committee report is not likely to diminish that anxiety. The atmosphere of political apologetics is discernible on many pages of the report. The possible British recruit, already deterred by doubts concerning the material attractiveness of the Indian Service, will find his doubts enhanced. While the committee are mainly concerned with supplying a theoretical answer to a political question, the Government of India and the military authorities in attempting to give effect thereto will not be relieved for an instant of their practical duty of preserving inviolate the defence of India and her position as an integral part of the British Empire. Hence arise issues far too big to be handled by the Government of India alone. The *Leader* writes:—The summary of the recommendations of the Skeen Committee will be read with general satisfaction in the country. If the recommendations are accepted and given effect to in a spirit of courageous statesmanship there would be greater confidence in the sincerity of British professions in the matter of the declared policy of leading India to the goal of self-government and the military policy

would be brought more or less into line with the civil policy . . . But the country is quite familiar with the dilatory tactics that have been adopted in putting off indefinitely decisions in matters which affect the reality of British power. We are not quite sure if the labours of the committee will not after all be wasted along with the Indian tax-payers' money spent upon its inquiry and whether after the mountain is once more in labour even the proverbial mouse will come out. Let it be recognized in time that a helpless India can only be a source of weakness to the Empire in the hour of crisis and that a strong, contented and grateful India will always be the bulwark of the Empire. In a subsequent issue, replying to the criticisms of Anglo-Indian papers of the recommendations of the committee the paper writes :—The report is not the handiwork of "agitators" who have no practical knowledge of military problems. A perusal of the report will show that the committee have throughout accepted and emphasized the necessity of maintaining the existing standard of efficiency and it cannot be urged with fairness by the critics of the recommendations that they involve a lowering of the standard. Their acceptance would show that the Government which has been so far playing with the question of Indianization, wants to treat it in a serious spirit. Indian opinion is not generally satisfied with the rate of progress suggested, but even if the cautious scheme is accepted it will mark a notable improvement in the desired direction on the existing extremely unsatisfactory position. The complaint that the right type of candidates is not forthcoming will, we hope, be removed with the improved prospects which the acceptance of the recommendations will offer. The *Aj* writes :—There is no doubt that British officers will be required for the Indian Army for a long time to come, but the period of twenty-five years prescribed for the 50 per cent. Indianization of the commissioned ranks is unduly long. The existing number of British officers is more than enough for imparting military education to Indians and no fresh British officers should be recruited until their number is reduced to 25 per cent., and this ratio should be maintained ever afterwards. The *Abhyudaya* welcomes the report and says :—The members of the committee have displayed a broad outlook in considering the question and their recommendations are satisfactory in the existing circumstances. The *Surya* exhorts the Government to accept the recommendations and says that by doing so it would not only make Indians fit to defend themselves, but would also enhance its own moral prestige.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

The *Leader* writes :—Lord Birkenhead's speech in the House of Lords was as beautifully vague as ever. It was full of familiar platitudes and verbal jugglery. His Lordship is not lacking in the quality of decisiveness when he chooses. But his attitude towards Indian problems is sicklied over with the pale cast of thought. In the course of an article headed "More dirt from Birkenhead" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The Indian debate in the Lords afforded Lord Birkenhead yet another opportunity to fling his harsh expressions against Indian politicians. We are used to his vision and his vanity. Nothing from him surprises us : the surprise would be if he did not let off his favourite fireworks about co-operation and good-will. This sickening strain is most humiliating to our national self-respect. The *Aj* says that no reliance is to be placed on the hopes held out by the Secretary of State. Indians should neither care for his threats nor be taken in by his cajolery. They should determine and follow their own course and compel the authorities to take note of their movements. This will place the initiative in their own hands and the authorities will have to follow them either to conciliate or repress them. It is because of the abandonment of the non-cooperation movement and of the readiness of politicians to co-operate with the bureaucracy that their supplications are now being trampled upon and insults after insults are being heaped upon them. India's cause will not be furthered unless Indians once more have recourse to non-cooperation and organize the masses. The *Oudh Akhbar* says :—Lord Birkenhead bears a special grudge against the Swarajists and he is not prepared to subscribe even to Lord Olivier's formula that the Swaraj party should be treated with the same courtesy which is accorded to the opposition in constitutionally governed countries. Lord Birkenhead's assertion that it is the ideal of the Swarajists to wreck the constitution is only a half-truth. He ought to have added that the Swarajists offered the fullest co-operation to Government on certain terms and that they are not to blame if Government has refused to accept those terms. The Secretary of State unfolded the official view-point on the exchange ratio, military expenditure and other important questions, but he said nothing new and everywhere diverged from the Indian standpoint.

The *Najat* says that the actions of the British Government in regard to Indian matters are like the make-believe pranks of a monkey which though pleasing to the eye are really like deadly poison. Anon the Secretary of State for India stretches the hand of co-operation towards Indians and expresses sympathy with their aspirations, but again he conjures up the picture of communal differences and counsels patience to them. Pandit Motilal Nehru has very aptly said that India is like the drowning Jew who was given two or three duckings by a Christian sailor to force him to accept Christianity and was then abandoned to meet his end as a Christian. India was drowning, the Reforms raised her out of water; she was then given a ducking through the Councils that she might co-operate; at last she declared that she would practise honourable co-operation; she was then administered the baptism in the shape of the Muddiman Committee, but was ultimately left to drift and to drown. The truth of the matter is that the administration has no sympathy with Indians and it makes all sorts of promises only to mark time to deceive, to serve its purpose and to beguile them. If Indians also like it keep an eye over every action of its and stick to their demands with firmness, all this deception would instead of misleading them prove their prop at every stage. The *Hamdam* says that Lord Birkenhead's speech delivered in his usual style was not at all encouraging from the Indian standpoint as it breathed more of diplomacy than of sincerity. His Lordship said that the South African agreement would open out a new chapter of cooperation and friendly relations, but the statements of Indians that have recently appeared in the press do not justify this optimism. The local officials of the Union Government continue to encroach upon the civic and political rights of Indians; still if the Union Government were to show due regard for justice and sympathy in enforcing the terms of the agreement and Mr. Shastri were appointed as the Indian Agent there would be a change for the better in the lot of Indians. It was a cruel jest on the part of Lord Birkenhead to have accused Indians of indifference towards political reform. The shortcomings of the present Reforms have been established and they have proved a shameful failure, and it would be a ridiculous jumble of statesmanship and high-handedness to insist on their continuance in their present form. The desire of Indians for a change for the better must be respected.

Communal representation.

The *Aligarh Mail* takes Mr. Jinnah severely to task for securing the approval of some Muslim leaders at Delhi to the institution of joint electorates under certain conditions and says:—Either Mr. Jinnah has suddenly changed for reasons best known to himself or, to be bluntly outspoken, he has lost his political head. One of the two phenomena must explain the Jinnahian somersault in conceiving the abolition of separate electorates . . . The response from the accredited representatives of the Hindus to the overtures of peace and unity from the Jinnah conference is no less disheartening. The principles enunciated by them mean that the Muslims should give up communal electorates without securing the important safeguards proposed by the Jinnah conference and thus should lose even the tail of political power to be possessed by the Hindus who have already its head. To such a pass have the Muslims been brought by Mr. Jinnah's yielding leadership who hopes that the Musalmans will ratify the proposals of his conference. Far from ratifying them, the Muslims would like to rectify them, for by opening the very question of the abolition of communal electorates they strike at the very root of our political existence as a community. The *Pratap* says that the conditions proposed by the Muslim leaders for the establishment of joint electorates lack in the good-will and outlook required for the establishment of unity and contain an excessive element of bargaining. As nationalistic Congressmen we cannot welcome this settlement. The Congress committed a great blunder in being a party to the Lucknow pact as the principle of separate electorates has proved an obstacle in the path of nationalism. It will commit a still greater blunder if, with the object of satisfying communal follies, it adopts the policy of provincial redistribution on communal basis. Unity cannot be brought about by bargaining; it can only be established by a change of heart. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* is doubtful of the desirability of joint electorates in view of the communal tension prevailing in the country. The *Sadaqat* refers to the growing opposition among Muslim leaders and journals to the Delhi terms and hopes that when the feeling which has been generated owing to the intransigeance of the larger section of Hindus has subsided the wisdom shown by the Delhi leaders in urging the acceptance of joint electorates

will be recognized. Patriotic and farseeing Hindus have appreciated the courage shown by Muslim leaders in trying to improve the present intolerable communal situation, but it is a pity that the majority led by men of the Malaviya and Lajpat Rai school have started hair-splitting. The Muslim demand for Reforms in the Frontier provinces or the separation of Sindh is not new, while the question of preferential treatment to minorities can be shelved if the Hindus are not agreeable to it. Anyway unity should be achieved by the Hindus accepting the reasonable Muslim terms. The *Sada-i-Muslim* refers to the intolerant and aggressive attitude of the Hindus and advises Muslims not to enter into any agreement with them without due consideration.

Indian States.

The report of Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang and other Muslim leaders on the Indore affairs has received prominent attention in the Muslim press. The *Medina* says that the plight to which Muslims have been reduced in Indore as a result of the communal tension will constitute an extremely shameful chapter in the annals of the State. The sangathanist mischief-makers have not only tarnished the fair name of the rulers of Indore, but have created administrative difficulties by causing a lasting pain to Muslims. The *Hamdam* says:—The statement of Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Muslims of Indore whose financial resources are generally very low as they are mostly labourers, artisans, petty shop-keepers and low-paid employés are the victims of a widespread conspiracy whose snares had been very cleverly laid by the protagonists of *shuddhi* and *sangathan* in the State after the abdication of the ex-Maharaja. Certain high-placed officials of the State who were previously only supporting the conspiracy with help and advice have now begun to participate in it actively. This is all the more deplorable because of the traditionally cordial relations of the State with Muslims and especially the benign attitude of the ex-Maharaja towards them. According to the joint statement Muslims were being expelled from the police and military departments, false rumours were circulated about Muslims planning to take out cow processions and to sacrifice cows on the occasion of the last *Bakr-id*, information was laid about arms being concealed in the Juma Masjid. Muslims were accused of murdering a Brahman and punished departmentally in spite of being acquitted by the law courts and inflammatory speeches were openly made at meetings in memory of Swami Shraddhanand. The anti-Muslim propaganda in Indore was also encouraged by the fact that the post of subedar there was held by an individual on whose support the sangathanists fully relied. Repeated processions with music were deliberately organized before mosques and the servants of the subedar wantonly resorted to firing. Indiscriminate arrests and lack of legal aid have now reduced Indore Muslims to sorry straits, and it is up to their co-religionists throughout India to help them liberally with funds. In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The statement issued by the Prime Minister of Indore is only an attempt to white-wash the unjust doings of the State officials. Neither was the firing nor was the restriction on congregational prayers justified and Muslims should not rest content until the authorities acknowledge their mistake. The *Haqiqat* takes exception to the decision of the Government of India that the children of Nawab Hamidullah Khan should succeed to the Bhopal State and says that this ignoring of the claims of the eldest son of the late heir-apparent would lead to disputes in the family.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Condemning the activities of Khwaja Nizami as being calculated to prejudice Englishmen against the Arya Samajists the *Arya Mitra* urges the Government to keep a strict watch over the Khwaja's speeches and writings and says that on numerous occasions he has propagated schemes from the platform and the press which can never be called peaceful. Instead of extinguishing the fire of communalism he adds fuel to it. The *Abhyudaya* views with alarm the looting of the Hindus at Larkana and says that the Muslims probably want to make Sindh a separate province so that they may be able to do all over Sindh what they have done at Larkana. Their hooliganism seems to have reached its climax. The Government too will have its share of sufferings caused by this hooliganism and will find itself helpless in dealing with it. It is idle for the Hindu Sabhas to rely on the Government for their protection. If the Hindus do not stand upon their own legs they will be entirely at the mercy of the Muslims. It is not only the hooligan element among the Muslims which is responsible for creating trouble. The conviction of a Muslim M. L. C. during the last communal riots at Calcutta and the mention

of a Muslim Municipal Commissioner in the reports from Hyderabad (Sindh) show that at the bottom of these disturbances there is a body of clever and educated Muslims whose object is to terrify the Hindus and overawe the Government. The *Najat* contrasts the insistence of Hindu publicists on expressions of regret and abhorrence by Muslims regarding the anti-Hindu riots of Malabar, Kohat and Rawalpindi with their failure to give expression to any such feelings regarding the doings of sangathanist maniacs at Barisal, Katarpur and Delhi. This mentality shows that it is regarded as a black crime in Hindu society to speak even the right in favour of Muslims, which means in other words that they regard their communal interests as superior even to the demands of civilization and humanity. How else, exclaims the paper, was it possible for the Hindus of Barisal to stop music before the hospital, but to go to the length of violating the law in insisting on music before mosques to outrage Muslim sentiment? Such is the mood of the Hindu masses, but even their selected leaders are no whit better. Mr. Malaviya at Chapra advised Hindus not to stop music before mosques and Dr. Moonje at Calcutta told his hearers not to act on the law of love but to adopt the *lex talionis* to convert Hindustan into a Hindu home. Only recently Professor Rama Deva speaking at Delhi threatened Muslims with the waving of the banner of "Om" on every mosque and Bhai Permanand declared at the Oudh Hindu Conference that he wanted to see an aggressive spirit developing among Hindus. In short Hindus regard it as a pious duty of theirs to injure the feelings of Muslims, and it is for Muslims in these circumstances to ponder how they can best counter these preparations. We do not favour the adoption of a policy of retribution. Muslims should first of all remove their weaknesses and try to become independent of others by arranging to provide for all their needs, for even if the Hindus, as they are being taught, adopt the peaceful weapon of economic and social boycott instead of sterner measures they can achieve their object and literally starve Muslims. It is therefore the bounden duty of every thoughtful Muslim to stint no effort in the advancement of his co-religionists and the defence of his faith, and to make the masses of his community self-supporting. If Muslims can accomplish even this much, they will be able to restrain this aggressive spirit of the Hindus as it is the wealth exploited by Hindu capitalists from Muslims which provides the sinews of war for oppressing Muslims. Muslims are themselves providing the wherewithal for their own undoing.

Pratap defamation case.

The judgement in the *Pratap* defamation case is being warmly commended by newspapers of all shades of opinion. The *Pioneer* writes:—The press has reason to be gratified at the result of the appeal in the *Pratap* case. The judgement of the Allahabad High Court is now available and it shows that in acquitting the editor of that paper of charges of defaming a sub-inspector of police the court laid down important principles regarding the ethics of newspaper criticism. The value of the judgement lies in its safeguarding the right of comment. The newspaper in question appears on the face of it to have done a service to the public. While malicious attacks by the press on Government officials deserve and will, it is to be hoped, meet all the rigour prescribed by the law, it is equally important that the newspaper's duty of criticizing those who abuse their authority should be fearlessly discharged. After giving a short history of the case the *Sainik* writes:—We have lost faith in Government courts to such an extent that we were not surprised at the judgements of the lower courts. When the appeal was being heard in the sessions court we humourously remarked that it would be no wonder if the traditions of Mainpuri were maintained by the enhancement of the sentence. And this is what actually happened. If we are surprised it is at the justice done by the High Court. This judgement shows that justice can still be expected of the High Court . . . This case gives a good idea of the apathy of the bureaucracy in India. So many complaints were published against Shiva Dayal, but it remained unmoved. Our rulers have no concern whatever with our happiness or troubles. If Mr. Dodd does not rest content with self-complacency but does a little introspection, he will be ashamed of these doings of his department. No wonder if there is disaffection against the present system of government when the protectors themselves have become devourers, when the officers who are paid for protecting the people from oppression themselves practise oppression upon them and the higher authorities pat those officers on the back. It is for the Sessions Judge to decide whether the charges against Babu Shiva Dayal Singh are false or not, but the department has not done its duty in this matter. In the interests of justice it is necessary that he should

be transferred to some other place till the hearing of the case to be instituted against him is concluded.

Kakori conspiracy case.

Referring to the judgement in the Kakori conspiracy case the *Leader* writes:—The skill with which the ramifications of the alleged conspiracy were traced and the various links connected reflects credit on those in charge of the investigation. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The public will receive the judgement with horror. It is difficult to seriously believe that these young men are capable of conspiring against the great British Government. To sentence these misguided youths to such heavy terms of punishment and three of them to the extreme penalty of the law is possible only in India. We have here an instance of justice in all its relentlessness.

Case of Kharag Bahadur.

Newspapers continue to publish articles and poems eulogizing the chivalry of Kharag Bahadur and appealing for the exercise of the royal prerogative in his case. The *Hamdam* notes with gratification the effect produced on the public mind of Bengal by Kharag Bahadur's incident and hopes that the new Governor will show his large heartedness whether by ordering his immediate release or substantially reducing his sentence. The evil of abduction of women must be eradicated. The *Udyog* regards the action of Kharag Bahadur Singh in taking the law into his own hands as unjustified and says that if all men were to act similarly the country would be faced with a very critical situation and there would be left no need for law courts.

Lord Lytton's administration.

The *Pratap* says that Lord Lytton did not prove a capable Governor. During his term of office Hindu-Muslim tension assumed terrible proportions in Bengal, Calcutta remained the centre of booliganism for months, the life of Hindus was rendered unbearable by the Muslims, hundreds of temples were desecrated, thousands of images were broken and Hindu processions were stopped at a number of places and the authorities took part in spreading communal tension. The *Aj* says that not a single thinking individual of Bengal will be grieved at Lord Lytton's departure. During his tenure of office he did nothing for which Bengal should thank him. On the contrary the Black Act was enacted and hundreds of Bengali youths were imprisoned without trial. During his régime the liberty of the Calcutta University was also assailed. It will be the height of insincerity to express grief at the departure of such an administrator.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* ridicules the "so-called" deputation headed by the Maharaja of Mahmudabad which waited upon the Viceroy in connexion with the Hedjaz affairs and suggests that the action of the Maharaja in seeking the intervention of a non-Muslim power is opposed to the injunctions of Islam and predicts that the members of the deputation will be sorely disappointed. The *Sarfaraz* holds that the demands of the deputation do not at all imply foreign interference in Hedjaz affairs and wonders at the outcry of the Saudite papers against complaints regarding Ibn Saud being referred to his master. It is a pity that the *Zamindar* has tried to howl down the deputation as unrepresentative.

Ponobalia firing incident.

The *Medina* takes the Bengal Government and members of the Bengal Council severely to task for not doing justice to the victims of the Ponobalia firing incident and says:—The twenty innocent martyrs and the innumerable dying and the wounded could not secure any redress at the hands of those callous people who hold the reins of the council. Is the religious spirit of the Bengal Muslims dead? No, God willing, the two crores of Muslims of Bengal will demonstrate that the spirit of religious brotherhood still exists among them and they have already decided that the lives of Muslims will not be allowed to go so cheap as is thought by satanic Magistrates like Mr. Blandy.

Music before mosques.

Referring to permission for soft music by Hindus during *Tarawih* prayers in a mosque at Cawnpore the *Tarjuman* wonders how it can be determined whether the music is not loud enough to disturb prayers. Such orders can only lead to disturbances and it would be best if prayers were not at all interfered with.

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ALLAHABAD:
April 9, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 15 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 16, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The *Abhyudaya* writes :—The despatch of reinforcements to China shows that, though Britain professes to be in favour of an agreement with China, she is really making preparations for a war with that country. Japan's demand for compensation from China is improper, inasmuch as the welfare of the whole of Asia, including Japan, lies in the triumph of China and the decline of the power of foreigners in the East. The *Aj* supports the proposal of the honorary secretary of the Indian Journalists' Association to send Indian correspondents to China for supplying correct reports about the happenings in that country, and says that as China is India's neighbour, and her struggle for independence is bound to have a great effect on India's own movement for freedom, it is absolutely necessary that Indians should remain correctly informed of the Chinese situation. The cablegrams from London in this connexion are sometimes contradictory and show that the British are carrying on propaganda against China. The *Najat* says that all the moves of land-grabbing Britain against the liberty-loving Chinese nationalists have failed, and the traitorous Chinese generals, in the pay of the British, who were fighting against their mother country have gradually gone over to the side of right and justice. The nationalists are now supreme in China. If the Powers take united action against the country Russia is sure to back her and this will lead to a sanguinary war in which all the Asiatic Powers also will be ranged on the side of China. The *Desh Bhagat* says that the news of the successes of the nationalists will be welcomed by all oppressed Asiatic peoples. The English, though badly worsted, are not yet refraining from their diabolic activities and are inciting the Americans to war. We believe that owing to the courage and sacrifice of the Chinese their country will, within three months, be purged of foreign impurity. Indian nationalists should learn a lesson from the self-sacrifice, courage and organization of the Chinese patriots and, spurning the bait cast by Britain, should try to stand upon their own legs.

Kakori conspiracy case.

The entire Hindi press regards the sentences passed in the Kakori conspiracy case as extremely severe. The *Vartman* writes :—The sentences are simply shocking. We cannot believe that these young men were capable of conspiring against the mighty British Government. It is in this unfortunate country alone that a misguided patriot can be sentenced to death like an ordinary criminal. It is to be hoped that the High Court will temper justice with mercy. The *Abhyudaya* says that impulsive youths, however misled, ought not to be sentenced to death, and hopes that on appeal the Chief Court will reduce at least the capital sentences. The *Anand* says that those who are acquainted with the character of some of the accused will continue to hold them innocent in spite of the judgement. Even assuming that these young men were guilty of conspiracy against the Government the passing of such sentences, with the object of correcting their mentality, is opposed to the dictates of justice and mercy. May it be hoped that by reducing the sentences the Government will show that it does not act in a spirit of vindictiveness, and that the Judges of the Chief Court will act mercifully towards them and spare their lives? The *Pratap* sarcastically congratulates Pandit Jagat Narain on the ability with which he espoused the cause of the Government. In impassioned language it describes the pain which the sentences passed on the accused will cause to their kinsmen, and says: O! Ideal, you are very cruel and terrible. No one knows how many sisters and brothers have to mourn for your sake. But awakening can come through sacrifice alone.

The tears of mothers and sisters will flow like the Ganges and the Jumna and will sweep away cowardice and slave mentality. What shall we say to the bureaucracy? Only this much that if there is any anarchist organization in the country the entire responsibility for it lies on the ruling body. By its short-sightedness the bureaucracy is digging its own grave. If Lord Birkenhead and his colleagues do not change their system of government the future historian may have to write that on account of the folly and obstinacy of British politicians the British Empire in India vanished in a very short time like an evil dream. The *Haq* pays a tribute to the skill with which the investigation in the case was conducted, and says that it was due to it that the accused could not escape the meshes of the law. Syed Ainuddin also deserves to be congratulated on the consummate tact shown by him in presiding over the trial. The *Haqiqat* joins with other Urdu journals in claiming clemency for the Kakori accused. The severity of the sentences pronounced by the judge shows that he has paid more regard to justice than to mercy. Of what use will the judge's advice to the accused to reform themselves be if they are either to pass the greater portion of their lives in jail or to be hanged? Their offence was, no doubt, a serious one, but regard should be shown for their youth. It is hoped that the Chief Court will show mercy when the case comes up to it in appeal, and will not ruin the lives of two dozen youths, and will at least modify the capital sentence.

Communal representation.

The *Farrukh* deplores the dissentient notes struck against joint electorates and the Delhi terms by both Hindus and Muslims as the future of the country depends on their acceptance. The *Aziz-i-Hind* stoutly denies that separate electorates have ever bred discord, and is glad that the selfish and sycophantic move of the Maharaja of Mahmudabad at Delhi in favour of joint electorates has been disowned with disgust by the whole of India. Religious riots are as old as India herself, and it is folly to father them upon separate representation. The joint electorates can send up only those representatives who are under the influence of other communities, and Muslims will lose their existence as a community. Qazi Maqbul Husain, writing in the *Mashriq*, deplores the opposition of Lala Lajpat Rai and the *Hindustan Times* to the formation of a separate province of Sindh and the extension of the reforms to Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province as there is a Muslim majority there and wonders why they are so much afraid of a Muslim majority anywhere. It would not be fair to Muslims that the Hindus should be in a majority everywhere, and an equitable solution, which would satisfy both the communities, should, therefore, be sought.

Lord Birkenhead's speech.

The *Haqiqat* characterizes Lord Birkenhead's speech in the House of Lords as a mass of verbiage devoid of foresight or statesmanship. It is, no doubt, an admirable attempt to stave off the immediate Indian demand for self-government by promises for the morrow and to discredit the Congress and the Swaraj party. His remarks about communal tension show that the British statesmen do not at all feel that its existence is a blot on the British escutcheon. His Lordship had not a word to utter which would have acted as a balm for the wounded hearts of Barisal Muslims. His cursory reference to the incident proves that our white masters attach little value to Indian lives. The utterance teems with advice and threats, and, as Lord Birkenhead insists on the Swarajists making an explicit declaration of co-operation, they should openly abandon obstruction and see whether His Lordship makes good his promises. The *Hamdam* regrets that Lord Birkenhead also supported the monstrous dictum enunciated by the gods on the Olympian heights of Simla that Bengal patriots should be detained in durance vile without trial in the interest of peace and order. His Lordship was pained at the communal tension prevailing in the country, but it must be said that, though Indian leaders are to a great extent responsible for it, it lies in the hands of those agents of the Government who are known as the "steel frame" of the Administration to create an atmosphere conducive to perfect unity between the two communities. Lord Birkenhead's phrase that co-operation does not connote abject acceptance of all Government proposals in the legislatures, no doubt, sounds very pleasing to the ears; but, in view of the action of Government in repeatedly riding roughshod over the explicitly-expressed wishes of the popular representatives, it cannot appeal to the hearts of Indians. The *Sudharak* writes:—Lord Birkenhead is an expert in telling hollow things, and at the same time he does not want to show the least

benevolence towards India. He supports every act of injustice and high-handedness committed by the Government of India.

The *Pratap* defamation case.

The Hindi press has expressed general satisfaction at the judgement of the High Court in the *Pratap* case. The *Pratap* writes :—When we compare the judgements of the Magistrate and the Sessions Judge with that of the Judges of the High Court we cannot but wonder what a large number of innocent persons must have fallen victim to the blunt knife of the Mainpuri justice. The judgement of the High Court is a strong commentary on the decisions of both the lower courts. Such is the *Nadirshahi* of the police that hardly any respectable citizen of the province could have escaped it. Bribery and oppression reign supreme in every village. The majority of police officials regard themselves as the uncrowned king of the country and vie with one another in perpetrating oppression. The poor man has to put up with all this quietly. It is our belief that the high officials are well aware of all this, and they know that every district of the province has its Shikohabad, but even then, in order to maintain their prestige, they do not want to curb the police. At the very commencement of the case we requested the Home Member and the Inspector-General of Police to transfer the sub-inspector, but far from taking any action they did not even acknowledge the receipt of our letter. The Police Administration report generally contains an appeal for public co-operation, but we want to tell the Home Member and the Inspector-General of Police that their attitude towards us in this case does not show that they or their pet department in any way need the co-operation of the public unless by co-operation they mean that the public should act as a puppet in the hands of the police. We were thinking of stopping the paper because we thought that it was useless to issue it when we could not even expose the hounds who were preying upon the poor, but the judgement of the High Court shows that in combating the police nabob one can at least find judges like Justice Banerji and Justice Walsh.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on the Larkana disturbance the *Udyog* says :—We do not know what element of truth there is in the charges levelled against the police of Larkana, but the experience of Multan and Rawalpindi shows that communal feelings of the Muslims run high only in those places where the police officers belong to that community. At present the majority of the Larkana police is Muslim. Whatever its intention may be it is clear that it cannot cope with the situation which has arisen there. It is, therefore, necessary that some European and Hindu officials should be placed in charge of the town and an inquiry should be made into the incident. The *Vartman* appeals to the leaders of the Hindu Sabha to devise, at its coming session at Patna, some effective measures for helping the Hindus of Bengal in securing the reinstatement of the Maharaja of Nabha and the release of Kharag Bahadur. It says :—The atrocities and oppressions (on the Hindus) in Bengal have become intolerable. The brutal outrages perpetrated on our mothers and sisters, the desecration of temples and idols, the "murder" of Hindu rights, and the defencelessness of Hindus have now reached the limit. Oppressed and afflicted Hindus cannot tolerate them any longer. There is also a limit to patience, toleration and gentleness. It is idle to expect anything of the bureaucracy. It only knows how to rule over us; it does not care so much for our safety and the protection of our honour. The occurrence of these atrocities in broad daylight under its administration has indelibly blackened its face in the eyes of the world. The Hindu Sabha should organize a band of young men who would move about every village of Bengal for the protection of the honour of our mothers and sisters and temples. The *Mansur* complains that the Aryas utilize every opportunity to make improper attacks on Muslims, and reproduces from the *Paigham Sulah* (Lahore) the report of an Arya Shuddhi meeting held at the Gurukul Kangri on March 19 at which poems attacking Muslim kings were recited and various speakers urged a wholesale *shuddhi* of Muslims. Exciting speeches were made, and feeling was worked up against Muslims by painting them as robbers and abductors. Islam was styled as the religion of the sword. Muslims should now organize to save themselves from the attacks of Shuddhi and Sangathan. The *Medina* says that in every disturbance from Malabar down to Ponobalia and Larkana the Hindus were the aggressors, but it was the Muslims who suffered most in every way. The Hindus wanted to have a trial of strength, and when the Muslims replied the latter were beaten in the field of law on account of their poverty and disorganization. The Larkana disturbance was due to the Shuddhi movement, but the Hindus possess financial and legal resources. The

result is that Muslims are being arrested and all cases are being decided against them. Similar is the case in Bengal also. Mischief is being done by processionists and Samajists, but Muslims are being involved in trouble. Will not the Muslim community pay heed to this problem? The *Hamdam* deplores the Larkana riots as another blow to the cause of national progress, and appeals to Arya Samajists not to employ underhand methods in their campaign of proselytism. Both law and religion make the male parents the guardian of the children, but the Arya workers want to gain possession of the children along with their Hindu mother, and have started a campaign of calumny against the Muslim district officer who is a member of a well-known nationalist family.

Indian states.

Referring to a report in the *Riasat* that the Nizam is not allowed to see persons and his *firmans* are countermanded under the orders of his English subordinates the *Hamdam* says that this means that His Exalted Highness and Sir Kishen Prasad are mere figureheads, and wonders how the eight crores of Indian Muslims have become so unfeeling that they can silently look on while their biggest Islamic state is being thus annihilated under their very nose. Referring to rumours regarding the removal of Nawab Talawat Jung and the Hindu Police Commissioner of Hyderabad the paper wonders how far the Government of India's craze for the appointment of European officials will continue. Is this the reward, the paper inquires, that the state is to get for its loyalty? Referring to the *communiqué* of the Prime Minister of Indore justifying the action taken by the state against Muslims the *Mukhbir-i-Alam* denies that the Prime Minister had any right to place any restriction whatsoever on Muslim prayers, and urges Muslim leaders not to rest content until the officials admit their orders to be unjustified and thus ensure that they would not be repeated. The *Najat* complains that efforts are now being made to ruin Muslims outside British India in those states in which bigoted Hindus are in power. It has been learnt about Indore that Arya preachers there made inflammatory speeches to set the Hindus against the Muslims, and when there was a riot the party in power made it a point to implicate respectable Muslims. At Jodhpur the Aryas took their procession in front of the main mosque at prayer time and played music for a long time, and when the Muslims offering prayer began to say something to the Aryas in a dignified manner, the latter attacked the former and also placed the entire blame for the disturbance on the law-abiding Muslims. At Alwar, at the instance of the *sangathanists*, a Hindu munsif kept three Muslim preachers in the lock-up for the whole night simply for the offence of delivering sermons on theological questions in the mosque and *challaned* their case to Alwar. This shows that all this is being done in an organized manner in accordance with a scheme to ruin Muslims in Indian states.

The Sandhurst Committee's Report.

Referring to the report of the Sandhurst Committee the *Medina* says:—The recommendations, on the whole, are inadequate. India's needs are much greater. If England has one Sandhurst India should have at least four. The *Haqiqat* is glad that the Skeen Committee has framed recommendations in order to increase the Indian element in the higher ranks of the army. Its suggestion that by 1952 fifty per cent. of the royal commissions should be held by Indians shows that they will be trained for higher military duties. The concession about the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst is an equally important one, and the members of the Committee deserve to be congratulated on the sense of justice displayed by them.

The Council of State.

Referring to the restoration of the salt duty by the Council of State, and the inability of the Legislative Assembly to effect any material reduction in taxation and expenditure, the *Medina* says:—The salt tax, the postal rates, the military expenditure, the rate of exchange, and legislative and financial measures remain intact. The few amendments that were made were insignificant. Such being the result of the working of the first session of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State how can we say that the real demands of India will be conceded through constitutional agitation unless we have strength in our arms and hearts?

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* deplores the campaign of calumny started against the Mahmudabad deputation by the Saudites, and denies that it wants British interference in the Hedjaz. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* denounces the Mahmudabad deputation as unrepresentative of Indian opinion, and says that it was only an attempt on the part of the Maharaja to avenge himself on *Sunnis*, as a *Shia* ought to, by severely wounding

their feelings and to secure support for his telegram of two or three months ago and to give his masters an opportunity for satiating their land-hunger. The Muslims had neither asked the Maharaja to organize any such deputation, nor are they so fallen that they could like the Maharaja brook interference in their religious matters by strangers.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* agrees with the view of Mr. Saklatwala that India's emancipation can be brought about only by organizing the labour and tenantry and establishing fraternal relations all over the world with all those who share their views, and says that, although Mr. Gandhi's *charkha* can improve the economic condition of India, it can never secure freedom. The *Sudharak* publishes an article in which the writer, praying God to reincarnate himself in India, says :—Your votaries are being insulted ; the images representing your brave form are being dishonoured and the sound of the bells and conches and the shouts of *jai* coming from our temples are being treated as revolutionary slogans. You regarded the abduction of your Sita to be an unpardonable offence, but hundreds of Sitas are being abducted in this unfortunate land, the chastity of thousands of chaste women is being violated, and children are being kidnapped in broad daylight. You slew one Marich (a deceitful demon), but now thousands of such demons are roaming about in this country to ensnare the unwary masses. Does the present reformed era in any way fall short of the despotic reign of Ravan ?

The Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, which almost in every issue resounds the praises of the Maharaja of Nabha and pleads for his reinstatement, complains that the question relating to " the perils under which His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha and his family live in their enforced exile in Dehra Dun " was treated by the Inspector-General of Police with " unpardonable levity " during the last session of the Council, and says that callousness and irresponsibilities were writ large on his statement.

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ALLAHABAD :
April 16, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 16 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 23, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The extremist Press continues to indulge in vehement attacks on British policy in China. The *Sainik* says:—What should India do in case a war breaks out between China and England? There can be only one answer to this question. India should not stand in the way of Chinese emancipation. China is not waging a war of aggression; she only wants to defend her rights. It is, therefore, a sin to attack her. India has ties of religion with her. Indian freedom is bound up with the freedom of China. If England attacks China India will not willingly help the former in this sinful act by sending any Indian troops or supplying even a single shell. India will not commit suicide by helping England in such an unjust war. The heart of awakened India will ever pray to God that China may come off victorious and free in this war between gods and demons. In the course of a strong article, denouncing European "Imperialists" for inciting their nations to declare war upon China, the *Vartman* says:—The world knows that these Imperialists are blood-thirsty. They deliberately do all they can to provoke war. In order to gain their selfish ends they make no scruple whatever to raise piles of human heads. They do not hesitate to employ machine-guns to compel people to acknowledge as civilization what is in fact brutality. They commit robbery in broad daylight in the name of commercial progress. These politicians are so dangerous that in order to enlist support in favour of war they get their own brethren killed secretly and throw the blame on others . . . In spite of all this the people of England, France, America, and Italy are acting blindly and are not asking their Governments to turn out their blood-thirsty politicians. The *Aj* apprehends serious injury to the cause of Indian *Swaraj* and of the independence of Asiatic countries as a result of the present machinations of Western Imperialists to enslave China and says:—Before it is too late we should awaken public opinion in the country. If we can do nothing else we should at least impress upon our rulers that we thoroughly understand their game. If possible we should arrange to send a medical mission to China to attend to wounded nationalist Chinese. This will be a proof of our sympathy with nationalist China and serve as an encouragement to her in her struggle. In another article the paper writes:—The blood of just-minded men cannot but boil at the attempt of Western imperialistic powers to incite Russia against China. If the Eastern countries combine in self-defence in the same way in which the white Imperialists have formed a clique to suck the life-blood of China then alone can they save themselves from Western oppressors. If China cannot meet force by force she will be well advised to adopt Mahatma Gandhi's method. The *Hamdam* regards the British activities in China as a glaring instance of selfishness and mischief-making and says that at first an apple of discord was thrown among the Chinese, and, when they began to quarrel among themselves, the whites, under the pretext of protecting their lives and interests, began to exterminate them like rats in their own land. As a matter of fact, Britain and her allies want to utilize the present opportunity to destroy the Bolshevik influence in China. But it is noteworthy that in spite of all the provocations offered to the Soviet Government, its Note to Peking is remarkable for its spirit of humanity and betokens the moral triumph of Bolshevism.

Communal representation.

The *Leader* writes:—We think the Hindu Mahasabha at Patna was wise not to commit itself to the Delhi proposals of some leading Muslims. In the first place they have not received the *imprimatur* of their community; in fact they have been repudiated

by not a few Muslims of prominence. In the second place Mr. Jinnah spoke of them as if they were an ultimatum which could be accepted or rejected but not modified. But, more important than either of these considerations, the offer to do away with separate electorates was conditioned by proposals utterly irrelevant to the subject in issue. It is not a little embarrassing that every time the demand for further constitutional reforms comes to the fore the communal Muslim demands should be put up higher and higher, and concession thereof, in whole or in large part should be made a condition of Muslim support of the demand for reform. We are firmly of opinion that there is no case for further "concessions" to Muslims in the matter of representation in elected bodies. The *Aligarh Mail* publishes a number of statements of Muslim leaders against the abolition of separate representation, and says:—When the Muslims see that Government offices are predominantly manned by the Hindus and Government service solves, however insignificantly, only the Hindu aspect of the problem of the unemployment of educated Indians, Muslims become naturally discontented and demand their separate representation in Government service. Unless, therefore, the Muslims are adequately represented in Government service and the legislatures of the country, in which even now there resides much governing power, the Muslims can justly continue to demand communal representation which can be done away with only when Muslims are given an adequate number of legislative seats, and Government service has solved, though partially, their aspect of the problem of unemployment. Till such a consummation has been brought about the cry for Muslim representation in every phase of administration must be heard, however it may be decried by Hindu monopolists of political power. The *Adalat* contends that if the principle of mixed representation is accepted the Muslims will not be able to send their true representatives to the legislatures, inasmuch as the Hindus being richer in every province will bribe the voters and get only such men returned as are worthless from the Muslim point of view. Exhorting the Muslims not to accept the principle of mixed representation the *Anis* refers to the general satisfaction expressed by the Hindu press and public at the Barisal firing, and says that in the present state of communal tension it would be nothing short of suicide for the Muslims to place themselves in the hands of the majority. They should, rather, unanimously declare that if the Government follows this weak policy of favouring the Hindus they would boycott every representative institution of the Government. The *Haqiqat* contains an article in which the writer contends that, in view of the present state of communal distrust prevailing in the country, the conference of the Muslim leaders at Delhi was quite unnecessary and premature. Before considering the question of introducing joint representation the leaders ought to have considered whether the atmosphere of the country was favourable to it.

Indian States.

The externment of Dr. Kitchlew from Indore has evoked strong protests in the Muslim press. The *Abhyudaya* says that the order of externment need not cause the least surprise, for no one, however highly-placed, would have been permitted to make the kind of speech which Dr. Kitchlew did, in any Indian State much less in a Muslim State. Dr. Kitchlew's remark that the Muslims did not expect justice in the Indore riot case constitutes a grave reflection on the administration of the State. He should not forget that such an utterance was possible in a Hindu State alone. No Hindu could dare make such a statement in Bhopal or Hyderabad. This particular matter, if nothing else, is sufficient to prove that the people of Indore enjoy greater freedom than the subjects of many other States and that the Indore authorities are more justice-loving. The *Haq* contends that Dr. Kitchlew had gone to Indore simply for defending his innocent and oppressed co-religionists, and not for avenging the blood of the martyrs or kindling the fire of communal antipathy in the State. The *Haqiqat* says:—Dr. Kitchlew is by nature a very quiet and sober person, and it is difficult to believe that he incited Muslims at Indore against Hindus. Anyway, all Muslims should protest against his expulsion as there will be no one left to secure justice for the oppressed Muslims of Indore. The *Rahnuma* says that the proceedings of the special tribunal appointed to try the riot cases remind one of the martial law-courts of the Punjab. This attack on the religious liberty of the Muslims of Indore is unprecedented; and, if the Muslims all over India, the Muslim League, the Khilafat Committee and other bodies do not resist it the condition of Muslims in all the Hindu States of Rajputana and Central India will be rendered precarious. The *Hamdam* also writes in a similar strain.

The *Najat* writes:—The bigotry of the present Indore officials is responsible for the outbreak of communal riots in that State and the condition of the Muslims there at present is the same as that of the people of the Punjab during the martial law *régime* of Dyer and O'Dwyer. The *Haqiqat* writes:—The changes which are being brought about in the Hyderabad State have embittered the feelings of the Muslims not only against the Government of India but also against the British Government; and, if the treatment accorded to the Nizam like that accorded to the Maharaja of Nabha ultimately leads to the formation of an organization among Muslims similar to that of the Akalis the responsibility for it will rest on the shoulders of the Government of India. The *Hamdam* says:—The policy of intervention in the internal affairs of the Indian States and of appointing British officials in them is an unholy and ugly blot on the British character. Lord Irwin's reply to the Maharaja of Kashmir shows that a number of States have still to be severely dealt with, and that His Excellency intends to construct new edifices on the ruins of old agreements. The *Najat* complains that thirty-two parties for carrying on *shuddhi* work, said to be supported by State officials, have been organized in the Bharatpur State, and that the Gaushala court has collected nine lakhs of rupees by awarding decrees against Muslims. It hopes that Muslims all over India will strive to mitigate the sufferings of their co-religionists in Bharatpur. The *Aziz-i-Hind* draws the attention of Government to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the Dholpur State and says that since the Maharaja went to Kasauli things have gone from bad to worse. The officials of the State are all irresponsible persons in whom the public has no confidence. The paper requests the Government of India to appoint, in consultation with the Maharaja, an officer who may have real control over the State affairs during his absence.

Political propaganda.

Referring to the resolution passed at the Bengal Provincial Conference, urging the boycott of British goods, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—When Bengal makes up its mind and has found the proper leader it will never end like the Bardoli decision to be turned down on account of any accident. And the lash on the stomach will be most really felt by the shop-keeper nation. Perhaps a successful boycott will be the best proof for the forthcoming Royal Commission that the people of India deserve *Swaraj*. In the course of an article, reviewing Dr. Rutherford's "Modern India," the paper writes:—What has the British Government in India done to assuage, if not to heal, to mitigate, if not to obliterate the wrongs, oppressions and sins, moral, political and intellectual, committed in all conscience by its agents? . . . Dr. Rutherford has witnessed the ravages of British imperialism in the unfed, ill-fed and under-fed millions whose parched tongues protruding from sunken cheeks and palsied lips tell the sad tale of want and famine. The book catalogues and condemns the tale of travesty of British justice and mockery of British equality, exploding the iniquitous theory of British "trusteeship." It is a strong and incontrovertible plea for self-government for India. Reviewing the happenings of the last year the *Aj* says that it was a most inauspicious year which saw tyrannical Powers growing stronger and the poor and the weak still more helpless. The bureaucracy became more irresponsible and public opinion was trampled upon all the more firmly. The Muslim mentality to press down Hindus with the help of the officials became more pronounced, and Hindu religious festivals were stopped at various places under the unjust orders of the bureaucracy. The outstanding feature of the last *sambat* year was the accentuation of the tendency to lose sight of the spirit of self-help, self-respect and liberty, and to look up to the bureaucracy and to serve personal or communal ends through its help, and the inevitable result of it was that the attitude of the bureaucracy got stiffened and its policy became more and more reactionary as was evidenced by the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. The *Vartman* takes the leaders to task for not fittingly celebrating the national week, and, referring to the "martyrs" of the Jallianwala Bagh, says:—We did not properly honour our martyrs, we did not appreciate their value, else we should have been emancipated by now. Do not forget the holy blood of these martyrs. They are your saviours. The *Medina* supports the view of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar that the Congress should devote itself to the task of Hindu-Muslim unity and the organization of villages and labourers and says:—The proceedings of the Legislative Assembly and the Councils show that this political evolution is strengthening the hands of the Government and rendering Indians more and more helpless. Nothing could be done even in those provinces where Congressmen preponderated. We do not know what the Swarajist members of the

Congress have achieved by ruining non-co-operation. They have, on the other hand, endangered the Congress itself.

The Hindu Mahasabha.

The *Pratap* exhorts the leaders of the Hindu community assembled at the Patna session of the Hindu Mahasabha to formulate a definite programme for the furtherance of the Patuakhali *satyagrah*. It refers to the restrictions imposed on the Hindu festivals and Hindu processions at various places and remarks that the maintenance of those restrictions, despite the protests and representations of the Hindus, points to the inevitable conclusion that in order to protect their rights, Hindus should rely on self-help and not on official favour, The goddess of social and civic liberty is very callous. It is impossible for one to conciliate her without sacrificing one's head. The paper also warns the Hindu leaders and workers not to be deluded by the false notion which has been created in certain quarters that Lord Irwin holds pro-Hindu views and remarks that even if it was true about him at the time he left the British shores it is no longer so. Evidently the British Government is a votary of the policy of " divide and rule." The *Aj* agrees with Dr. Moonje's view that Hindus should mind their own business without entering into compacts with Muslims, and that the Lucknow pact has been productive of more harm than good. It is only too true that unity which has been purchased can never be lasting, and that its price will continue to rise until the purchaser becomes bankrupt. Dr. Moonje is not well advised in urging the Hindus to go single-handed before the next Statutory Commission. They should neither buy Muslim help, nor go before the Commission for the gift of Reforms. They should hold an independent conference to give expression to their views. It is open to the bureaucracy to accept or reject them. The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—The address is worthy of Dr. Moonje. It throws light on all the important questions and is characterised by rare outspokenness. His words that the emancipation of the Hindus lies in *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* are pregnant with truth. We endorse all that he said about the Muslim demands. What has appealed to us most is his advice that we should not attach undue importance to Hindu-Muslim unity, and that we should give up the false idea that we cannot advance without Muslim co-operation.

The Sandhurst Committee's Report.

Commenting on the Skeen Committee's Report the *Swadhin* remarks:—Much though we wish that these recommendations had been a little more generous yet we cannot help admitting that if these recommendations are given effect to at an early date we shall have made a great advance on the existing condition. The *Shankar* remarks that the report is quite in keeping with the bureaucratic mentality. The *Medina* says that although the rate of progress proposed by the Sandhurst Committee for the Indianization of the Army is comparable with the proverbial pace of the tortoise, the Government of India and the British Government wish to stifle even these halting recommendations. The statue that was raised in eight months by Sir A. Skeen and his colleagues has been dashed to pieces on the iron floor of the House of Lords. The white rulers are so intoxicated with their power that they do not see any cruelty or injustice in leaving thirty crores of people to pine away in despair.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Arya Mittra* contends that the exhibition of devilry by Muslim *goondas* in Larkana was not the result of a temporary fit of fanaticism, but of a preccncerted plan by *mullahs* and *maulvis* and urges Government to take measures to render the repetition of such violence in Larkana impossible. It should keep a strict eye on Muslims in general, and *mullahs* and *maulvis* in particular, for these fanatics are mostly responsible for initiating communal riots. Referring to the likelihood of bloodshed by Muslim *goondas* the *Chand* warns Muslims that each drop of the blood of martyrs will cause a conflagration which will consume all mosques. Praying God to reincarnate Himself in India to put an end to the oppression of the demons and thereby enable the gods to perform their religious sacrifices the *Arya Samachar* says:—What oppressions are being committed in the name of humanity and religion! "The creatures of *Allah*" raise objection even to the festival which is celebrated in your memory, and the sound of the name Rama disturbs their prayers. Does this sort of oppression in any way fall short of the oppressions of the demon king Ravan? The *Medina* and the *Haqiqat* take the Delhi authorities severely to task for their inability to arrest those persons who killed Mufti Mahboob Ali after the murder of Swami Shraddhanand. The former writes:—Why should the authorities trace the

culprits? The Hindus form the majority; they are rich, they are part of the Administration and carry influence in the courts, whereas the Muslims are poor, helpless and disorganized. Lakhs of Muslims have been ruined since the Malabar disturbance to the Barisal riot. Their lives are useless and their blood is cheap. To-day they are helpless in India and are surrounded by thousands of enemies. O religious leaders! What is all this! The blood of Swami Shraddhanand turned out to be a source of new life for Hindus, while the blood of the martyr, Mufti Mahboob Ali, could not even evoke a cry for redress.

Proposed Indian Navy.

In the course of an article on the creation of an Indian Navy the *Vartman* writes:—The land army is already like a heavy stone on the breast of India; now another stone is sought to be placed on it in the shape of the Indian Navy. The incarnations of crooked diplomacy and sophistry seek to make out that the Indian Navy is meant to serve Indian interests alone. We should like to ask them as to who it is who aims at the invasion of India through the sea. Why do not they say that in the Near East and Asia there are growing feelings against British imperialism and the British Imperialists have now become afraid? Why is dust being thrown in the eyes of the world in the name of India? Why is it not admitted that the Indian Navy will be used in the interests of British imperialism as the Indian Army is being employed against China? The *Medina* says that the proposed Indian Navy will not only mean an additional heavy burden on the Indian tax-payer, but will prove a fresh instrument for keeping Asia in chains. To raise a heavy mountain on the destiny of Asia out of the limbs and pockets of helpless and enslaved Indians is a rare example of the capitalistic mentality of Conservatives. The statement made by Earl Winterton that the Navy was being created in response to the demands of Indians is a white lie.

The Case of Kharag Bahadur.

The *Himalayan Times* has published a special "Raj Kumari Number," containing mostly extracts from the speeches and newspaper articles and resolutions passed by various public bodies appealing for the exercise of the Royal prerogative in the case of Kharag Bahadur. In extenuation of the murder the paper says:—Kharag Bahadur tried all legitimate means to bring Hira Lal and his accomplices to justice, but either through the influence of the deceased or due to some unknown causes his attempts failed. What, then, was he to do to have justice done to an outraged sister of his? The *Shankar* extols the action of Kharag Bahadur Singh in murdering Hira Lal, and opines that his action will have a deterrent effect on those who outrage the modesty of women.

The *Pratap* defamation case.

Commenting on the decision in the *Pratap* defamation case the *Shankar* remarks:—The victory of the *Pratap* represents the victory of the entire Hindi press, and it deserves the congratulations of the whole Hindi world. The value of the appeal in this case lies in the fact that it will show to the whole country to what extent the Press has to face the wrath of the authorities. The *Sainik* writes:—The judgement of their Lordships have enlarged the rights of journalists and have saved the lives of crores of oppressed people of this unfortunate country. This case has done much public good. In a way the judgement sounds the death-knell of "Zainuddinshahi" of Mainpuri. This is the beginning of the end of "Zainuddinshahi" which is synonymous with arbitrariness.

The Kakori dacoity case.

Commenting on the judgement in the Kakori dacoity case the *Sainik* writes:—Although we have generally no faith in law courts we have no material on the basis of which we can say anything against the judgement in the Kakori case. Assuming, therefore, that the accused are really guilty we are emphatically of opinion that the sentences are vindictive. We are not prepared to admit that these handful of young men could overthrow the British Empire. What these brave sons have done they have done like inebriated soldiers; they had grown tired of the irresponsiveness of the bureaucracy; they thought that was the only course for them for the realization of the highest aspirations of their dear country. Who can say that these acts of theirs were not the results of the present political situation of the country? Even sinful and terrible Vindictiveness herself should be ashamed of sentencing to death young men inspired by high ideals. Are we to believe that the three young men will be sacrificed at the altar of vindictiveness? Humanity, statesmanship and prudence demand that at least the death sentences should be commuted.

Indians in the Colonies.

The appointment of Mr. Srinivas Sastri as the first Agent-General to South Africa, has been heartily welcomed by newspapers of all shades of opinion. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—We have no doubt that Mr. Sastri will add to the long list of successful Indians who have filled high appointments. Hereafter we hope we may have more Indian Ambassadors in other places. The *Leader* writes :—In a communication received by us the Young Men's Union of Mombasa says that it seems that the Kenya Government, " with the consent of the Colonial office, is determined to revive segregation in Mombasa township." The Union further points out that the area in question is the healthiest part of Mombasa town, and that under the proposed policy non-British Europeans, including ex-enemy aliens, will be given preference over British Indian subjects. It is to be earnestly hoped that the Government of India will see that the rights and privileges of the people of this country resident in Kenya are not further curtailed and that justice is done to their claims in regard to the purchase of land in township areas, unrestricted by any policy of segregation.

The Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Himalayan Times* publishes a letter by a " Brother Prince, " in the course of which the writer says :—The Indian Princes do feel that Government's action against Nabha has set a most unconstitutional and dangerous precedent. Nabha has suffered terribly, and his sufferings have been heart-rending. Only princes of his order can feel and fully appreciate what an agony it is for a prince to be deprived of his state, his power, his dignity and honour, his liberty as well as the happiness of his family.

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ALLAHABAD :
April 23, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

I.B. BRANCH
23 MAY 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 17 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING APRIL 30, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The *Aj* deplores the intellectual slavery which makes Indians take delight in their subjection and in helping their rulers to subjugate their own neighbours. It is noteworthy, it says, that Indian journalists too play into the hands of the British publicity department in publishing news from London regarding China, painting Chinese nationalists as miscreants, robbers, Bolshevists and oppressors. The Indian journalists will be well advised to consider the question of saving Indian readers from falling victims to the tactics of British propagandists. They should at least refrain from publishing false and coloured reports about China. The *Najat* is glad that the magnanimity and love of peace evinced by the Soviet in its note to Peking have averted the dangers which threatened China and disappointed the Powers which had instigated the Peking officials. The note shows that Russia is not an advocate of war but is merely an enemy of the capitalists, and that is why the capitalistic nations like Britain are always afraid of the Bolsheviks. The *Sewak* holds the British responsible for the firing on foreigners by the Chinese and says that it was Britain which by sending a large number of troops to that country provoked the Chinese nationalists and forced them to resort to every method, whether fair or foul, against foreigners Britain wanted to array all the powers against China by circulating reports about Chinese atrocities, but the news received so far shows that the exhausted Powers of Europe want to avoid war in the near future. Europe has taken enough advantage of Asia's apathy. The consequences of what Britain is secretly doing will be disastrous. The *Hamdam* remarks that if the Chinese nationalists continue their devoted efforts to emancipate their country, Britain and her allies will have to leave China bag and baggage.

Governor-designate of the United Provinces.

The appointment of Sir Alexander Muddiman as the next Governor of the United Provinces has on the whole been favourably received by the Press. The *Pioneer* writes: –There can be little doubt that the best available men have been chosen to succeed Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir William Marris. Both Burma and the United Provinces are to be sincerely congratulated. Even those who have been clamouring for a non-civilian Governor will, we believe, on reflection hold that their essential requirements should be largely met by the appointment of Sir Alexander Muddiman. In him the provinces will have a Governor who has a specially intimate knowledge of the principles which have actuated Parliament in launching the great experiment. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We heartily congratulate these provinces in obtaining a Governor who has a large heart. As the Home Member of the Government of India Sir Alexander has been the recipient of handsome acknowledgments from all quarters of the House for his sympathy and touch of human feeling in his dealings with men and measures. We predict for the United Provinces during the next five years a reign of peace and good-will, with the benignant personality of the Governor most anxiously watching the trend of events and ever ready even to go out of the way to conciliate public opinion when expressed with vigour and conviction. The *Aj* says:—Our opposition is not to individuals but to the system which we shall have to change through our own efforts. This being the case, there is no reason to shed tears over the new appointment. The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—Although on principle we are opposed to the appointment of a member of the heaven-born service to the exalted office of the Governor, we congratulate Sir Alexander Muddiman and the people of the United

Provinces on his appointment as the next Governor of the United Provinces. Sir Alexander is a gentleman reputed not only for his unfailing courtesy but also for his broad-mindedness and sympathy. His greatest qualification is that he is anxious to dispense justice and is not an opponent of India's freedom. It is no doubt true that Sir Alexander's path in this province is strewn with thorns, but we know that he is a strong man who cannot be daunted by difficulties. This is why we extend him a hearty welcome to this province and hope that it will prosper during his régime. The *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates Sir Alexander Muddiman on his appointment and says:—So long as the present system of government is not changed, even if an Indian is appointed as Governor he will not be able to do anything for the province. The people of the United Provinces are, however, far more fortunate than those of Burma, because even if Sir Alexander is not able to confer any great boon on them, they must rest assured that he will at least not let their grievances remain unredressed. It is, therefore, hoped that they will do their best to make his Government a success. The *Hamdam* deplores that in appointing Sir Alexander Muddiman as the Governor of the United Provinces the Government have not paid any regard to the general wish of the public that the Governorship of the United Provinces should not be regarded as a prize post for the civilians and have selected a man who has no experience of this province. Sir Alexander is a part and parcel of the "steel frame," instances of whose oppressions are recorded in a number of places on the pages of the history of British Government in India. If he shakes hands with Indians in velvet gloves they would surely appreciate his courteousness, but so long as the "steel frame" exists India can never extricate herself from the iron grip of these velvet gloves. Sir Alexander is no doubt a real gentleman, but he will nevertheless have to maintain the traditions of the "steel frame" and then the exultation of the Indian journals at his appointment will prove to be illusory. The *Haqiqat* writes:—Being a European Sir Alexander has been selected as the successor of Sir William Marris and the claims of Sir Atul Chandra Chatterji have been overlooked. It is, however, fortunate for the people that the reins of Government have been placed in the hands of an enlightened and broad-minded civilian.

Hindu Maha Sabha.

The presidential address of Dr. Moonje at the Patna session of the Hindu Maha Sabha has evoked strong comments in the Muslim Press. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—Dr. Moonje's presidential address to the Maha Sabha held at Patna was a remarkable feat of bullyism and an open and direct challenge to Muslims. When the Muslims are painted as ravishers of Hindu women they can justifiably and righteously be indignant and are entitled to condemn the shameless, degenerate and indecent communalism of Dr. Moonje who, in his desire to broadcast the highly imaginary Muslim aggression, has lost all sense of honour and self-respect and has touched the very bottom of the abyss of shamelessness and indecency in appealing to the Hindus for "better treatment of women ravaged (*sic*) against their will." The *Himalayan Times* writes:—Dr. Moonje's address as a whole is an echo of those feelings which are weighing heavily on the hearts of all the Hindus of India. The Hindus have been making unbecoming overtures to the Muslims all these forty years for unity, but the more we advanced towards them our brethren walked back always keeping us at a distance. The only road to Hindu-Muslim unity is to give up running foolishly after those who do not manifest any regard or respect for us and to organize ourselves socially as well as politically on purely democratic and liberal lines. Commending the resolution of the Hindu Maha Sabha that Hindus should celebrate the tercentenary of Shivaji the *Vartman* says:—The stories of Shivaji should be recited in every Hindu home and every Hindu child should take lesson from it. The memory of Shivaji should fill every Hindu with pride. The *Aj* approves of the decision of the Hindu Maha Sabha regarding joint electorates and communal representation, but says that it has gone beyond its province in issuing mandates to the Congress. This national institution surely cannot play to the tune of communal organizations. If Hindus will attack nationalism, the bureaucracy will continue to dance over their heads, for to rule over the country means to rule over the Hindus. The *Surya* remarks:—Dr. Moonje's address will constitute an important chapter in the modern history of Hindu civilization. Although we have our own differences with Dr. Moonje, we entirely agree with his statement that the communal tension received an impetus from the speeches of the Congress leaders, that the Muslims should be left to themselves, and that there should be no redistribution of the provinces now. The *Medina* writes:—Dr Moonje's address contains

nothing but abuse of Muslims. It aims at harassing them and spurning all the pacts and compromises which are calculated to establish happy relations between the two great communities. Judging from this speech it can be asserted that the sole object of the Hindu Sabha is to come to grips with Muslims in order to ruin them or at least to secure for Hindus the position of a dominant but cowardly and tyrannical race. Friends, we admit that you are superior in numbers, wealth and education and that the white Government is the enemy of Muslims and has been overawed by you. But we assure you that Muslims who are mad after their religion cannot be ruined so easily. The object for which the Hindu Sabha has been established can be achieved only when rivers of blood have flown over the country and a large portion of your growing numbers has been laid low in blood and dust at the hands of Muslims. This will involve both the communities and also the country in ruin. The Muslims, however, are even now magnanimously prepared to unite with you. The *Haqiqat* says that every sentence of the speech serves as an arrow to wound the feelings of the Muslim community. The *Hamdam* says that if Doctor Moonje thinks that Swaraj is bound up with *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan*, Sir Abdur Rahim is also justified in saying that it depends upon the *tabligh* and *tanzim* of the Muslim community. The *Haqiqat* observes that Dr. Moonje's address has startled even those good-natured Muslims who under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi were inebriated with the prospect of Hindu-Muslim unity. The greatest duty of Muslims at the present juncture is to hold fast to their religion and to reform and organize their community. If they do so they will see that all the diabolical forces which boast of their power and number and are straining every nerve to trample the bright religion of Islam will kneel down before them and they will again be able to sing: "China and Arabia are ours, India is ours, we are Muslims, the whole world is our house."

The Kakori dacoity case.

A number of papers are strongly protesting against the treatment accorded to the prisoners in the Kakori dacoity case. The *Aj* invites the attention of the Home Member of the United Provinces Government to the letter of Mr. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi regarding the ill-treatment of Kakori conspiracy case prisoners in jails and expresses the hope that he will give due consideration to it as an Indian. It says that the whole of India will protest against the inhuman treatment meted out to these prisoners in respect of feeding them forcibly. It is only in this country that political prisoners are classed with ordinary criminals. The former should be accorded a treatment similar to that accorded to foreign prisoners in this country. The *Vartman* says:—These prisoners could not tolerate the arbitrary enforcement of the jail regulations and had therefore to refuse to obey the Nadirshahi orders. These orders are not ordinary. They are the orders of the omnipotent ruler of the hell of the heartless Indian bureaucracy . . . May we hope that the Home Member will do justice to the unfortunate accused and will leave no room for the charge that Indians seek to justify their position by repressing their fellow-countrymen. Our hope, however, lies mainly in our own young men. They ought to raise their voice against such ill-treatment and show that even today there are sympathizers of the Kakori accused, who will leave no stone unturned for their sake. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks:—It has been the traditional policy of the British Government to crush the energies of the youths of this country instead of directing them into proper channels. Condemnation of the action of the Kakori convicts is but natural when it is considered how suicidal an armed revolution against the existing powerful Government will prove to be. But is it not extremely callous to laugh at them if they were driven to this last resource when all other doors were closed upon them? The Government is labouring under a delusion if it thinks that it can put an end to revolutionary activities by inflicting inhuman punishment on these convicts. True remedy consists in reforming the existing system of administration and thereby changing the sphere of activities of the youths of this country. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks:—In the presence of such fearless youths as have been severely punished in the Kakori dacoity case it is the height of shamelessness and an insult to the country to allege that there are no youths in the country fit to be appointed as military officers. What feat would these youths not perform if they were given an opportunity by the rulers to display their valour and to serve the country? The youths of the Kakori case are being hanged today. Is it not cruelty of justice?

Communal representation.

The *Surya* apprehends that there is some mystery about the sudden offer of the Muslims regarding joint electorates and remarks that a careful consideration of the

question makes it clear that if the offer is accepted the Hindus will be the losers. That this offer should have been made when the Royal Commission is in sight shows that it is intended to secure concessions regarding Sind and the Frontier province. The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—The Muslim offer regarding joint electorates evidently aims at securing certain communal concessions which it will be foolish of the Hindus to grant. If the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity is dependent on the Hindus yielding to the communal demands of the Muslims we should bid good-bye to it. The resolutions passed at the Patna session of the Hindu Maha Sabha have made it clear that if the Muslims demand a price for unity and that too in the form of concessions to their community, the Hindus are under no circumstances prepared to pay that price. Referring to the attitude of the Hindu Maha Sabha regarding the Muslim proposal for joint electorates, the *Medina* writes:—The present Hindu-Muslim tension is not due to separate representation. The fact is that the Hindu community, realizing that it is under the aegis of the British Government and that British laws are supporting it, that it has money in its pockets and a few deceitful plans in its head has decided to challenge the Muslim civilization in India so that the Hindus may be able to avenge their slavery of a thousand years. The intention is either to expel the *mlechha* Muslims from India or to absorb them so as to wipe out their communal, religious, political and historical existence. This is not a new sentiment, but has asserted itself whenever Muslims have been found to be weak and has been responsible for shedding rivers of blood. The same mentality is at work at present. This is why the offer of unity and co-operation which was made by Muslims at the Delhi conference has been rejected by the Hindu Sabha. The *Aziz-i-Hind* is extremely glad to note that the whole country is protesting against the proposals of the Delhi Muslim conference regarding mixed representation and quoting the opinion of some Muslim leaders says that separate representation is necessary for Hindu-Muslim unity. The Muslim League should bid good-bye to the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and under some true leader who has sympathy with Islam should hold meetings in every town in support of separate representation. Otherwise on the arrival of the Royal Commission the rights of Muslims will be trampled under foot.

International Economic Conference.

The *Leader* supports the protest made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay against the inclusion of only two Indians in the delegation to the forthcoming International Economic Conference and says:—If the authorities of the League of Nations consider the presence of India's representatives at the conference of sufficient importance to help them to achieve their object, and if the discussions at Geneva are regarded as being of any importance by the Government of India, surely it is Indian representatives who should be sent there. But not only in this instance but in selecting the personnel of the Indian delegation to other international gatherings also the Government of India have studiously disregarded Indian public opinion. Apart from the question whether a British representative will voice Indian opinion or British, it is derogatory to India's position that in a gathering of nations she should be represented by other than her own nationals. Writing in a similar strain the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—In the matter of all meetings held under the various bodies associated with the League of Nations, the Government of India appear to make their selections more with a view to British interest than to the interests of India. The *Aj* says that by the selection of Government officials and European traders as India's representatives it is shown to the world that her views are expressed in international conferences. But in reality they are the views of European traders. There is little hope that the protest of the Indian merchants of Bombay in this connexion to the authorities of the conference themselves will have any effect. The conference could not possibly consider the Indian protests in face of the opposition of the powerful British Government. The misfortune of India is that she is a subject country and still salt is sprinkled over her wounds by representing the views of her rulers as her own views.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* says that whereas in olden times imperialism had put on a religious cloak to serve its ends, now it parades itself in the garb of civilization, but that in both the cases it has led to disastrous results. Now imperialism swears by the cant of trusteeship and self-government in subject countries, but does not hesitate to subject their inhabitants to unjustifiable firing and aerial bombing. As regards independent countries imperialism professes to protect their liberty, but spreads the net of railways therein and exploits their mineral resources under the pretext

of enriching them. Thereafter armed forces are sent there for the defence of its own nationals and for the vindication of its rights and old treaties. This is the latest development in the form of imperialism. Readers know for themselves where these performances are being enacted. The paper publishes an article in which the editor refers to the dissensions among Hindus and Muslims which helped in fructifying the machinations of Clive and others in acquiring the sovereignty of Bengal and later on of the whole of India and says that similar practices were indulged in in Mesopotamia, Morocco and Philippines. Even now Hindu-Muslim dissensions are prolonging the subjection of India and both the communities are still engaged in strangling nationalism for the sake of temporary communal advantages. This has given an opportunity to a third party to exploit the country. Our eyes though opened do not yet completely open. Referring to the part played by young men in bringing about revolutions in Ireland, France, Russia and other countries, the *Vartman* takes the young men of India to task for not doing anything for their country and says:—They are not prepared to take a lesson even from their neighbour, China. They are afraid of dying for their country, their society and for their birth-rights. That is why they are unable to achieve anything. If our leaders feel for the country they ought to organize our young men.

Indian States.

The Muslim press continues to agitate against the externment of Dr. Kitchlew from the Indore State. The *Sada-i-Muslim* deplores the treatment accorded to the Muslims in some of the Hindu states and says that what happened at Indore is an earnest of the dangers which the Muslims will have to face in future in these states. Whatever arguments may be adduced in support of the explusion of Dr. Kitchlew from Indore State, it must be admitted that it is actuated by bigotry alone. It is the duty of the Government of India to take steps for the protection of the Muslims and to compel the Indore authorities, who are imbued with the Sangathanist spirit, to do justice to the Muslims. The *Mashriq* says that the order of the Agent to the Governor General, Central India, expelling Dr. Kitchlew from the Residency Bazar shows that the Agent has got no sympathy with the Muslims Is the Government powerless to turn out of India such a treacherous and mischievous man? The impression produced on the minds of eight crores of Muslims of India by the order is that the British nation is losing its administrative capacity. A nation lacking this quality is sure to lose its sovereignty. The position of the British Empire in India is unsafe if the British nation has begun to produce such rulers. The *Jadu* says that it has always been the policy of Government to favour Hindus and Muslims alternately and to crush the community that appears to be stronger than the other. This policy is the root cause of the Indore riot, and it is also in pursuance of this policy that Dr. Kitchlew has not been allowed to defend the cases of the oppressed Muslims.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an impassioned article under the heading "Cup filled to the brim" the *Chitrakot Ashram* remarks:—For centuries past the Muslims have been practising atrocities upon the Hindus and the process still continues. If even the murder of thousands of persons has not satisfied their soul, let them perpetrate still more atrocities. What atrocity was left unpractised by the callous, knavish and treacherous Muhammad Ghori! The walling up of Guru Govind Singh's sons, the raising of the walls of mosques with the mortar of Hindu blood and the readiness to annihilate trusted servants of the state like Maharaj Jaswant Singh are events characterizing the Aurangzebian rule. The Hindu community has been enduring all this, but there seems to be no end to cowardly attacks on the part of the Muslims. Even today the Hindus are molested at several places. Hundreds of innocent persons are murdered and yet the Hindus keep quiet. The religious fanaticism of the Muslims is increasing day by day. The molesting of simple-minded Hindus has become a part of their daily routine. No day passes without the feelings of the Hindus being hurt under the cover of *nimaz* and *roza*. Hitherto only music accompanying Hindu marriage processions was stopped, but now objection is taken even to music accompanying national processions. Khwaja Hasan Nizami's scheme is at work everywhere and the *goondas* employed by him are busy seducing Hindu women and children. This is why we say that the cup of tyranny is getting filled to the brim. It is only a question of time when it topples down, because everything has a limit. It is yet time that the Muslims should cultivate fraternal relations with the Hindus, otherwise according to the law of nature they will have to suffer humiliation through their own deeds.

The Reforms.

In the course of two leading articles exhorting Muslims to make organized preparations for pressing their claims before the next Royal Commission on Reforms, the *Medina* writes:—There are fundamental, nay antagonistic, differences between the religions of Hindus and Muslims as a result of which both the communities have been reduced to slavery and helplessness. This is specially the case with Muslims whose empire, wealth, freedom and civilization have been considerably ruined by the Hindus with the help of foreigners. Today the angles of vision of Hindus and Muslims with regard to problems of life are different. Muslims think that their civilization, politics, history and traditions entitle them to special distinction among the various communities and they do not want to forego even a single right of theirs. Hindus, on the other hand, think that they are superior in numbers and wealth, that the country is theirs and that therefore the whole loaf belongs to them. For these reasons a violent conflict is going on between the two communities. When the poison of the Hindu Sabha has infected every Hindu, who can say that Hindus are prepared even for a moment to co-operate with the Muslims? The Hindu Sabha has ranged itself against the Muslims. They should therefore prepare for self-defence. The Hindus are sending their public men to England to press the claims of their community. The Muslims should also send a deputation of their leaders to safeguard their rights, otherwise the results will be disastrous.

Mr. S. C. Bose.

The Press is strongly urging the release of Mr. S. C. Bose in view of his illness. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the detention of Mr. S. C. Bose in jail despite his protracted illness culminating in one of his lungs being affected is indicative of the Government's vindictive tendency. It is really inconceivable that the British Government which spends more than sixty crores of rupees annually on the military should be so much afraid of releasing a diseased political prisoner as if he would overthrow the British Government on his release. Mr. Bose's only crime is that he is a patriot and wishes well by his country and our benign Government wants that he should rot in jail until he is completely crippled and exhausted. By the protracted detention in jail of a cultured and respected person like Mr. Bose the Bengal Government is giving proof of its obduracy and shamelessness. To arrest on the basis of C. I. D. reports those whom the world considers to be innocent amounts to the murder of law and justice.

The Ramlila at Allahabad.

The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—Now that there are only a few months left it is the duty of the Hindus of Allahabad to wake up and make a determined effort to see that they are not deprived of the celebration of the *Dasehra* festival this year as well. The *Dasehra* procession will have to be taken out this year at all costs. An agitation for this should be carried on on the platform as well as in the Press. A memorial signed by the Hindu public of Allahabad should be submitted to the Governor and a committee should be appointed to devise means for securing the redress of the injustice done to the Hindus if all their constitutional efforts prove abortive.

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
April 30, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 18 of 1927.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 7, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The *Sudharak* writes:—The foreign Powers are on the alert and are planning to crush the Chinese nationalists on the first opportunity that offers itself. If such a thing occurs Indians will be duty-bound not to help England in her unjust attack on China. On the other hand, they will demonstrate their sympathy with China by nursing her wounded and disabled soldiers and by praying for her victory. The *Aj* writes:—A perusal of the reports recently received regarding Hankow shows that the British publicity department is preparing public opinion for the bombardment of that town. There is nothing impossible for the existing British Government. Imperialists have sown seeds of discord among Chinese nationalists themselves by winning over Chiang-Kai-Shek. This being the case it will not be impossible to bombard Hankow. This may yield a temporary success to Britain, but it will turn the whole of the East into an enemy of her. In another issue the paper says:—The Government of India has interdicted the entry of nationalist reports from Hankow into India. On the one hand false, half-true and coloured reports are despatched from London, and on the other news direct from China is prohibited. This is one more instance of how we are kept in the dark and our men and money are being utilized in destroying another country. Our imperialistic rulers are not content with our physical slavery only, but want to impress our soul and intellect too into their slavery. In this, however, they cannot succeed. They can hide truth from us for a time, but this will increase our distrust of them and our whole-hearted sympathy will go to the Chinese struggling for their very existence. It is hoped that the Congress authorities will pay attention to the matter and try to arrange for the supply of correct news about China from Japan or some neutral European country. The *Hamdam* is ashamed to find that India is at present the greatest obstacle in the independence of China and says that fearing the inevitable reaction of Chinese independence on India, British politicians always devise fresh excuses for armed interference in the internal affairs of China. Britain will not leave China so long as she is not forced to do so. With the object of maintaining her hold on that country she is striving to provoke Russia to declare war on China.

Governor-Designate of the United Provinces.

The majority of newspapers continue to comment favourably on the appointment of Sir Alexander Muddiman as the next Governor of the United Provinces. The more extremist papers profess to view the appointment with indifference, remarking that in the existing constitution the personality of the Governor is not of much moment. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—We are fortunate in having Sir Alexander Muddiman as our satrap He has a vast range of knowledge and experience of Indian administration and has been a very successful Home Member of the Central Government. We have no doubt that the administrative acumen which he has acquired during his 30 years' service in India will stand him in good stead in being at the helm of our affairs. He is thus eminently fitted to govern the heart of Hindustan, the United Provinces, in these troublous times, and we believe that a better Governor than him could not be chosen in the present circumstances. The *Hitaishi* remarks: -In the existing circumstances it is immaterial to us whether the Governor appointed is an I. C. S man or a public man from Britain or a subject Indian. They may hold different views, but they follow one and the same policy as required by the existing system of government. Our agitation should not, therefore, be directed against the appointment of particular individuals, but against the system of administration which guides their

actions. The *Pratap* also expresses similar views. The *Medina* says:—Those who understand the mysteries of the Western modes of administration know that individuals do not count in it. Every officer adapts himself to the existing circumstances. So long as the constitution remains unchanged there can be no change in the policy and methods of government whether the Governor be Sir Alexander Muddiman or Sir William Marris. The *Haq* says that in view of his popularity as the leader of the Assembly, it would have rejoiced over the appointment of Sir Alexander Muddiman if he had not been a limb of the "steel frame" whose iron grip has been heavily felt by all those who have had to deal with it. However, now that the appointment has been announced it may be hoped that in spite of his being a member of the I. C. S., Sir Alexander will succeed in restoring amity and good-will in the province by satisfying the needs of the people. The *Aziz-i-Hind* regrets that the Governorship of this province has this time gone to a civilian of Bihar, and not to one of this province. The *Azad* congratulates the Government and the people of the United Provinces on the appointment of Sir Alexander Muddiman and hopes that his *régime* will prove successful in every way. The *Mashriq* congratulates Sir Alexander Muddiman on his appointment and says:—The courteous treatment which Sir Alexander accorded to Indians in the Assembly shows that his *régime* will be peaceful and pleasant. The *India* says that when under the existing system of government personality does not count for anything, the appointment of a statesman like Sir Alexander is just and proper. It hopes that he will prove to be a good Governor and remove the sufferings of the Maharaja of Nabha.

Hindu Mahasabha.

Muslim papers continue to comment strongly on Dr. Moonje's presidential address at the Patna session of the Hindu Mahasabha. The *Hindi Kesri* holds the session to be a glorious success and commends the President's advice regarding mixed electorates. It says:—Muslims have abused their excessive powers in the matter of representation by supporting Government in connexion with its exchange policy and protection of the steel industry and thereby established their own incompetence. After such an experience no community can ever trust them. In the course of an article denouncing the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha towards the Muslim proposal regarding joint electorates the *Medina* writes:—The presidential address and the fiery speeches of the Hindu leaders of the foremost rank at the Patna session of the Mahasabha were instinct with the desire to defame the Muslims. The blind and narrow-minded Hindu leaders of Northern India have rendered the atmosphere so foul that it may soon lead to general lawlessness, massacre and plunder. There was no resolution which was not intended to wound the feelings of Muslims, and there was no proposal which was not calculated to consign India to the fire of Nimrod. The Mahasabha is based on hatred, enmity and bigotry. It is, therefore, not at all surprising if it rejected, with the utmost cruelty, the Muslim offer of friendship and of joint electorates. Not only that. It has put forward counter-proposals which are extremely vague, meaningless and crafty. The Muslims of India should realize that it is vain to expect any pact or compromise with Hindus. This humiliation has now become intolerable. The *Najat* says that Dr. Moonje's address was a violent outburst of Hindu mentality, falsehood and misrepresentation. It can only accentuate the communal tension and incite Hindus and Muslims to break one another's heads more than ever. In supporting *sangathan* and *shuddhi* movements his real aim was to rouse the Hindus so that they might subdue the Muslims anyhow. The *Aina* says that the principle of mixed representation can never be accepted in India at the present juncture when there is so much of communal tension in the country. The views of Dr. Moonje and other Hindu leaders, expressed in the Hindu Mahasabha, show that they do not attach any value to Muslim co-operation, and want to achieve their communal ends with the strength of their own numbers. If, therefore, the principle of mixed representation is accepted the result will be that either there will be no Muslims in the legislatures, or, if there are any, they will merely echo the Hindu sentiments. Referring to Dr. Moonje's remark that Hindu-Muslim unity is not at all necessary for the freedom of India the *Anis* says:—Is it possible that the party which regards the Muslims to be a negligible factor in its politics will have any regard for their rights or make any sacrifice for their sake?

Political propaganda.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Why is it that China, which began to yearn for national existence almost at the same time with India, has made much more headway than

India? . . . . The secret is in the mass movement. The Chinese labourer is harnessed to the national movement, whereas in India we are still debating on the subject. Referring to the agitation against the appointment of an Indian medical man at the Eden Hospital, Calcutta, the paper writes:—By their agitation over the Eden Hospital appointment Europeans in India will only be dredging the racial gulf dividing the rulers and the ruled and showing the mockery of India ever being spontaneously led to *Swaraj*. The *Aj* refers to the combination of imperialistic powers for the domination of the world and says: It is our duty to co-operate with all those countries which are striving for self-preservation and emancipation and make friends of those persons in imperialistic countries who have determined to exterminate capitalism and militarist domination. We trust that the All-India Congress Committee, in its Bombay meeting on the 15th May, will give due consideration to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's report in connexion with the International Oppressed Nationalities Conference and will affiliate the Congress to that international body. In another issue, commending the declaration of the Conference regarding the ancient friendly relations between India and China the paper writes:—If Buddhist China and India become once more bound in ties of friendship they will create a force sufficiently powerful to counter the strongest combination of imperialism. Every educated Indian should give earnest consideration to this question. The *Pratap* publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Rega in the course of which he says:—We must not rely much on the promises of our Russian friends. We shall have to cultivate self-help . . . I am convinced that our movement is now gaining universal sympathy . . . The present Chinese revolution holds out a definite assurance of the emancipation of the oppressed nations. The freedom of India is coming. God is striving for it. It is our duty to concentrate all our energies on the attainment of the freedom, happiness and peace of 33 crores of Indians and to co-operate with that Divine power in this matter. In the course of an impassioned leading article, under the caption "Slices of Heart," the *Vartman* refers to the "inhuman" treatment meted out to Messrs. Subhas Chandra Bose and Sachindranath Sanyal and other "brilliant" Indian youths in jails and remarks:—The heart of humanity is being rent asunder. The soul of kind-heartedness is dying out. The sway of righteousness is coming to an end. The ship of religion is sinking. If we hear all this our heart trembles, our liver begins to throb, and our body becomes horripilated. We have heard and read stories connected with the Mutiny. We recollect how people were suspended from trees and hanged, how they were pierced with bayonets and suspended, and how villages were burnt wholesale. But even on hearing and reading these stories we never experienced that excitement, pain, poignancy, indignation, rage and depression which we are feeling at present . . . Who knows whether these Indian youths were on the right path or we? Who knows whether India will attain her emancipation through non-violent revolution or by bloody means? Neither do we know that freedom will be attained only by the combination of peace and blood . . . . But in which civilized country and under which system of government are anarchists or those who adopt white or red means for the emancipation of their country put to brutal tortures? We ask this question of those limbs of the Government who in the name of the safety of administration and order are allowing the enactment of this brutal tragedy and are mocking at our helplessness. Let those moderates who held that co-operation with the British Empire would protect them witness the terrible sacrifice of the budding youths of India. Let those ministers and members who boasted of establishing the power of India by making the Reforms a success go inside the jails and see how the slices of our heart are smarting and writhing under unbearable pain and are struggling in the jaws of death. The British Government has become so terrible, so irresponsible, so fearless, and so autocratic that we cannot raise our voice. Let us at least protest against this inhumanity and unite to stop this tyranny.

The Bengal detenus.

In the course of an article vehemently protesting against the attitude of the Government towards the Bengal detenus, the *Vartman* writes:—Some of the detenus are in a critical condition, yet the Government does not budge an inch. After all, is there any reason for such callousness, heartlessness and barbarity? The fact is that by thus harassing these men the Government wants to terrorize the people in general. In the name of suppressing conspirators it wants to crush Indian national life itself. Such methods may change the feelings even of those persons who wish to remain under the ægis of the British Empire. These are signs of the impending downfall of the Empire. The British statesmen are

foolish if they want to rule by trampling upon the heart of India, and the future will show that their policy is suicidal. Commenting on the terms of release offered to Mr. S. C. Bose the *Pratap* remarks:—Are these terms characterized by generosity or reprehensible diplomacy? The petty-mindedness of the bureaucracy is well known. It thinks that by releasing Mr. Bose its prestige will suffer. How foolish and callous the officials are! One Manohar Pant, writing in the editorial columns of the *Shakti*, refers to the growing deterioration in the health of the Bengal detenus caused by their protracted confinement in jail and remarks:—The children of Jesus Christ have earned notoriety for their brutality. What must the soul of that ascetic be saying at finding that his disciples have lost even a human heart in this twentieth century? The death of Mr. Shiva Shanker Chakravarty, an internee, in a hospital at Bhowanipore, is an example of the callousness of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is ruthlessly sacrificing one by one the noble sons of India. Armed with various weapons our civilized Government wants to strengthen the foundation of the British Empire by ruining the health of about a hundred and fifty unarmed and dependent Indian youths. In these circumstances God only knows how long our just Government will continue to exist. The *Oudh Akhbar* exhorts the British Government and the Government of India to release Mr. Subhas Chander Bose and says that it is the height of cowardice to apprehend the disruption of the British Empire from an individual specially when his health is so shattered.

The Kakori dacoity case.

The *Pratap* complains that the condition of the Kakori convicts is getting worse every day, and in the name of justice, humanity and civilization appeals to the authorities to treat them as political prisoners and to accord special treatment to them. Commenting on the judgment in the Kakori dacoity case the *Desh Bhagat* writes:—It was vain for us to expect anything else from a just judge of a foreign Government because there is a world of difference between our angle of vision and theirs. They think that it is their natural right to bind Indians in the chains of subjection, treat them like cats and dogs, and humiliate and disgrace them; while those who long for India's emancipation think that no foreigner has any right to rule over this country. Englishmen, who are our masters to-day, are ruling over us with the help of the policy of divide and rule. Did these patriots deserve such severe sentences? Britain wants to keep us in subjection and to crush the spirit of liberty in our young men. Our conviction, however, is that this spirit cannot be crushed even by hanging the patriots, Ram Prasad, Rajendra Nath Lahiri and Roshan Singh, and sooner or later India will produce a party whose object will be to emancipate her from foreign subjection. We deem it our duty to tell the Government frankly that if it really wants to establish peace and order in India and purge the country of revolutionary organizations the only means to achieve this end is to grant self-government to the people for otherwise it is impossible to get rid of anarchical organizations even by means of death sentences and sentences of transportation for life. There is still time for the British Government to act with foresight and give up its old policy of repression. The *Pariwartan* writes:—The Kakori dacoity case shows that when those who want to see India a free country cannot break the chain of her subjection in spite of all their peaceful efforts and find the steel claw strong and the heart of the bureaucracy unsympathetic, they resort to such extraordinary practices.

Music before Mosques.

The *Medina* takes the Muslims of Pabna severely to task for agreeing to the compromise regarding the question of music before mosques and says:—The compromise permits music before mosques even during prayers if the procession happens to be religious or mourning. This means that Muslims have themselves renounced their right for which they bore the rigours of jail and sacrificed their lives. All these sacrifices have gone in vain. What scruple can the Hindus have in proclaiming a non-religious procession as a religious one? It is not difficult to imagine what will happen after this compromise. Hindus will take out a religious or mourning procession every day. Muslims will refuse to regard it as such. Hindus will insist. It is easy to conceive how this will lead to breach of peace and order. In short, instead of stopping disturbances it will open the way for them. The Pabna Muslims had no right to enter into a compromise which will embarrass the entire Muslim community of India. The *Sach* reproduces an extract from the letter of a "very famous *pirzada*" (a Muslim saint) of Oudh to the effect that when the Muslims themselves play music before mosques during the Muharram processions and their women enter the mosques playing on drums, they should not prevent the Hindus from doing so and says that the *pirzada* is quite right in

saying that the *shara* does not allow the Muslims to cause bloodshed over the question of music before mosques under a non-Muslim Government.

Communal representation.

Criticizing the resolutions passed at the general meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and the Presidential address of Sir Muhammad Shafi, which "sought to throw the entire responsibility for the Muslims' unwillingness to give up separate electorates on the shoulders of Hindu leaders and the Hindu Mahasabha," the *Leader* writes:—The real truth is that the Muslims do not want to give up separate electorates. One of the resolutions passed at the League meeting denied that separate communal electorates were responsible for Hindu-Muslim dissensions. This is merely flying in the face of patent facts. The fault for these dissensions, of course, lies with the movement for the consolidation of the Hindu community and for the eradication of the numerous social ills from which it suffers. So long as the Muslims maintain such a suspicious and hostile attitude towards the great reformative movement of the Hindus, there is little hope of mutual understanding . . . The intolerance which the Muslims have been betraying in numerous places has been only strengthening the determination of the Hindus to organize themselves to protect their rights and liberties. Referring to the opposition against the proposals of the conference of Muslim leaders held at Delhi regarding joint electorates the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—It gives us acute pain that we cannot compose our differences by a display of friendly feelings and good-will and we are constrained to appeal to Lord Irwin to step into the breach and to find a solution of the difficult problem which confronts the nation and has endangered the peace and tranquillity of the country. Let His Excellency call a round-table conference in Simla when the Legislative Assembly meets there, and invite leaders of Hindu and Muslim thought to sit together and discuss proposals for communal settlement. The decision thus arrived at may be placed before the Royal Commission on reforms with a view to guide them in framing their proposals. If His Excellency does this he will earn the gratitude of the whole of India.

The Arya Samaj.

Commenting on the suggestion made in the *Times of India* by a correspondent that the activities of the Arya Samaj are the root cause of the Hindu-Muslim riots and that it should, therefore, be suppressed, the *Leader* writes:—Talk of suppression of the Arya Samaj or any other religious body of that kind is mere futility for the suppression is certain to be followed by such an agitation as has, perhaps, not been witnessed in India since the Mutiny. The Arya Samaj cannot be suppressed. It will not allow itself to be suppressed. The real necessity is the rigid observance of strict impartiality by Governments and their officers, the protection of rights of citizenship and able and efficient administration. Given these conditions there will be far fewer of communal riots. Without them the situation will not improve: it may grow from bad to worse. The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—It is not for the first time that the Arya Samaj has become the target of the wrath of the Anglo-Indian Press and the Government. But the days have gone when a strong organization like that of the Arya Samaj could be crushed. Indeed, we would welcome the acceptance of the fatuous suggestion of the *Times of India* by the Government because we know that any such attempt on the part of the Government is foredoomed to failure and is bound to strengthen the Arya Samaj. We wish that the Government may commit such a mistake and bear its consequences.

The United Provinces Supplementary Budget.

Commenting upon the supplementary United Provinces budget the *Aj* opposes the demand of additional grant for police expenditure on the ground that it is to be utilized for increasing the strength of the police force and for providing comforts to high officials. The paper also takes exception to the demand of extra grants for the Lucknow and the Allahabad universities on the plea that expenditure on higher education only increases unemployment and leads to the waste of the money and energy of youths, and urges that all available money should be utilized in imparting industrial and technical education so as to provide new independent avenues of employment. It complains that when the Lucknow and the Allahabad universities are being thus pampered there is no reason why the provincial Government should be so indifferent to the needs of the Benares University, and advises the members of the Council not to sanction these grants unless substantial amounts of money are provided by the Education Minister for the Benares and the Aligarh universities also. It protests against the additional grant to European schools, and says that the expenditure on European schools is

altogether out of proportion to the expenditure on education for Indians. It insists that the grant intended for the secondary schools should be utilized in improving the lot of the teachers instead of being wasted on buildings.

The Nagpur *Satyagrah.*

The *Vartman* pays a tribute to the heroic and patriotic spirit of those young men of Nagpur who are resorting to passive resistance to secure the release of the Bengal detenus and says:—While people in other parts have remained content with lip sympathy with the Bengal detenus, these young men of Nagpur are not afraid even of death in striving for their desired end. They have decided to violate the Arms Act to make the bureaucracy eat the humble pie. They have preferred to violate the law under which the irresponsible bureaucracy does not hesitate to grind down these young men of Bengal. The *Pratap* remarks:—We may congratulate the Nagpur *satyagrahis* on their zeal, but we cannot approve of their action at present. The local Congress workers are themselves sceptical about the efficacy of this *satyagrah*. We would, therefore, urge Mr. Mancharsha Avari and his brave followers not to add to the series of national defeats by starting another *satyagrah* at present.

The League of Nations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The League of Nations is a colossal hoax calculated to perpetuate the military basis of international existence, although we are asked to believe in its pious intentions of establishing peace and good-will among the nations of the world. It is a loose cohesion of a few European nations meeting periodically to indulge in tawdry discussions and futile confabulations about airy ideals of world peace and total disarmament, while each nation with inveterate zeal is strengthening itself as if in preparation for a mighty undeclared war.

The *Hindu Sansar* defamation case.

The *Aj* remarks that the decisions of the appellate courts in the *Pratap* and the *Hindu Sansar* defamation cases will be remembered long for even-handed justice in the province. If justice is dispensed in this manner there is no doubt that law courts will gain popular confidence. The duties of a journalist are very difficult in themselves and if the courts were not to decide defamation cases impartially, taking into account the good motives of the accused, not only would they themselves suffer in prestige but side by side with injury to public interests the administration, too, would deteriorate more and more and lead to ever-increasing dissatisfaction among the people.

Indian States.

The *Aziz-i-Hind* invites the attention of the Government to the state of affairs in Bharatpur and says:—The creditors have not yet been paid anything. They are anxiously looking up to the British Government for justice. The poor servants of the State have also not received their salaries for the last several months. If instead of spending money in entertaining Hindu leaders the Maharaja repays the creditors people would be satisfied to some extent, but the Maharaja holds the propitiation of Hindu leaders and subservience to Simla officials to be the sole means of his salvation, and, so long as he does not increase the powers of the diwan and curtail his expenditure, there can be no improvement in the present condition of the State.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the frequent outrages on Hindu women the *Vartman* suggests that they should carry knives and daggers on their person to protect themselves from immoral persons and rogues belonging to other religions. Women should be imbued with the spirit of self-respect and self-help so that they may be able to save their honour.

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ALLAHABAD:
May 7, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

7 JUN 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 19 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 14, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The *Aj* tries to make out that the Northern Chinese and not the Chinese nationalists were responsible for the outrages on foreigners at Nanking and says that the coloured accounts of those ordinary outrages were the outcome of a pre-concerted plan to incite the world against China. But America and Japan have come to know the true facts now, and it is possible that in view of their unwillingness to participate in coercive measures, British imperialists also may have some consideration for dictates of justice and may refrain from excessive interference in Chinese affairs. In another article the same paper strongly criticizes the Trade Union Bill and says: The Bill is an instrument for unscrupulously oppressing labourers and shows that the land which was called the mother of liberty is moving under the influence of capitalistic and imperialistic greed. When law itself begins to oppress the people revolution becomes an absolute necessity for self-preservation. In view of such an attitude of England, the cradle of constitutional agitation, one is driven to say that there will be a very terrible revolution throughout the world before the existing capitalistic era is supplanted by a new era. It appears that a conflict between Bolshevism and Fascism has become inevitable now.

The Lahore riots.

Comments on the Lahore riots are generally on communal lines. Extremist papers insinuate that the authorities deliberately refrained from adopting preventive measures. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The ghastly tragedy enacted at Lahore with so much loss of innocent lives ought to open the eyes of Hindus and Muslims to the serious nature of the present tension between the two sister communities which threatens to envelop the whole of India in the flames of a civil war. For, as things go, the soldiery is by no means immune from its pernicious influence. The inflammable material, so stupidly disseminated through the columns of communal newspapers finds its way into the barracks of the sepoys and poisons their unsophisticated minds. The exaggerated stories of communal vengeance and atrocities inflame their passions so that unless immediate steps are taken both by leaders of public opinion and by Government to cement these differences and to promote a better understanding, the whole country will be in the grip of a civil war which British bayonets and machine-guns may not be able to quell. We are afraid Hindus and Muslims are equally to blame in regard to the blood-thirsty attitude which they have adopted towards each other. The "divide and rule" policy of the alien bureaucracy may be moving the strings behind the scenes. But the first and foremost blame attaches to communal newspapers which inflame the passions of the multitude and goad them to crime. The real leaders like Gandhi have retired in disgust and despair. The dregs of society have come to the top by playing to the galleries and pandering to public taste for blood. We repeat our appeal to Lord Irwin to step into the breach and bridge the gulf which yawns before us. The *Vartman* takes the Lahore authorities to task for not taking timely steps to quell the disturbance and says: The responsibility for all that happened after the funeral of the Muslim lies on the shoulders of the police. We are not sure that the disturbance will not appear in another form. It is, therefore, the duty of the Punjab Government to transfer Muslim police officers and appoint Christian, Parsi or British officers in their place, and take adequate precautionary measures for the future. Writing in a similar strain the *Sainik* says: If it be urged that the authorities were unaware that a conflagration was imminent then it must be said that the Criminal Investigation department

was either incompetent or negligent. If it be said that the authorities knew everything then did they deliberately refrain from taking preventive measures? No one can believe that even if the Government had so wished it could not have prevented the disturbance. Then may it be assumed that the Government's inaction was deliberate? If there is even an iota of truth in either of these suppositions then the Government cannot be absolved from its responsibility. The *Aj* says that it is not enough to restore peace and order with the help of the police and the military. The root cause of the communal tension which is more political than religious in nature, should first be removed. The *Medina* lays stress on the fact that Muslims were attacked by Sikhs with their *kripans* the carrying of which has been permitted by law and says: According to our Lahore contemporaries these armed Sikhs were accompanied by a crowd of Hindus with *lathis* and their slogan was "kill and don't care." Prior to this the stalwarts of Rithala had, with the cry "kill even if lakhs of rupees are spent," attacked the unwary Muslims of that place. Now the Muslims of Lahore, who were absorbed in their prayers, have been welcomed with this very slogan. Does this not show that in the Government established by law it has now become permissible for the blood-thirsty Hindus and Sikhs to kill the Muslims? Should Muslims even now not come to the conclusion that the British Government has also resolved to make India too hot for them in order to purge the country of those who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of nationalism and freedom. The Lahore incident has shown that the Sikhs have abused the *kripans*. It is, therefore, the religious duty of the Muslim members of the Punjab Council to see to it that either the Muslims are allowed to possess swords or the Sikhs also are deprived of the privilege of keeping *kripans*. The *Hamdam* deplores that the communal tension has involved the Sikh community also and urges the need for a round table conference of the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh leaders. In another article, the paper takes the Asscciated Press severely to task for circulating misleading reports about the origin of the Lahore riots and deplores that on account of the mischievous activities of the Hindu sangathanists the Sikhs of Lahore soiled their hands with the Muslim blood and disgraced their own religion by abusing the *kripans*. In a third article the same paper says that though it was but natural for the Muslims to get excited at the sight of the dead bodies of their co-religionists yet they had no right to take the law into their own hands and their action in assaulting the unarmed passers-by can never be justified. The *Najat* writes: These riots show that the turbulent section of the Hindu community is striving in every way to humiliate and ruin the Muslims. The joint attack of the Hindu and Sikh ruffians on Muslims engaged in their prayers in a mosque, the encouragement given to the rioters by two Sikh sepoys, and the pelting of stones on the funeral procession by educated Hindus in a military centre where the Government is equipped with all its strength shows that all this was a deliberate effort to put to test the forbearance of the Muslim community and challenge the might of the Government. The *Bedar* warns the Hindus not to provoke the Muslims and says: We are not advocates of mischief and hooliganism, but when we are impelled to protect and propagate our religion we can rule Spain for seven hundred years, attack the temple of Somnath, spurn its jewels and become idol-breakers. The *Haqiqat* deplores the communal riots and says: If the situation does not improve, what can be expected of the Reforms Commission?

Governor-Designate of the United Provinces.

Favourable comments on the appointment of Sir Alexander Muddiman continue to appear in the Press. The *Wealth and Welfare* writes: In Sir Alexander Muddiman the provinces will have a Governor who has a specially intimate knowledge of the principles which have actuated Parliament in launching the great experiment. He should be successful in dissipating the doubts and uncertainty which have clouded the atmosphere in the province. The *Himalayan Times* says: Sir Alexander Muddiman is one of those few who have managed to maintain their individual integrity even when identifying themselves with sun-dried bureaucrats. His ready wit, genial temperament and engaging frankness, are some of the outstanding ornaments of his attainments. He is coming to the United Provinces with an unbiassed mind and it is principally for this reason that his appointment is hailed with hopeful anticipation by every section of Indian communities in these provinces. We hope his tactful and sympathetic attention will facilitate a popular administration and endear him to the people of these provinces. The *Surya* writes: If a Governor had to be selected from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service no better choice could have been made, as personally Sir Alexander is a very good man. Though

disappointed to find that a civilian has again been appointed Governor of the United Provinces, the *Sadaqat* congratulates Sir Alexander Muddiman on his appointment on personal grounds, and hopes that the province will progress during his régime.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Leader* writes : Sir Abdur Rahim's presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Muslim Conference held at Barisal struck a less blatant communal note than his Aligarh performance, but the spirit which informed it was the same. The Hindu feeling in Bengal is very much exercised over the outrages that are being committed on Hindu women by Muslim miscreants. The Bengal papers are full of reports of criminal assaults committed on them, sometimes of the most daring and brutal nature. Muslim leaders have failed to condemn them and Sir Abdur Rahim's remarks show that he does not take a serious view of the dastardly and detestable deeds of his co-religionists in these matters and instead of condemning them has tried to explain them away. He has in fact attacked the Hindus for making a communal grievance of abductions of Hindu women by Muslims. He insinuated as if the aim of the Hindus was to dominate over Muslims while he declared on behalf of his community that it " was not within the scope of its ambition to dominate other communities." Has there been no talk of a Muslim Raj? The *Aligarh Mail* writes : The riot that occurred at Rithala would reveal even to the meanest intelligence the Hindu Prussianism. Unfortunately the Muslims are generally blamed for starting trouble, but there is an example of Hindu high-handedness and aggression of which the knowledge has been made public not by any Muslim agency, but by the Associated Press of India which can hardly be biassed in favour of the Muslims. The *Abhyudaya* writes : Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion regarding the appointment of a committee to enquire into the causes of communal disturbances deserves to be considered, but we have no hope that the Government will act on it. Why should it institute an inquiry into the causes of the communal disturbances when it stands to gain by such disturbances. The *Aj* attributes the communal disturbances in the country to the hesitation of the Indian leaders in laying down a clear and unequivocal definition of Swaraj and remarks that those who are evading this question are creating new difficulties. The organization of one community against the other, and the policy to enter into hollow agreements are calculated to accentuate the existing communal tension rather than allay it. True remedy consists in an unambiguous definition of Swaraj by the Congress. The *Surya* remarks : The desire in certain political circles to seek the help of Afghanistan in driving out the British from India is as notorious as the action of Jaychand in calling in the assistance of Muhammad Ghori. Its ultimate object is the establishment of Muslim rule in India. The means by which and the price at which Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders want to attain Swaraj are fatal to the Hindus. Hindus love Hinduism more than Swaraj. It should be the duty of every Hindu to think first in terms of the community and then in terms of the nation. The *Hamdam* takes Lala Lajpat Rai to task for remarking to a representative of the Free Press that the present Hindu-Muslim tension is the outcome of the secret propaganda of Muslims and says that the tension really owes its origin to the movements of shuddhi and sangathan which were inaugurated with the object of laying the foundations of a Hindu raj in India. The present atmosphere of the Punjab can be purged of the deadly germs of communalism only if the leading Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of that province make a confession of their errors and sincerely strive to save it from the terrible consequences of a civil war.

Communal representation.

The *Pratap* writes: One may admire the dexterity displayed by Sir Muhammad Shafi in trying to prove in the course of his presidential address at the Punjab session of the Muslim League that the Hindus were responsible for the rejection of the Muslim offer about joint electorates, but his arguments were unconvincing. It is well known that a section of the Muslims had expressed strong disapproval of the offer before any expression of opinion on this question was forthcoming from the Hindu leaders. Besides the offer was in the nature of an ultimatum to which the Hindus were asked to submit at the point of the pistol which rendered even its examination by the Hindu leaders impossible. The *Anand* remarks that the conditions attached to the Muslim offer regarding joint electorates demand greater sacrifices of the Hindus. If the offer is to prove workable it should be divested of those conditions. The All-India Congress Committee should, before accepting the offer, examine it in detail and take care that it does not arrive at

any decision which may prove prejudicial to the interests of the Hindu community. The *Adalat* warns the Muslims against the offer made by their leaders at Delhi regarding joint electorates, and says that in order to achieve their selfish ends Mr. Jinnah and his friends are bent upon jeopardising the rights of the Muslim community. *Al Burid* is gratified to note that the Punjab Muslim League has refused to accept the principle of joint electorates and sarcastically thanks the Hindu Mahasabha and press for opening the eyes of the Muslims by spurning the Delhi proposal of Muslim leaders. The *Medina* regrets that the League has acted hastily in declaring that separate representation is absolutely necessary for the Muslims of that province and says that it would have been better if it had waited for the decision of the Congress in this matter.

Political propaganda.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* attributes the present "exhausted spirit of the country" to the selfishness of the leaders and says: When the sons of the soil are groaning under the tyranny of the bureaucracy and the oppression of petty officials, the leaders sit in ministerial chairs as members of that bureaucracy and scoff at their sufferings. How can they inspire confidence in the masses, how can they expect the country to follow at their bidding? So long as this wrangle for posts, for self-glorification, for self-aggrandisement lasts, they will not get the country to follow them blindly. The country has no more money, no more effort to enrich them. Let them pay their debt to their country now, start afresh with non-cooperation and civil disobedience and use all other offensive and defensive weapons in their quiver and the country will follow. Under the heading "Barindra, the priest of red sacrifice," the *Abhyudaya* publishes a sketch of the life of Barindra Kumar Ghosh (the leader in the Manicktalla conspiracy case) in which the writer makes the following introductory remarks:—Barindra is one of those great patriots who have surrendered themselves in the service of the motherland, whose hearts always sing to the glory of their native land, and who enter into the battle of life not as so-called *Yogis*, but as true men of action. The ideal patriotism of which he has given a brilliant example by a life-long service of the motherland is indescribable. Although the *Aj* approves of the proposal of Mr. V. J. Patel to attend the meetings of the Parliaments of various European countries and thereby enrich his experience it views with disfavour his interviews with Lord Birkenhead and other officials as it regards them as mere waste of time. The *Vartman* is glad that a branch of the Indian Volunteers' Association (Seva Dal) has been established at Cawnpore and exhorting young men to join it, says: For the success of the national agitation we want at least two lakhs of volunteers who may be prepared to go to jail or even to die in the service of the country. It was the want of an adequate number of such volunteers which caused the failure of the non-cooperation movement. What a handful of such volunteers can do has been demonstrated at Nagpur.

Shivaji's tercentenary.

Hindu papers publish impassioned articles and poems on the life of Shivaji. The *Himalayan Times* writes: Let us draw our inspiration from Shivaji's life and get no more lost in the labyrinth of Council debates and Assembly discussions and deluding resolutions and sundry amendments. We should depute the best among us to the villages and make the villages self-sufficient units of national solidarity. Let us raise the pitch of self-sacrifice and suffering for the nation's cause, which will wipe out cheap leadership and prepare the atmosphere for sterling men of Shivaji's ideals. This will keep alive the memory of Shivaji as nothing else can. The *Shakti* pays a glowing tribute to Shivaji for the services rendered by him in the cause of Hinduism by having brought about the disruption of an unjust foreign rule and remarks that although he rose up from the position of an ordinary soldier to that of a commander and a king yet had he lived to-day under the British Government he would not have risen up to a rank higher than that of a Major Subedar. The *Agra Samachar* says: The celebration throughout the country of the tercentenary of Shivaji, who is described in Indian history, and particularly in the book which has been prescribed by the Education department of the Local Government for use in the primary schools of these provinces, as an assassin, plunderer and free-booter, shows that India is advancing towards the attainment of a great and high ideal. May India produce not one or two but hundreds and thousands of such assassins and free-booters who are pained by the miseries of their countrymen, who are true aspirants after freedom and who delight in suffering tortures of hell as free men rather than to be bound in the

chains of slavery. The *Hamdam* says that Pandit Malaviya's message that not only the Hindus but also the Indian Muslims, Christians and Jews ought to celebrate Shivaji's tercentenary shows that he takes special delight in wounding the feelings of the Muslims. Can any Muslim think of celebrating the centenary of a rebel who took part in overthrowing the Muslim empire? A perusal of what both Hindu and Muslim historians have written about Shivaji shows that he does not deserve the honour which Pandit Malaviya wants to be bestowed on him.

Hindu Mahasabha.

The Muslim press continues to comment strongly on the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha towards the Muslim offer regarding joint electorates. The *Medina* says: The cunning, deceit and bigotry displayed in the second part of the resolution of the Mahasabha on the Muslim offer beat hollow thousands of trickeries of the western capitalist. In spurning the Muslim offer in this way the Mahasabha wants to accentuate the present communal tension so that it may lead to Hindu raj and it may be possible to drive out *mleccha* Muslims from India or to keep them enslaved. We would invite the attention of our co-religionists to this decision of the Mahasabha and ask them what has become of their unity and brotherhood and whether in addition to remaining slaves of the Government they want to live to serve the Hindus also? In another article it says that in appointing a committee for chalking out a programme in consultation with various sub-sections of the Hindu community, the Mahasabha wants to usurp the functions of the Congress and become a dictatorial body in the country. For the shamelessness with which it has caused the death of political life, kindled the fire of bigotry, hatred and animosity and accentuated communal tension the Mahasabha deserves to be totally ignored by leading men of the country and the Muslims. The Muslims ought to make an honourable agreement with the Congress and after creating a pleasant atmosphere in the country show that they are far more patriotic than the wicked children of the Mahasabha. *Al Burid* says that the decision of the Hindu Mahasabha regarding the Muslim offer reveals the Hindu mentality in its true colours and shows that by mixed electorates the Hindus mean that the Muslims should always remain in their bondage along with that of Englishmen.

Reforms.

The *Aj* deprecates the importance which Indian politicians are attaching to the forthcoming Royal Commission on Reforms and says:—We do not approve of any political effort the success of which depends upon foreigners. No country has so far achieved freedom through constitutional agitation. We hold that we shall get Swaraj only when it is brought home to our rulers that it is injurious to their own interests to rule over this country with physical force and that it is to their advantage to make a friend of it by granting it Swaraj. This task can be accomplished not by constitutional agitation but by the independent efforts of Indians themselves. We had some proof of this in the non-cooperation days. The country can be immensely benefited if the time and energy wasted in bringing about compacts and making a display of debating talents in the legislative bodies are utilized in organizing labourers and peasants. The agreement which is being sought to be arrived at between Hindus and Muslims in order to place one single scheme before the Royal Commission will not last long and will share the fate of the Lucknow pact. It would be much better if the Congress leaders could forget the Commission and engaged themselves in constructive work. This will surely do good and it is possible that their indifference based on self-reliance will have greater effect on the Commission than their subservient eagerness to co-operate with it.

The Arya Samaj.

Hindu papers take strong exception to the suggestion of the *Times of India* regarding the suppression of the Arya Samaj. The *Arya Mittra* writes:—This suggestion of the *Times of India* has created a sensation in the Arya Samajist world. It appears that the editor of the *Times* has lost his head otherwise he would not have offered such a fatuous suggestion which betrays his utter ignorance of the position and the strength of the Arya Samaj. The *Kailash* insinuates that the suggestion in the *Times of India* was inspired by a Muslim and takes the editor of the paper to task for having commented favourably thereon. It remarks: The Arya Samajists are Hindus and we are entirely with them. The Arya Samajists and the Sangathanists are inseparable. Not only the Arya Samajists but the entire Hindu community is interested in the Shuddhi moment. Shuddhi is indispensable and it is an infallible weapon of the Hindus. In no circumstances can this movement be given up

now. Supporting the suggestion of the *Times* of *India*, *Al Burid* says that the Government should not only investigate the allegations against the Samaj but should also try to find out what hand the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements have in disturbing the peace of the country and then, if it finds that the Arya Samaj is at the bottom of all this it should not hesitate in the least to suppress it.

Education in the United Provinces.

Commenting on the educational report of the United Provinces for the year 1925-26, the *Aj* remarks:—In view of the number of students receiving education in these provinces and the expenditure incurred per head in their education we are driven to the conclusion that if the expenditure goes on increasing in this ratio we will have to give up all hopes of a wide diffusion of education in these provinces. Money is being unnecessarily spent on administration, inspection, buildings and university education. The kind of education imparted in the universities these days is altogether unsuitable for enabling its recipients to earn a livelihood and the money spent on it is not only being wasted but is causing great injury to the province by increasing unemployment.

Music before mosques.

Referring to the restrictions imposed on the Ramnaumi procession at Biswan the *Pratap* remarks: The bureaucracy of the United Provinces is favouring the Muslims unduly in the matter of music before mosques. This will encourage the *goondas* to make impossible demands and insist on their acceptance. We want the provincial Hindu Sabha to settle this question once for all in a central place like Allahabad, and, if this be not possible, the Hindu Sabha should strive to make the Patuakhali satyagraha a success as the question of music in the towns of the United Provinces is allied to it.

Indian States.

The *Abhyudaya* remarks: Those who are familiar with the conditions prevailing in Indian states are of opinion that they will ultimately prove obstacles in the path of the country's freedom. Indian states are the centres of the plague of despotism and the system of administration prevailing there deserves to be destroyed. If a plebiscite were taken the subjects of the Indian states would be found to welcome British interference. The Government of India should not forget the oppressed subjects of the Indian states when the question of their future is taken up.

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ALLAHABAD:
May 14, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 20 of 1927.**

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 21, 1927.

The Lahore riots.

The Lahore riots continue to absorb the attention of the papers and to provide fresh material for bitter communal recriminations. As usual, extremist papers are charging local authorities with wilful dereliction of duty. Referring to the use of kirpans by Sikhs during the riots the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—These kirpans are really swords, and as such should not be allowed to be dangled about by the Sikhs. But when the Government does allow the Sikhs to wear them, then, in fairness and justice, it must allow the non-Sikhs and Muslims also to wear swords for their personal defence. We are firmly of opinion that the use of kirpans should be declared unlawful. The *Pratap* does not think that an inquiry into the causes of the riot will serve any useful purpose and remarks:—In the Lahore riot, as in other communal disturbances, it was the Muslims who indulged in such cowardly attacks. We do not absolve the Hindus entirely from this charge, but we maintain that they only followed the example set by the Muslims. The increase of communal jealousy is diminishing the enthusiasm for the attainment of *swaraj* and encouraging among the Hindus and Muslims the desire to win for their respective communities the favour of the bureaucracy. We are of opinion that communal disturbances spread cowardliness and strengthen the bureaucracy. It will be some gain if they open our eyes to the weakness of the bureaucracy. The *Aj* says that if even a hundredth part of what is being published in Lahore newspapers regarding the local riot be true, one must be driven to say that communal prejudice had rendered those people callous brutes whose duty it was to maintain peace. There is no doubt that the higher authorities, specially the Governor, acted efficiently, but the same cannot be said regarding subordinate police officers and against them very serious charges have been made by respectable leaders. The Muslim constables are charged with helping their co-religionists in attacking Hindus. An open and independent inquiry should be made into the matter. This incident also shows how dangerous it is to employ members of only one community in maintaining peace during times of communal excitement. Referring to the Hindu-Muslim disturbances at various places the *Balidan* says that there must be some secret object of the Government, too, in the communal disturbances, otherwise it is impossible that the Government, which defeated even Germany, should not be able to stop them. The *Medina* throws the entire responsibility for the riots on the *sangathan* movement and says:—Does the action of a few villainous and wicked Hindus and Sikhs in holding a *diwan* on a petty affair over a woman, declaring war by beat of drum and then suddenly attacking unwary and unconcerned Muslims and rendering the sacred bodies of three of them lifeless not show that the god of *sangathan* wants to make a grim demonstration of his strength and secure a certificate for his damned actions from a mischievous party comprising Malaviya and others? Pity on those eternal wretches who have turned India into a hell by inaugurating the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements! God's curse on these *sangathanist* champions! Hindu patriots and justice-loving Hindus and Sikhs! How long will you keep quiet and allow this sort of bloodshed to go on? If you do not curb the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha the time will soon come when India will be turned into a place of general massacre. Kind Government! Have you not yet been able to find out who is guilty? You have acquitted the author of the Rangila Rasul, released the Hindus of Bengal and imprisoned the Muslims of that province. Your law has ruined the Muslims of Saharanpur; you killed Muslims at Kulkathi, and instead of protecting the

Muslims you have taken adequate part in ruining them in every part of India. Do you even now want any further proof to find out who is at fault? Muslims, whither are you drifting? In what slumber have you fallen? If you want to remain in India as slaves of other nations and to entrust your future into the hands of your enemies congratulations to you on your apathy. The *Najat* sarcastically congratulates Pandit Malaviya and his friends on having won the support of the Sikhs and thereby added kirpans to their armoury and says:—But Pandit Malaviya and his friends ought not to sit with equanimity. They are trifling with the lives of the Muslims for which they shall have to rue very soon. If the Muslims become determined to offer the final battle, to say nothing of a handful of Sikhs, even the protection of the Himalayas will not be of any use to the Hindus. We, however, request all thoughtful Hindus, responsible Muslims, and sensible Sikhs to enthrone united India in a lofty palace of love and peace. A bloodthirsty enemy is standing behind you with a number of your greedy leaders under his thumb and is enjoying the fun of your feuds because for the construction of the edifice of his greatness he requires the largest possible amount of your bones. The *Oudh Akhbar* holds the Muslims of Lahore responsible for the outbreak and says:—The Punjab has become the hot-bed of communalism for a long time, but the present cause of excitement was the welcome accorded by the Muslims of Lahore to the "neo-Muslim Maharana" who has been styled as the "Tablighi Raja" by Mr. Muhammad Ali. The *Krishna* attributes the comparatively heavy losses of the Hindus and Sikhs to the preponderance of the Muslim element in the police and therefore advises the Hindus to enlist themselves in the police force immediately and says that this is necessary for the war for *swaraj*, too. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that as kirpans were freely used by the Sikhs during the riot it is the duty of the Muslims of the Punjab to compel their Government either to deprive the Sikhs of this privilege or to allow the Muslims also to keep swords. The *Jadu* says that the present communal riots and attacks on Muslims are the results of the inflammatory speeches delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Dr. Moonje from time to time.

Communal representation.

Referring to the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee regarding communal representation and allied questions the *Leader* emphasizes the difficulties in connexion with the proposed separation of Sindh, the constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis, and the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan and says:—Over-sanguine men will do well not to give way to unthinking jubilation in view of the hostile attitude of many prominent Muslims, and several Muslim organizations, which have unmistakably expressed themselves after the publication of the Delhi proposals, in view of other and non-contentious parts of these very proposals, and in view of the attitude of the Hindu communal organizations towards them . . . . . We are not backward in our appreciation of the courage and patriotism of the offer of the Muslim leaders who met in Delhi to do without separate electorates. Neither is it our intention to condemn the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee. All these may be, we trust will prove to be, helps to an acceptable solution of a thorny question. But we reiterate our conviction of the necessity of greater care, greater caution, more thoughtfulness in the consideration of matters of such moment by important public bodies than we apprehend has been bestowed upon them by the latest meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. If, however, the course of events should show the Congress Committee to have been wiser than the counsellors of caution we shall rejoice, indeed. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* welcomes the resolution and writes:—We sincerely hope that Mr. Jinnah will not find in the amendments any vast change and lead a revolt. It would have been a disaster if the Moonje angle of vision had predominated. It now remains with the Government seriously to consider the new situation that has been created and to build on the renewed foundations a structure that might give more satisfaction than the one built on the Lucknow Pact. In the hands of an unwilling bureaucracy who could not tolerate a progressive India, even the new understanding between the Hindus and Muslims might come to nought. All the same the Indian nation has for the time so far recovered from the fatal attack of communalism as to be able to make this gesture. The *Aj* says that the All-India Congress Committee displayed a great disregard of public opinion in accepting the Delhi offer of Muslim leaders. It did nothing to sound public opinion on the question through district Congress Committees or

by holding public meetings throughout the country. It is nothing short of cruelty to leave the Hindu minority of Sindh to the tender mercies of Muslims in the present state of strained communal relations. The separation of Sindh from the Bombay Province can be effected only when communal situation has definitely improved there. The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—The acceptance by the Congress leaders of the Muslim offer regarding joint electorates was a foregone conclusion. It is regrettable that Pandit Motilal Nehru, who sponsored the motion for its acceptance, paid no heed to the agitation in the country against the separation of Sindh and the introduction of reforms in the Frontier Province. The Congress leaders sacrificed Hindu interests to conciliate the Muslims. It was easy for Pandit Motilal and his henchmen to concede the Muslim demand, but it is the Hindus of Sindh and the Frontier Province who will have to pay the penalty for it.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deeply deplores the mutual distrust between Hindus and Muslims, and, referring to the demands for the appointment of British officers and soldiers for dealing with riots, says:—We are behaving as a nation of mad men. We are helplessly falling into the pit deliberately dug for us by our masters, for we are distinctly praying "At thy feet, ye British, for you alone can save us from mutual destruction." Referring to the suggestion of Khwaja Hasan Nizami that Indian Musalmans should co-operate with the British Government if they want to save themselves from the attacks of the Hindus the *Arya Mittra* remarks:—We fail to understand how the Muslim community which could not maintain friendly relations with the Hindus when both of them have to live and die in the same land and have other identical interests will be able to co-operate with an alien Government. How a community which dreams of Afghan or Turkish rule in India can be a sincere supporter of the British future alone will unfold. The *Bharat Dharma* remarks:—The principle of the Congress that we are Indians first and Hindus next is disastrous to the Hindus, and, if they are not disillusioned in time, their annihilation will be inevitable. It is a false and baseless assumption that we cannot attain *swaraj* without the co-operation of the Muslims. If 24 crores of Hindus are incapable of winning *swaraj* surely seven crores of Muslims will be of no material help. We exhort the entire Hindu population to think first of its religion and then of *swaraj*. The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—We must no longer labour under the delusion that the Muslims are prepared to make sacrifices for the sake of *swaraj*. They want to take the utmost advantage of the present situation as they are under the impression that Hindus are extremely anxious for *swaraj* and realize that it cannot be won without Muslim help. We also strive for unity, but every concession made by us is followed by increased demands. The Government rejoices at our recurring disturbances. If it so desired, could it not stop them? Let us impress it upon the Muslims that the Hindus are actuated by no selfish motive in their demand for communal unity. If they are willing to make any sacrifice in the cause of *swaraj*, well and good, if not let us part company. The *Medina* holds the activities of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. Moonje responsible for the outbreak of communal riots in the country and says that if the Government sincerely wants to establish peace in India it ought to keep these two mischievous leaders under police surveillance, otherwise it will soon become difficult for the Government to control the offensive mischiefs of the Hindu community.

Shivaji's tercentenary.

Muslim papers strongly resent the celebration of Shivaji's tercentenary. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—What is it that has moved the Hindus to observe the Shivaji celebrations? It is really the Hindu hostility towards Musalmans, engendered by the activities of the Arya Samaj, that has driven the Hindus to celebrate with great *éclat* the birthday of Shivaji. They are celebrating his tercentenary simply because he stubbornly opposed the Muslim power of his day. They have made mountains of mole-hills in exaggerating the deeds of Shivaji. In what light would our Hindu brethren consider it if the Musalmans were to celebrate the Third Battle of Panipat which shattered to pieces the whole Mahratta power and sounded the death-knell of the revival of Hindu power? Again, what would be the effect on the Hindu-Muslim relations if Musalmans were to celebrate the victories of Mahmud of Ghazni? No one can deny that they would prejudice the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity most disastrously, rendering *swaraj* a chimera. The *Vir Sandesh* pays a tribute to Shivaji for the protection of cows, Brahmans,

and Hindus and says :—In memory of that hero it is the duty of every Hindu to become ready to protect his mother, sister and daughter, his temples and cows. He should be ready to take out the eyes of those who look with evil intentions at them. He should send to hell those who insult Hindu religion. When this will happen, when we learn to take vengeance for wrongs done, then shall we realize that we are celebrating the tercentenary of Shivaji and rightly following in his footsteps. The *Medina* contends that the object of the Hindu leaders in celebrating Shivaji's tercentenary was simply to infuse blood into the dead veins of the Hindu community and to incite it to violence. This is why riots and disturbances broke out during this function. The events at Lahore, Surat, Dacca, and elsewhere show that the Hindus thought that the time for avenging the victories of Aurangzeb had come, and it had become necessary for them to break the heads of the Muslims.

Thr Kakori conspiracy case prisoners.

Referring to the report that some of the prisoners of the Kakori conspiracy case are in a dying condition as a result of the hunger-strike the *Pratap* says :—Has the heart of the bureaucracy really become stony? Is this why Mr. Montagu described the bureaucracy as " wooden and impervious ?" To what condition has the bureaucracy of the United Provinces reduced these youths ! It is, perhaps, waiting for the time when, crushed in spirit and body, they may give up the hunger-strike, and then it will come out with a Press *communiqué* that the agitation about the strike was a concocted one. But it cannot throw dust in the eyes of the public. After this display of brutality the United Provinces bureaucracy will not be able to exculpate itself despite any number of trickeries. If any humanity is still left in it, it should prove its good-heartedness by providing suitable facilities for the Kakori convicts. One Govardhanji Sharma, writing in the *Sainik* in an impassioned tone, takes the public severely to task for its indifference in the matter of the hunger-strike of the Kakori convicts and remarks :—O ungrateful world ! It is in consequence of these sins that you are being driven like sheep by the shepherds. This is the reason, and the main reason, of your being starved, oppressed, and harassed. These inebriated and brave soldiers who are being described to-day as revolutionaries and dacoits, and who could have lived a luxurious life if they chose, are reaping the fruits of having loved heartless persons like you. One word to the Government. These prisoners will willingly give up their lives and show that India also possesses a large number of her own McSwineys. The Government should not forget that martyrdom cannot go in vain. If Government is really desirous of removing revolutionary ideas from their minds it should accord human treatment to them and give them time to revise their ideas. But we have no such hope from the perverse Government. Our appeal is, therefore, to the Indian people to leave no stone unturned to bring about an honourable termination of the hunger-strike.

The Bengal detenus.

Newspapers of all shades of opinion warmly commend the action of the Governor of Bengal on ordering the release of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and express the hope that other detenus will also be released. The *Leader* writes :—We congratulate the Governor of Bengal on the good sense and high-mindedness he has shown in directing that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose should be set free immediately. By acting wisely as he has done, Sir Stanley Jackson has given a good start to his régime ; he has prejudiced opinion in his favour. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—Even for this belated release we have to thank not the system of government, but the accidental presence, at the head of the Bengal administration, of a Governor who has not yet had time to be poisoned by the virus of Indian bureaucracy. Frankly, we are not overjoyed at the release ; but we shall congratulate the Government if, in the course of a week or a fortnight, we hear of the unconditional release of more brave youths spirited away from life and work by the cruel hand of a suspicious Government. The *Aj* expresses gratification at the release of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, and says that the new Governor of Bengal displayed statesmanship in setting him free, and asks whether similar wisdom and justice will be shown in dealing with the question of the release of other detenus.

Thr Arya Samaj.

The suggestion of the *Times of India* regarding the suppression of the Arya Samaj continues to evoke heated controversy on communal lines. Muslim papers approve the suggestion and hold the Arya Samajists solely responsible for all the present communal troubles in the country. The *Najat* writes ;—This villainous community

has appeared like a plague for religion and peace and its mischiefs have caused irretrievable injury not only to India's freedom, but also to her reputation and peace. If in the name of religious neutrality the Government supports the intrigues and bloodshed committed by the Arya Samajists no one would view its action with approbation. The Government ought to act upon the advice of the *Times of India* and bear in mind that if to-day it is making Muslims the victims of the Arya Samaj, to-morrow it would itself fall victim to it. Referring to Lala Lajpat Rai's remark that the suppression of the Arya Samaj would amount to the declaration of a bloody war the *Mansur* writes:—There is surely something on the basis of which the Lala has offered such a threat to Government. Can poor Muslims also dare to do so? It is just possible that the Hindus and the Arya Samajists have established some powerful organization on the strength of which they can intimidate even the greatest power on earth. But to make sure it would be better if, as proposed by the *Times of India*, an inquiry is made into the *shuddhi*, *sangathan*, and *tanzim* movements and the movement which may be found to have been detrimental to the peace of the country is wiped out. The *Hamdam* wonders why Lala Lajpat Rai regards the proposed inquiry as an indictment against the Arya Samaj, and says that if the position of the Arya Samaj is clear it should rather welcome this demand for inquiry. The *Parivartan* approves the proposal for an inquiry into the causes of the communal tension and says:—The Government, which paid no heed to opposition against the abolition of *suttee* and slavery, is taking no steps against this general breach of peace. If it cannot stop these disturbances it should consider whether it should keep the administration of India in its hands or should make it over to others. The *Krishna* tries to make out that Arya Samaj cannot possibly be suppressed and writes:—The Arya Samaj is a movement against tyranny and oppression. Can such a movement be crushed by machine-guns and a repressive policy? The Arya Samaj is to complete by means of *shuddhi* and *sangathan* the work left unfinished by Pratap and Shivaji. If anyone tries to suppress it he will have to face a bloody war which will not only revive the memory of 1857 but will be fraught with more dangerous consequences.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* remarks:—It is extremely regrettable that when labourers have become pillars of strength in other countries of the world in India their miseries are indescribable, and even to-day they are being ground down in the mill of injustice. The delay in the attainment of *swaraj* is due to our negligence of the cause of the labourers who form 90 per cent. of the Indian population. How can the goddess of freedom be favourably disposed towards us when these true votaries of freedom have to bear insult and humiliation at every step? It is the duty of the Congress to organize the labourers and spend all its energies in making preparations from now for according a fitting reception to these rulers of the twenty-first century who will replace despotism by socialism, capitalism by equality, and imperialism by democracy. The *Bharat Dharma* writes:—There is no hope of India's emancipation so long as the people do not abandon the policy of political mendicancy and become self-reliant. The vital issue before the country at present is the release of Bengal detenus. Next to *satyagrah*, for which the country is not yet ripe, the boycott of British goods is the only effective weapon in our armoury and we should lose no time in launching out the boycott movement. If this movement catches on the Government will be compelled to release the Bengal detenus. Trade forms the nose of Great Britain, and, unless it is twisted, the British Government will not open its mouth.

Reforms.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* urges the leaders not to build any hopes on the Royal Commission on Reforms, but to concentrate on Hindu-Muslim unity and remarks:—It was the Hindu-Muslim unity which struck terror in the heart of the relentless bureaucracy and forced it to lay down the rudiments of democracy for the future constitution of Government . . . . . The bureaucracy will go on playing us one against another; Brahmans against non-Brahmans and Hindus against Muslims. If our leaders were wise they would not go to England to beg for *swaraj*. If they had common-sense they would sit at home and solve the vexatious problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. Is there no significance in the deplorable fact that communal tension has augmented on the eve of a further instalment of reforms? Referring to the report that Pandit Motilal Nehru is going to be appointed as one of the

members of the Royal Commission on Reforms the *Farrukh* says :—If this rumour is true then it means that Government wants to widen this political net and to add another link to the chain with which it is sought to bind in slavery the patriots who are mad after liberty. We cannot compliment the Government on this cruel joke. So long as Indians are not accorded an effective voice in it the Commission cannot be of any use to the country and no Indian should accept its membership.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Muslim papers resent the suggestion that the two Muslims went to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's residence at Benares with the intention of murdering him. The *Medina* writes :—The report has been published with a view to discredit the Muslims, to influence judgment in the appeal of Kazi Abdul Rashid, to prove conspiracy in connexion with the murder of Swami Shradhanand, and to make Pandit Malaviya a living martyr. It adds that if this story has any truth the visitors must have been some *lalas* who had gone there to furnish matter for the columns of the *Abhyudaya*. The *Krishna* says that the visits paid by two Muslims to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's house may be treated by Hindu leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Muslim leaders as the individual acts of those two Muslims, but the fact is that it is the teachings of Islam which are impelling Muslims to do such acts and thereby ruin the country. So long as such teachings continue in the country there can be no genuine union between the two communities. It is necessary to effect a change in the mentality of Muslims and to stop such teachings as mislead them by promises of *houris* and heaven as a reward for killing an infidel. The *Sewak* observes :—This attitude of Muslims towards Pandit Malaviya is calculated to produce a striking revolution in the atmosphere of the country. Government should do its best to find out the real truth about such incidents. Government's silence on this occasion would mean that it wishes to strengthen the hands of *goondas* and mischievous persons. Does not the Government realize what effect such news about Pandit Malaviya will produce on the public ?

Pandit Govind Malaviya's case.

Commenting on the dismissal of Pandit Govind Malaviya's case against Mrs. Marriner by Mr. Finlay, the trying magistrate, the *Pratap* remarks :—Mr. Finlay dismissed the case on the ground that the expression "silly ass" was not defamatory. But will Mr. Finlay like himself to be addressed as a "silly ass" in his bungalow ? The expressions "idiot," "silly swine," "little pig," etc., are in common use in the English language and presumably they are as meaningless as the expression "silly ass." Will then Mr. Finlay and the husband of that white woman, Mrs. Marriner, like these epithets to be prefixed to their names ? The *Aj* and the *Abhyudaya* also write to the same effect.

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ALLAHABAD :
May 21, 1927.

13 JUN 27

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
20 JUN 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 21 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING MAY 28, 1927.

The Lahore riots.

The *Aligarh Mail* says that during the Lahore riots Muslim magnanimity and peaceful character stood in striking contrast to the Sikh barbarism and Hindu hooliganism and yet the misery of Muslims is heart-rending. "In their predicament they face opposition on all sides. The whole Muslim India is most concerned about the Lahore tragedy and the Muslim Press. Fancy the Lahore situation. It was the unarmed innocent Musalmans who were brutally attacked near Haveli Kabli Mal, three of whom were murdered in cold blood at the time and one died subsequently, and it is now the Muslim Press which is threatened with proscription." The *Abhyudaya* urges the need for the institution of an official inquiry into the charges of pro-Muslim bias levelled against the police by respectable Hindu leaders in connexion with the riots and remarks that such an inquiry will not only afford an opportunity to the police to refute those charges, but will also save the authorities from the charge of partiality. The *Mashriq* says:—Incidents in Bengal and Lahore have established that the reforms should be withdrawn as soon as possible, for since their inauguration our fellow-countrymen have got nothing to do but to commit mischief. They have made up their minds to establish Hindu raj in the country by annihilating Muslims. Now the Sikhs also have become their supporters. The Lahore disturbances show that in spite of the sudden attack the Muslims did not fail to do justice to their bravery. The Sikhs and Hindus have jointly taught the lesson to the Muslims that they should always remain vigilant. If Sikhs can freely use *kripans*, the Muslims also should keep swords. The object of the enemies in creating these disturbances is to reduce the number of Muslims. Ridiculing the demand of the Lahore Muslims to declare the possession of the *kripans* illegal under section 144, the *Desh Bhagat* writes:—If this section is to be applied against all those things which can be used as weapons, what will be the fate of the knives in slaughter-houses and in the shops of Muslim merchants? It is hoped that the Government will never yield to this unwise demand as, if unfortunately it attempts any interference in this religious matter, there will be a tremendous agitation which the Government will find difficult to control. The *Hindustani* regrets that innocent Hindus were dragged out of their houses and mercilessly beaten in the public streets in the presence of the police during the riots. The Muslim police predominates in Lahore and it openly favoured Muslims and satisfied its spite by getting Hindus thrashed with lathies before its eyes. Innocent Hindu children and old men were stabbed with knives by the brave Muslims in lonely places, as they were sure that their co-religionists in the police would not arrest them. The *Bharat Dharma* refers to the charges of partiality levelled by Dr. Naurang and Bhai Parmanand against the police in connexion with the riots and remarks:—Truly the lives and property of the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab are not secure. The Government would do well to change its policy of entrusting an important department like the police exclusively in the hands of the members of one particular community and to hold an open inquiry into the conduct of those police constables who participated in the atrocities perpetrated during the riot and bring the culprits to book. If the Government is not inclined to institute an inquiry the people will have no hesitation in accusing the Punjab Government of partiality towards the Muslims.

Communal representation.

Muslim papers generally welcome the All-India Congress Committee's decision regarding joint electorates, but the Hindu press is sharply divided. Referring to the *Bombay*

Chronicle's "hysterics of joy" over the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee the *Leader* says:—Past experience should be a warning against such jubilation. A new heaven and new earth are not going to be created by paper resolutions. It ought not to be forgotten that several Muslim organizations have already expressed their hostility to the Delhi proposals and that the Hindu Mahasabha has not yet accepted them. When the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha endorse the Congress Committee's resolution it would be time enough to express jubilation. The utmost that can be said at present is that it is a hopeful sign that so many leading Muhammadans have declared their readiness to accept joint electorates, though it has been made subject to conditions which we regard as wholly irrelevant to the question of franchise and which raise complicated issues, financial as well as administrative, which cannot be decided offhand. The *Aj* notes with satisfaction that the All-India Congress Committee has accepted the Muslim offer regarding joint electorates and says that if Muslim organizations ratify it, a very great work will have been accomplished. It, however, remarks that this compact has been entered into only in view of the forthcoming Royal Commission. The Congress is doing no independent work and now depends exclusively on legislative bodies. It is regrettable that the National Congress has now only become a body to elect representatives to the legislatures. We were dreaming of making the Congress the parliament of free India one day, but now we find it only as a hand-maid of a foreign institution. If *swaraj* is to be attained not through the efforts of the people but only through proving our capacity before the Royal Commission, the creed of the Congress should be changed and its goal should be re-fixed to be what it was before in 1920. It is no good quarrelling with Liberals and Responsivists and increasing the number of political parties when the object of all of them is to secure crumbs from the rulers by propitiating them. The *Vartman* opines that the decision of the All-India Congress Committee regarding joint electorates, though beneficial, is premature. It apprehends that it will not be accepted by the Muslim community and says that when unity is not in sight it will not be proper to placate one community by encroaching upon the rights of another in the name of unity. The *Surya* takes the All-India Congress Committee to task for accepting the Muslim offer and remarks:—The Congress has become a hand-maid of Pandit Motilal Nehru and the sole function of the All-India Congress Committee is to register his decrees. It was, therefore, a foregone conclusion that Pandit Motilal's views in the matter of the Muslim offer would prevail, and it is an open secret that he favours the Muslims. But it is a matter for gratification that no importance now attaches to the All-India Congress Committee and that its resolutions are treated no better than mere objects of pastime. The *Sainik* writes:—In the existing circumstances the resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee are quite justifiable and are bound to have far-reaching effects. We have not yet come across any sound and reasoned argument against the Hindu-Muslim compromise arrived at by the Committee. The *Pratap* approves of the decision of the All-India Congress Committee and remarks:—We do not think that any thoughtful person can have the least objection to the decision of the Congress. The so-called custodians of Hindu interests may resent the acquiescence of the Congress in the Muslim demands regarding the separation of Sindh and the introduction of reforms in the Frontier province, but they should remember that the Congress has agreed to the creation of Sindh into a separate province on the principle of redistribution of provinces on linguistic as opposed to communal basis, and that the decision in regard to the frontier province is based on equity and is practically the same as was placed before the country by Mr. Kelkar in his capacity of the president of the Hindu Mahasabha. The *Hamdam* appeals to Muslims to accept Dr. Ansari's assurance regarding their representation in the Assembly and to give evidence of their freedom from communalism by supporting the proposals of their leaders. The *Medina* views with satisfaction the decision of the All-India Congress Committee and says that this decision will revolutionize India's politics if the fickle-minded idols of Gokul and Benares abide by their promises. Had the system of joint electorates been in force at the time of the last elections, Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Moonje would not have been returned against Dewan Chaman Lal and Mr. Abhyankar. If the Bombay decision is carried out, the Muslims will surely never have cause for disappointment.

All-India Congress Committee.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* takes the All-India Congress Committee severely to task for having decided to draft a constitution and says:—The drafting of the constitution

is a clear indication of the mendicant mentality in politics. This craze for constitution was absent when we felt strong and when we lived for the high ideal of winning our birth-right of *swaraj* . . . Have we a clear programme of work, and can new leaders rise to blow into blaze the dying sparks of public spirit? Kerala and Andhra and Nagpur have shown that the sparks are not entirely dead. We must once more instal service and suffering for the country on the high pedestal whence it has been dislodged after the Bardoli blunder and the backsliding of prominent leaders. The only hope now consists in the mutiny of the rank and file against the leaders. The sooner such a mutiny is led by men like Mr. Horniman and Mr. Prakasam, the better it will be for the country. The *Himalayan Times* writes:—We fail to appreciate Pandit Motilalji's idea of framing a complete and picturesque constitution for India, subordinating to it the more imperative issue of actual constructive work in the country. It is an idle dream to expect the Royal Commission to bring us Reforms which will inaugurate a system of government that will bestow upon us the privileges of real power, initiative and responsibility. The vitality of the nation requires proper harnessing which can be undertaken only by leaders of firm grit and unshakable faith in India's destiny. We should therefore insist upon having a programme of national activities of the rank and file and urge a revival of strong, national agitation irrespective of the pitch of sacrifice it may demand. The *Aj* expresses dissatisfaction with the decision of the Congress working committee regarding the question of Ministerships and remarks that the people should strongly protest against the hypocritical policy of the leaders, and that if they cannot bring the Congress back to the policy of non-cooperation, they should sever their connexion with its political work and devote themselves to outside constructive programme. In the existing circumstances the Congress will do well to support the view of the liberals and thereby remove artificiality in public life, and those who still hold to non-cooperation should establish a separate organization to propagate it and make the people the basis of all their activities. The *Vartman* remarks:—The decisions of the committee have not taken us a step further. It is regrettable that the Congress is gradually handing over its reins to arm-chair politicians. It is a retrograde step to enter into a compromise with the Responsivists and is calculated to injure the national cause.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an article on the communal tension the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—We think it our duty to emphasize that nobody should trade on the idea that the Muslim patience is inexhaustible. The Musalmans are quite capable of defending themselves against anybody and against any confederacy. We would appeal to all men of influence and intelligence to employ their position and talents to soothe the exacerbated communal feeling and exhort their less enlightened fellow-citizens to cultivate a spirit of toleration and mutual good-will. By no stretch of imagination can it be urged that India will attain *swaraj* in spite of the Hindu-Muslim tension as is wrongly supposed by our Hindu "nationalists" who are launching elaborate schemes for complete self-government in the near future. One Ambika Prasad Bajpai writing in the *Chitrakut Ashram* attributes the slow progress of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements to the paucity of capable workers and suggests that Hindu teachers should devote their summer vacations to the propagation of the *Shuddhi* movement in the villages. He says:—The well-being of a nation depends on its teachers. At the present moment when the Hindu religion is declining and the followers of other religions are busy planning its destruction it is the duty of Hindu teachers to rise equal to the occasion and devise means of infusing life into the moribund Hindu nation and making it strong enough to be able to defend itself from the attacks of the oppressors. The *Arya Mitra* invites the attention of the authorities to the "inciting and inflammatory" speech of Sufi Iqbal at Panipat on May 10, and says that these days mosques have become centres for showering poison on Hindus. Government should not treat with indifference such mad effusions of fanatical Muslims and should take adequate measures for the protection of the Hindus of Panipat. So long as the delivering of such mischievous speeches in mosques and majlises is not rendered impossible there can be no peace in the country. The paper also invites the attention of the Government to the appeal published in *Al Aman* (Delhi) by Nadir Ali Khan for the sacrifice of one crore of cows and says that this appeal is couched in extremely inciting language and cannot but wound the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. Cannot Government stop the publication of such venomous appeals? Referring to the same subject the

Vartman writes :—We are compelled to view the Government's policy with suspicion when we find that no action is taken by Government against certain Maulvis and Mullahs who indulge in speeches falling even ordinarily within the purview of law. This biased attitude of the Government is producing undesirable results. The *Mashriq* supports the view of Syed Abdullah Haroon that Government should utilize Aman Sabhas to check Hindu-Muslim trouble, as the real object of the Hindus and Sikhs is to provoke sympathetic action by frontier Muslims by means of these riots and thus to antagonise Government and Muslims and then to benefit by the weakening of either in the struggle that is bound to ensue. Government should not ignore communal strife as it is really aimed against its existence. In the course of an impassioned article under the headlines " the *Vartman's* fire-spitting : Trial of patience and self-respect of Muslims : The mischief of a mischievous Hindu" the *Medina* invites the attention of the Punjab Government to an article in the *Vartman* of Amritsar ridiculing Mahomed and his wives and others and observes :—If the bloody Kohat conflagration was the outcome of the plain-speaking of a wily Arya Samajist who in a pamphlet more filthy than himself put to a severe test the sentiments of the Muslims and thereby caused a breach of peace the Punjab Government ought to be aware that Amritsar also, which is only 30 or 32 miles from its headquarters, is about to be submerged in the flood of blood brought about by a most terrible disturbance inasmuch as an evil-natured and mischievous Arya Samajist of Amritsar is, by producing a most accursed specimen of journalism through the rag of a newspaper, maliciously busy in polluting the atmosphere of the Punjab and elsewhere. Is it the policy of the Punjab Government to goad the Muslims to break laws? If on finding the Government silent in respect of such articles the Muslims take the law into their own hands, the blame will lie either on the Government or the Hindu leaders and their community. The *Anis* congratulates its constituents on re-electing Sir Abdur Rahim to the Bengal Council and observes that if Muslims continue to display the same unity the world will have to acknowledge that the blood of Muslims has some value and that their corpses are not meant to be kicked like stones, but that Muslim blood still enjoys the same importance as when a complete city, a whole army and a vast cantonment could by the sacrifice of all its blood hardly atone for the blood of a single Muslim and believer, when a single drop of their blood demanded the blood of nations and countries, and when a single wound on their bodies humbled to the dust the pride of empires.

The Bengal detenus.

The jubilation of newspapers over the release of Mr. S. C. Bose, has given place to anxiety about his health and strong criticism of the Bengal Government for the delay in releasing him. The *Pratap* remarks :—We are not inclined to describe the order of Mr. Bose's release as generous. It is possible that the Governor of Bengal may have been actuated by noble feelings in setting him free, but what have we to do with this nobility of feeling when Mr. Bose is back amidst us in mere skeletons? The present state of Mr. Bose's health is the result of the heartlessness of the bureaucracy and of the inhuman treatment accorded to him by the authorities. Bengal is without a leader. Shall we be able to see that day when the various political parties will be organized into one homogeneous whole? Referring to the statement of Earl Winterton in the House of Commons that the release of the other Bengal detenus was not contemplated, the *Abhyudaya* remarks :—If Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's release had led any one to think that this signalized the end of injustice and was a prelude to the general release of all the detenus he should now give up his optimism and be convinced that there has been no change in the heart of the Government. The *Medina* writes :—The Bengal Government does not in any way deserve the thanks of Indians for the release of Mr. Bose. The hardships and sufferings of the Bengal detenus can be gauged from the effect which 31 months' internment has produced on the health of Mr. Bose. Will the Government not give proof of its reasonableness by releasing the other detenus also? The *Desh Bhagat* writes :—We cannot congratulate Government on the belated release of Mr. S. C. Bose when his health has probably been ruined for ever. Government has by endangering his life been guilty of a crime for which man-made laws provide no punishment. Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta is mistaken in talking of co-operation with Government simply because Mr. S. C. Bose has been released. Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Gandhi favoured co-operation with Government only when it displayed a change of heart and showed its readiness to respect Indian aspirations. Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta should first secure the release of all other detenus and it would then be

time to consider the question of co-operation. He should not prejudice the political claims of Indians by undue precipitancy.

The Kakori conspiracy case prisoners.

Newspapers continue to protest strongly against the refusal of the authorities to accord special treatment to Kakori case prisoners. The *Aj* says that although the prisoners were on hunger-strike for forty days, yet the provincial Government did not agree to accord them the same treatment as is accorded to the worst foreign criminals. No words are too strong in condemnation of such callousness and injustice. Has the Government any justification for its conduct? The *Desh Bhagat* urges Government to accord serious consideration to the demand of the Kakori prisoners who, it says, have gone on hunger-strike against the jail diet and the uncivilized treatment meted out to them and observes that it does not become any civilized Government that its helpless prisoners should give up their lives writhing in agony in this way. The *Oudh Akhbar* writes:—The selflessness and patriotism of these educated youths have been acknowledged by the learned Sessions Judge himself, and would it be too much to expect Sir William Marris, who opened his regimè with the release of political leaders, to issue orders for the better treatment of these misguided young men.

Indian States.

Commenting on the reports that "further humiliating terms have been imposed on the Nizam reducing him to a mere puppet" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Is he to take his trial on the milicious allegations made by certain malcontents in his state? Then what about the charges, made by responsible leaders of people like Lajpat Rai and others, of Government complicity in the Lahore riots and other disturbances in India? Will it be allowable to ask the Government of India to take its trial on the grave charge brought against it by the most saintly person in this country of being Satanic? The mendacious and malicious charges brought against the Nizam by those whom the harsh attitude of the Government towards its faithful ally has inspired with impudence pale into insignificance when compared to the insinuations made against the Government of India, not by malcontents but by leaders of public opinion in British India. There is terrible unrest in British India with all the horrible accompaniment of rioting, bloodshed, sedition and discontent. The *Haqiqat* complains that the Nizam has been forced to send his prince to England to provide a few more jobs for European office-hunters. The fact is that ousted from British India by growing competition and awakening public consciousness fresh fields and pastures new are being sought by the British job-seeker. Muslims now realize that English influence is now being established in Hyderabad through British officials. The *Desh Bhagat* protests against the Government of India's action in forcing the Nizam to send his sons to England for education and says that this following so soon in the wake of the affair of the Tikka Sahab of Nabha has revealed the secret that Government wants to give the heirs-apparent of ruling chiefs education of its own choosing and thus to place on their *gaddis* puppets which would always dance to its tune. In another article the same paper recapitulates the Maharaja of Kapurthala's "costly love affair" when he visited Spain last time and wonders whether there is no law to prevent his projected trip to Paris and thus to save the hard-earned money of his subjects from being frittered away in frivolities.

Political propaganda.

In the course of a strongly-worded editorial article the *Sudharak* remarks:—The cruel bureaucratic police of unfortunate India regards itself to be the master of the people. It is emboldened in its irresponsible career by the knowledge that its misdeeds are never taken notice of. It holds unchecked sway even in cities, not to speak of the villages. Even the meanest and the most insignificant police constable can easily dishonour any respectable Indian. Even under the very nose of the bureaucracy one comes across the heart-rending deeds of the myrmidons of the police. Indeed, British administration in India has now been replaced by police *raj*. Our soul trembles at the sight of the repetition of the Chengezian cruelties and barbarities before the civilized world in this twentieth century. We have read in histories several stories of meanness and cruelties, but witness them in this police *raj* alone. The United Provinces police has earned a greater notoriety than any other provincial police in these respects despite the praise lavished on it by the Inspector-General of Police in season and out of season. What misdeed is there in the world which the United Provinces police does not commit!

The Nagpur *satyagrah.*

The *Anand* disapproves of the *satyagrah* movement at Nagpur against the Arms Act and the Explosive Substances Act and says that the movement will subside after creating a commotion for a few days and will do more harm than good. The *Desh Bhagat* writes:—We congratulate Mr. Awari on his speech of May 13 in which he urged people to manufacture bombs and arms openly. In reality, it is the natural right of every person to manufacture and keep arms, and it is the British Government alone which has deprived Indians of this right and made them so weak and cowardly that it has always to bother about their defence. The "Armed *satyagarha*" of Nagpur will prove a panacea for India and every Indian nationalist should help to make it a success.

Bengal Jails Enquiry Committee's report.

Commenting on the Bengal Jails Enquiry Committee's report the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—It appears that the object underlying the appointment of the Bengal Jails Enquiry Committee was not so much the improvement of the condition of the prisoners as the strengthening of the jail administration and the overawing of the prisoners. Barring the recommendations regarding the reformative influences inside the jail and the after-care of the prisoners on release, the report is full of mischief. Little did we dream when the appointment of this committee was announced that instead of introducing reforms in the Bengal jails it would make reactionary recommendations.

Shivaji's tercentenary.

Commenting on the celebration of the tercentenary of Shivaji the *Mashriq* says:—The movement which was originally started against Englishmen has now been made a source of provocation to Muslims. Shivaji was not a saviour of the country and his services had no more weight than those of the anarchists of Bengal. Hindu leaders and the Hindu press having become convinced that they can in no way expel Englishmen from India have considered it proper to enslave the Muslims of India first. Thereafter Englishmen will themselves leave the country as Muslims alone were always ready to help them. We advise Muslims that they should neither help Englishmen nor oppose them and should not be provoked by the Hindu movement. The programme of annihilating Muslims is being acted upon at present in India. It will be decided by 1929 whether Englishmen realize the necessity of staying in India or not. Then the Muslims will have an opportunity of fighting a decisive political battle and of teaching a lesson to Dr. Moonje and men of his type.

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* urges that the proportion of Muslims in the Indian Civil Service should be one-third according to the Lucknow pact and a student of the Aligarh University should be nominated every year for the Indian Civil Service competitive examination held at Allahabad.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,

Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:

May 28, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 22 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 4, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

A number of papers regard the rupture of the Anglo-Soviet trade relations as a prelude to a war between England and Russia. The *Aj* says that the Conservative party and Cabinet in Britain appear to depend for their existence on hatred against Russia. The Conservative Cabinet was getting unpopular owing to its illiberal policy in regard to China and its activities to suppress trade unions and therefore it was thought imperative to raise a hue and cry against Russia. The action of the British Cabinet in respect of the raid on Arcos House has been unjustifiable. In a subsequent issue the paper says that Britain has broken off relations with Russia on very flimsy grounds. Hatred against the Bolshevik Government and terrible greed for territory have rendered the British Government blind to the consequences of such a policy. Unfortunate India, too, will be badly involved in these consequences. As a result of this open hostility of Britain against Russia the military expenditure of India, which is already heavy, will be further increased, and, in case a war breaks out between Russia and England, Indian troops will be utilized in it. It is our duty to protest strongly against such a policy of Britain. It is not yet too late for Britain to respect the dictates of justice and international etiquette and thereby avoid a conflict. It is time that we should plainly tell the British authorities that we are not prepared to support her in the maintenance of her domination and in the satisfaction of her Bolshevik hatred and retributive spirit. As a starving people we are unable to squander our men and money in upholding imperialism. Indian leaders should make such a declaration in time and explain to the people the evils of the international policy of British authorities and its disastrous consequences to India. The *Hindustani* opines that all Islamic countries will take the side of Russia, and the result of any war with that country will be disastrous for England. When France and Japan did not help England in the Chinese imbroglio it is idle to expect that she would receive any aid from them in a widespread Asiatic conflagration. India also is at present much more discontented than she was at the beginning of the War of 1914 and her help also would be very half-hearted and England should not hazard any rash steps. Exhorting Indians all over the country to render monetary aid to the medical mission to be sent by the All-India Congress Committee to China the *Najat* observes that the object of this mission is not merely to show sympathy with the Asiatics, but also to enable Indians themselves to heal the wounds inflicted by Indian soldiers on the Chinese and to make it clear to the world that the same India which becomes cowardly, impudent, and bloodthirsty at the instance of the British Government becomes most chivalrous, sympathetic, and humane when left to herself.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Arya Mittra* refers to the decision of the Punjab High Court upholding the sentence of death passed on Abdul Rashid and remarks: The matter does not end with the execution of Abdul Rashid. The threatening letters received by Dr. Moonje and other Hindu leaders confirm the belief that there was a conspiracy behind the murder of Swami Shradhanand, and make it abundantly clear that even now there is no dearth of assassins among the opponents of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements. We draw the attention of the Government towards this and request it to trace the conspiracy which is responsible for these threatening letters. The *Shankar* writes: If the bureaucracy with its high-paid officials cannot trace the senders of these threatening letters it has no right to carry on the administration of the country. The *Abhyudaya* says that Maulana Muhammad Ali has done irretrievable injury to the cause of Hindu-Muslim

unity by his Bhendi Bazar speech in which he exhorted the Muslims to convert all children born to Islam. The paper congratulates Dr. Moonje on having disobeyed the order under section 144 passed on him and remarks that these days the authorities are fully abusing the law. Of all the sections of the Criminal Procedure Code section 144 is the most misused one. By the application of this section the authorities want to gag everybody. The *Surya* condemns the sentence passed on the editor of the *Hindu Punch* as too severe, and complains that there is a large number of Muslim newspapers which leave nothing undone to promote racial hatred and which emit poison every day and yet their editors are hardly ever produced before law courts. It adds: Are Urdu journals never examined in the Vernacular department of the Government? Commenting on the reports that threatening letters are being sent by Hindus to Muslim leaders the *Medina* writes: Now every *sangathanist* wants to become an Abdul Rashid and is busy dangling the dagger which Malaviya and Moonje wanted to tie to the waists of Hindu women. We know that there is not a single Muslim in this world who will be cowed down by these threats. Muslims have been testing the strength of arms and the sharpness of the naked sword of the Hindus since the days of Muhammad Bin Kasim. Even if it be assumed for a moment that the worthy sons of mountain robbers like Shivaji have become prepared to kill Muslims the latter have nothing to fear because they have been taught by their Prophet that death is pre-ordained. We pray to God that even in this land of slaves Indian Muslims may get opportunities for martyrdom. Nothing can be a greater blessing for them than this. The *Oudh Akhbar* deplores that the Muslim leaders and press have not uttered a single word of condemnation against the action of that section or party of their community which sends threatening letters to Dr. Moonje and other Hindu leaders and writes: We invite the attention of the high officials of the Criminal Investigation department to this dangerous propaganda and ask them whether all their activities are to be confined to the shadowing of political workers? Is it not their duty to trace these miscreants and bring them to book? Will not a member of the Criminal Investigation department who receives such letters consider his life in danger? The Criminal Investigation department officials of other places in general, and of Delhi in particular, ought to strain every nerve to find out the culprits. The *Hamdam* holds that the *Rangila Rasul* being published in Urdu, their national language, is much more offensive to Indian Muslims than the *Vichitra Jiwan*, which has been written in the Nagri script rather unfamiliar to Muslims and urges that something should be done to reconcile the conflict between the two neighbouring High Courts in their judgments on these two books respectively. The *Hindustani* exhorts the Delhi officials to have regard for public sentiments and exercise great discretion in passing orders in connexion with the taking out of cow processions on the occasion of *Bakr-Id* at Delhi, and says that it is nothing but provocation on the part of Muslims to take out sacrificial cows through Hindu quarters. The Hindus can bear to sacrifice their own lives, but they cannot bear to see the knife being applied to the throats of cows before their very eyes.

Communal representation.

The resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on joint electorates continues to be severely criticized on communal lines. The *Shankar* remarks: Although the acceptance of the Muslim offer regarding joint electorates by the All-India Congress Committee demonstrates the magnanimity and the broad outlook of the Hindu members of the committee it cannot allay the existing communal tension in the country because Hindu-Muslim disturbances have not their origin in the system of separate electorates, but are fostered by a third party. The *Pratap* remarks: Although there is no harm in introducing reforms in the Frontier Province and Baluchistan it is not proper to mix up this question with that of joint electorates. It is extremely unjustifiable to stem the tide of nationalism by such restrictions as the redistribution of provinces and the introduction of reforms in certain provinces. We resent the spirit of bargaining that pervades the Muslim offer regarding joint electorates. Such a spirit never helps the cause of nation-building. The *Arya Mitra* protests against the decision of the All-India Congress Committee regarding the constitution of Sindh into a separate province and remarks: This decision has made good what little was left in the way of Muslim supremacy in Sindh. Already Muslim teachers preponderate in schools where they try to proselytize Hindu students. The district boards of Sindh are Muslim bodies manned and controlled by Muslims with the result that one of the boards has deputed forty Maulvis for the propagation of Islam

in its schools. And on the constitution of Sindh into a separate province the Councils will also be captured by the Muslims with the result that the ministerships and other offices will also go to them and the condition of the Hindus who are in a microscopic minority will be rendered still worse. In the course of the second instalment of its articles on the decision of the All-India Congress Committee regarding joint electorates the *Medina* writes: Taken as a whole the Bombay pact is very encouraging and useful and there could have been nothing better for Muslims if in its working they had not to deal with some communities which are not familiar even with the words fairness and toleration and in whom narrow-mindedness, encroaching on the rights of others and callousness, have become second nature. There are certain things behind the procedure of the All-India Congress Committee and the sequence of the various parts of the resolution which are not without danger for Muslims. If the Muslims do not try to remove certain defective and pernicious provisions the pact will not only cause grave injury to their interests, but will also prove prejudicial to the peace of the country. The approval of the resolution by Jayakar, Kelkar, and Moonje after its very principle had been opposed by the Hindu Mahasabha is not without significance. Our leaders should insist on the separation of Sindh and the inauguration of Reforms in the Frontier Province and Baluchistan as a condition precedent to the introduction of joint electorates. At the same time the proportion of Muslims in public services should be fixed and provision should be made to keep intact the existing Muslim majority in Bengal and the Punjab. The *Aziz-i-Hind* insists that Muslims stand to lose in abandoning separate representation and that inter-communal unity can never be established by joint electorates. Government may accept joint electorates, but it cannot be expected to subscribe to such hare-brained projects as that of the separation of Sindh, etc.

Bengal Jails Enquiry Committee's report,

The recommendations of the Bengal Jails Enquiry Committee, especially those relating to the treatment of political prisoners, have evoked vehement criticism. The *Leader* writes: The committee have betrayed their unsympathetic political bias by the way in which they have referred to the detenus. It is well known that these unfortunate persons have not been condemned by any judicial tribunal and yet have been deprived of their liberty for an indefinite period by an executive wholly irresponsible to the people. The *Himalayan Times* writes: The report displays a glaring perversity of views based on a travesty of facts. It is a spiteful terrible document full of deep-seated hatred... We need no greater proof than this to convince us as to how the Government is relentlessly practising a policy of persecution with ruthless energy in regard to the treatment of detenus and political prisoners. The shocking treatment prescribed by the committee for these helpless victims of bureaucratic wrath has shaken off our stupor. The cruelty of the whole affair glares before our eyes. Writing in the *Pratap* a correspondent under the *nom-de-plume* "A Jail Bird" remarks: A perusal of the report shows that the farce of appointing the enquiry committee was enacted with the object of making the condition of political prisoners unbearable and perpetrating inhuman atrocities on them. We can anticipate the result of this report. All the recommendations calculated to increase the sufferings of the political prisoners will be accepted and those relating to reforms in jail administration will be consigned to the wastepaper basket on the ground that any action on them will be premature. The *Aj* says that the report affords a good specimen of the mentality of the authorities who always hold themselves to be infallible. One cannot but doubt the humanity of the writers of the report who recommend the association of political prisoners with ordinary criminals during day-time, but their segregation in cells at night. If political prisoners are to be treated in jails like ordinary criminals despite the difference in the nature of their offences the sympathy of the country with the former will steadily increase, and in the same proportion will grow also the dissatisfaction of the people against the existing system of administration. The Bengal Government will have to give due weight to dictates of humanity and political expediency in considering the report. The *Medina* says that no well-wisher of the Government can help deploring the recommendations of the Jail Committee as they present a picture of hard-heartedness, cruelty, inequity, and vindictiveness. The *Haqiqat* characterises as inhuman the recommendations of the committee in regard to the detenus and wonders whether the god of "British justice" will accept the cruel suggestions of the committee even in regard to those who have not been convicted in any court of law and whom the Government dare not prosecute.

The Bengal detenus.

Newspapers of all shades of opinion continue to protest against the attitude of the Government with regard to the Bengal detenus. The *Leader* writes: The Government of India and His Majesty's Government are apparently content indefinitely to prolong an act of gross and intolerable injustice amounting to meanness and callousness. They should have thought that decency required either the release of the men or their trial in a court of law. The Government should consider the position from the point of view of common sense. Their sense of what is due to a powerless subject people may be weak. But it becomes imperialists such as they are to ask themselves whether their policy has not dragged their own prestige in the mire. The *Aj* says that by releasing Mr. S. C. Bose the Governor of Bengal has shown the courage of his convictions and advises His Excellency to win the heart of Bengal by setting free other detenus, too It is for him to show whether he is willing to grasp the hand of Mr. Sen Gupta extended for co-operation. He should strongly protest if pressure is exorted on him from London and Simla not to release the detenus. If the political detenus are not released even now the political atmosphere of Bengal is bound to become venomous. The *Najat* remarks that India will bear in mind that Government has spared no effort to wreck the health of Mr. Bose, and the memory of this wrong will grant her strength to wipe out the Bengal Ordinance and then those who have murdered justice will be lodged in Insein jail in place of those who are seeking justice. Would that Government were even now to realize that the Bengal Ordinance is an iniquity which leads to ruin. The *Hindustani* says that Indians cannot be thankful to the Bengal Government for the release of Mr. S. C. Bose who was interned without any justification and was set at liberty only when his condition became hopeless. It is a vain hope to expect the Government to release other detenus whom it regards as dangerous to its existence. It is possible that they may be released only when on account of undergoing the sufferings of jail their condition becomes like that of Mr. Bose and they are rendered quite unfit to serve the country.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an larticle, headed "Our Loyalty And Its Reward," the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that, although India poured forth her immeasurable resources in aid of the British Government in its hour of need, Great Britain treats Indians with scant courtesy, with undeserved harshness, with undue severity . . . . The people and the princes tolerate all sorts of iniquities, endure all kinds of indignities, bear patiently terrorism and frightfulness of the Jallianwalla Bagh and Kulkathi type. The *Aj* writes: A new mansion is being built in London for the Indian High Commissioner at a cost of about forty-five lakhs of rupees. India's money is wasted in this manner, and yet they say that they are protecting the God-given trust. In India money is not available for works of public utility. There is scarcity of water-supply in the hot weather in big cities and for want of funds it has been impossible to improve water-works. Poor men are being crushed under the weight of taxation and the authorities of this country are constructing a grand mansion in London to add to its beauty. This is how our money is being wasted. This is called good administration and the Reforms have given us the right that we cannot stop it. In a leading article the paper tries to make out that all the activities of the authorities in India are intended to benefit Britain, and that if India, too, benefits from them in some measure it is purely an accident. It points out that the exchange policy and the protection of British steel have clearly benefited British industries at the expense of India. With the establishment of Central Reserve Bank currency notes will gradually replace silver money. It is in this manner that the authorities act most arbitrarily and irresponsibly, and the legislature is so constituted that it cannot serve as a check on them. The *Abhyudaya* condemns, as highly sycophantic, the action of the Government of India in sending a representative to Australia to welcome the Duke of Connaught and offer him valuable presents and remarks. Does the Government of India possess such enormous wealth as cannot be spent in India herself? True it is that a concubine is always eager to make a display of her love. On the occasion of Maharana Pratap's birthday anniversary the paper eulogises the services rendered by him to the cause of Hinduism and nationalism and remarks: Mother India, which has been groaning under subjection for centuries, needs to-day the passion of a Pratap for her liberation. If our hearts are filled with as much patriotism and enthusiasm as was to be found in Maharana Pratap, and if we abhor oppression as much as he did our freedom will not be far off. Commenting

on the appointment of Sir A. C. Chatterji as President of the International Labour Conference at Geneva the *Haqiqat* writes: It is only by conferring such hollow distinctions that Indians are consoled. Like numberless other international conferences which are held at Geneva this conference is also an achievement of British diplomacy. The *Desh Bhagat* thinks that the agitation against the Trade Unions Bill might lead to a general strike which, helped by Russian gold, might overthrow the present Government in England. Indian leaders should show practical sympathy with British labour at this juncture.

Indian States.

Criticizing the attitude of the Government regarding Hyderabad, Nabha, and Indore the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: There must be some object underlying the new policy of humiliation and coercion of the princes, but it is beyond the conception of ordinary mortals. Princes are the staunchest supporters of British rule in India. To alienate their sympathies and to undermine their loyalty is bound to lead to disastrous consequences in case of a trial of strength with any foreign power. Statesmanship dictated a policy of conciliation rather than of humiliation and coercion. But the present British Cabinet appear to be bankrupt in far-seeing statesmanship. They are goading the people and princes to revolt and flouting public opinion in India in a very dangerous manner. Do the British people know the real state of affairs in British India? We believe not, or they would not allow the British Cabinet to embark on a suicidal policy which bodes good to no one and is fraught with disastrous consequences. Commenting on the deputation of Dr. Rushbrook Williams and Colonel Haksar to London for consulting British lawyers with regard to the legal status of the Indian princes under the existing treaties with the British Government the *Himalayan Times* writes: The past services of these worthies have conclusively shown them to be devoted protagonists of British Imperialism to which they will not hesitate to subordinate the interests of Indian States. . . . , ... The present arrogant attitude of the British Government towards Indian princes finds absolutely no justification in law. It is not law, but the lack of power to resist ill-treatment that is responsible for the domination of the Political department of the Government of India over the Indian States and their rulers. Referring to the contradiction of the report regarding strong action to be taken against the Nizam in case of his failure to agree to certain conditions the *Haqiqat* observes that since the time of Lord Reading *communiqués* of this type have been published every now and then, although the events transpiring afterwards expose clearly the real truth about them. There is no use issuing such contradictions when all the world knows what poisonous seed Lord Reading has sown against the Nizam and that Lord Irwin is also following in his footsteps. The *Najat* says that it is now clear that the British Government is bent on annihilating Hyderabad because that State was supporting Muslims whom Britain wanted to destroy. British pride of power cannot be humbled by resolutions, and Muslim public bodies should exert all their united strength to save their only state which is in reality their backbone.

Currency Commission.

In the course of an article, headed "Currency Disasters," the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The Britisher in this accursed land is not content with political exploitation which he has carried on for more than a century with incomparable success. What is the fruit of the late Currency Commission which is by far the most burning question in the commercial sphere of the country's life. We hear wails from all commercial institutions for whose benefit ostentatiously this measure of a "Reserve Bank Bill" is going to be trotted out which would eat into the very vitals of commercial stability. The proposals of the commission have enmeshed the currency system of the country in an inextricable and inexplicable net of unmeaning verbiage.

The Nagpur *satyagrah*.

Commenting on the Nagpur *satyagrah* the *Hamdam* heartily appreciates the nationalistic sentiments of Mr. Awari and is glad to find Muslim youths co-operating with the Hindus in the *satyagrah*, but opines that its continuance is by no means proper when the situation in the country is not favourable to it and the leaders far from giving any practical help fail even to extend their moral support to it.

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ALLAHABAD:
June 4, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
14 JUL 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 23 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 11, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

A number of papers are strongly criticizing British action in despatching warships to Egypt. The *Aj* writes:—The promise which Britain made to grant independence to Egypt is now being kept through warships. The stupid Egyptians do not understand that after allowing the British army to stay in their country they should also allow the British authorities to control their native army. They think that as they are independent they should have the control of their army. Can the independence got in gift be so comprehensive? The imperialistic British Government has now despatched three warships to teach the lesson of independence to Egypt. Who can say after this that Britain is not the champion of independence for weak nations? The *Abhyudaya* remarks:—Britain is at present intoxicated with the pride of power. The despatch of battleships is ordered over the most trifling affair. Whether it is China or Russia or Egypt she wants to drive them all with the same whip. And the beauty of all this is that the despatch of battleships is being justified in the interests of Egyptians themselves. The *Haqiqat* says that unless Britain consents to yield up her special powers in Egypt that country cannot have true independence and Egyptians cannot cease to hate Britishers. Britain is endangering her interests by pursuing a wrong policy. The *Aj* points out that the secret of success of the Chinese nationalists lies in the fact that their programme is based on the people and is meant to allow them to come into their own and deplores that the Indian agitation does not gain in strength simply because it ignores the masses and their needs and because the Indian leaders quarrel among themselves and leaving aside all constructive work depend entirely upon the Royal Commission for the political advancement of the country. The *Hamdam* appeals for volunteers and funds for the projected Indian Medical Mission to China and says that there should be no delay in its despatch so that the feeling against Indians created by the sending of Indian troops to Shanghai may be counteracted.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the insult offered to Arya Samaj women in the columns of the *Munadi* (Delhi), the *Aj* does not agree with the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi that Khwaja Hasan Nizami should be let off if he expresses regret and says that such an apology has no value. If the insulting report be false the publisher of the paper should be punished severely. Those who have no regard for the honour of mothers and sisters under the influence of communal hatred are not human beings, but beasts. The *Abhyudaya* also comments to the same effect. The *Abhaya* publishes an article by Swami Vicharanand Saraswati in which after describing the circumstances under which the worship of Ghazi Mian was instituted the writer exhorts the Hindus not to participate therein. He says that whereas the Hindus ought to have worshipped Maharaj Suhrid Deva, the slayer of Ghazi Masood, they are worshipping a Yavan (Muslim) devourer of cows. According to Hindu shastras, the individual who, giving up the worship of his revered gods, worships false gods goes to hell for millions of years. Hindus, wake up even now; open your eyes and behold. You worship the tombs and tazias of those very people who demolished the birth-place of your revered Ram, destroyed the idol and temple of Vishwanath, Somnath and of other gods and goddesses, erected mosques in their place, who are even now thirsting for your blood, who are destroyers of your religion, life and cows, who create disturbances on your auspicious occasions like Ramlila and Janamashtami and who dishonour your sisters and daughters. Fie on you, a thousand times. If you have the least love for your dear Hindu religion, you

should give up worshipping tombs and tazias and become the worshippers of mother India, mother Ganges, mother cow, Durga mata and Saraswati mata. In this lies your welfare and the welfare of your community. The *Medina* warns the Muslims that Hindus are trying to usurp trades and professions which are the monopoly of Muslims and says:—What is the duty of Muslims in these circumstances? They should encourage Muslim shopkeepers and tradesmen and open cloth and grain shops. They should also take to the business of goldsmiths and other professions which are a speciality of Hindus. There in no other way of remaining alive in India.

The *Bakr-Id.*

Newspapers generally are appealing to the people to do their best to avoid communal conflicts during the *Bakr-Id.* The *Pratap* refers to the precautionary measures adopted by the Government in connexion with the *Bakr-Id* and remarks:—The bureaucracy is inwardly rejoicing by placing before us an example of our barbarity, fanaticism, subjection and unfitness for Swaraj under the cover of the maintenance of law, order and administration. The *Mashriq* attributes the present increase in cow-sacrifice to the provocation caused to the Muslims by the Aryasamajist propaganda against it, but exhorts the Muslims to avoid cow-sacrifice as far as possible on the occasion of the next *Bakr-Id* in deference to the religious sentiments of the Hindu community. The *Hamdam* deplores the intolerance shown by both Hindus and Muslims on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* and appeals to the leaders to devise means to ease the situation. Muslims should make it a point to avoid hurting the feelings of their Hindu neighbours. Discussing the prospects of trouble on the occasion of the forthcoming *Bakr-Id*, the *Najat* says that Government ought to be ashamed of itself if in spite of its mighty organization it cannot forestall mischief-makers and prevent rioting instead of taking action only after a good deal of harm has been caused. If Government can close the stable door only after the horse has been stolen it frankly has no right to continue to rule over India. Indians everywhere should be on the alert to nip trouble in the bud and the polemics of the Punjab press and Malaviya and Moonje should be suspended for the nonce. The *Sada-i-Muslim* urges all Muslims to perform sacrifice and says that while the rich can sacrifice all sorts of animals the poor must needs sacrifice the larger ones, be they cows or other animals.

Muslim affairs.

The judgement of the Punjab High Court in the *Rangila Rasul* case has evoked a good deal of criticism in the Muslim Press. The *Najat* says that Muslims should settle with Government what they should do if it cannot suppress such offensive books as the *Rangila Rasul* and soothe their wounded feelings. The *Hamdam* regards as queer the arguments by which Justice Dalip Singh has arrived at the innocence of the publisher of the "*Rangila Rasul*" and commends Justice Dalal's judgement which has recognized the necessity for preserving the public peace. Government should take steps to rectify Justice Dalip Singh's ruling either by a full bench judgement in a future case of a similar nature or by an amendment of the law more carefully elucidating the object of section 153A. The *Sarfaraz* regards the *Rangila Rasul* as a most offensive book and is unable to reconcile the conflict between the judgements of the Lahore and Allahabad High Courts in similar cases and urges an amendment of section 153A to nullify the effect of the judgement of the former High Court. *Al Barid* contends that there can be no worse insult to a religion than an insult to its founder and that if attacks on deceased religious leaders are to be excluded from the purview of section 153A the object of the law to prevent communal hatred will be defeated.

Political propaganda.

The *Virsandesh* publishes a story in which a *Sannyasin* is made to bewail the present lot of India in the following words:—"My country, my heavenly country, my dear motherland, before the house of which elephants trumpetted once has today been converted into a desolate waste. That country in whose court beggars extended hands for alms has now become dependent upon others. Those who extended hands have now become the arbiters of its destinies. Its blood is being sucked through thousands of channels. What time is now left in its giving up its ghost? India, which was so prosperous once that it flooded the markets of other countries with her grain, now sees her dear children crying for grain in vain. Indians have today become mere skeletons." The

Sannyasin is represented as exhorting the people not to wear costly clothes or ornaments but to regard it as their duty to use them in relieving the miseries of the suffering, to break the fetters of subjection and even to sacrifice their life in the cause of religion. There is only one weapon by which they can shake the whole world, to say nothing of their enemies. Flames will come out of that weapon and destroy subjection. The *Shankar* refers to the conviction of the editors of the *Hindu Punch* and the *Bote Rang* of Calcutta and remarks :— The Indian bureaucracy is incapable of carrying on the administration of the country. It thinks that bravery consists in sending the editors of newspapers to jail and wants to maintain its authority over the people by this means. But Indian journalists also do not know what it is to deviate from the path of duty. "We will not bow down our heads even though we may be made to mount the scaffold. What ! if you hold the ropes in your hands : We are ready to sacrifice ourselves." In the course of an article appealing to the Sadhus to devote their influence and resources to the service of the country the *Vartman* says :— If these men come out with their flags India will cease to be a subject country and we shall no more witness such misery. The *Aj* writes :—The Government of India has prohibited the entry into this country of the literature of the anti-imperialistic League. It is possible only for a short time to govern a country autocratically by concealing truth, but this is not possible for ever. The worst literature of the imperialists can come into India. Propaganda on behalf of their League (miscalled the League of Nations) can be carried on most heartily in this country and monetary help can be rendered to it by the Government. Appreciations of Mussolini's frightful administration can be published in the newspapers, but the literature of the true League of Nations which works for the good of the oppressed nations by exposing the imperialists cannot enter this country. This is the liberty of India.

The Nagpur *Satyagraha.*

The more extremist papers have begun to support the Nagpur civil disobedience campaign. The *Aj* remarks that the terrible sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment passed on Mr. Manchersha Avari will make even those people sympathize with him who hold his activities to be improper and unsuitable. Mr. Avari's agitation cannot succeed as it was started before public opinion had been prepared for it. Nevertheless, one cannot withhold one's praise from him and his associates for the zeal displayed by them and the sufferings patiently undergone by them in the agitation. Mr. Avari's agitation may not conform to Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence, but there is no doubt that it is proper and constitutional to carry on such an agitation and be prepared to suffer its consequences for the removal of a grievance or for emancipation. The *Sainik* whole-heartedly supports the Nagpur *satyagraha* campaign and writes :—Let theorists and prudent persons say what they will, the *Sainik* bows its head at the feet of the heroism of Mr. Avari. The armed *satyagraha* of Nagpur is entirely commendable from the moral point of view. The Arms Act is illegal and sinful. It is an unpardonable sin to make people helpless and impotent. No self-respecting nation can bow down before such a sin. In this age of mean cowardice and apathy it is the moral virtues of brave men like Mr. Avari which are sustaining our dying mother. The *satyagraha* campaign should be continued even if there are thousands of failures. By repeatedly placing the ideal of *satyagraha* before the people we should remove their fear and hypnotism. We respectfully bow to those brave soldiers who are carrying on the campaign. We pray that as a result of hunger-strike Mr. Avari may not fall a victim to this satanic system of Government, but even if he dies his death will mean new life for the country. The *Sainik* prays that our non-violent civil disobedience campaign against the Government may continue, leading to incessant conflicts at some place or another and that leaving the habit of calculating gains and losses we may continue to learn the religion of dying. One Manohar Pant writing in the *Shakti* supports the Nagpur *satyagraha* and refers in eulogistic terms to the part played by Mr. Avari in this movement. He disagrees with Mr. Gandhi that the present atmosphere is unfavourable for *satyagraha* and says:—A favourable atmosphere does not always exist, but it is created. If the Nagpur *satyagraha* is suspended, what is there that will remind us of our duties towards the Bengal detenus after the release of Mr. S. C. Bose? If Shivaji's activities are praiseworthy, why should the great souls of the country view Mr. Avari's movement with indifference? Our leaders will do well to retire and not to stand in our way if they are unable to keep pace with us.

Bengal detenus.

Indian newspapers of all shades of opinion are strongly protesting against the remarks of Earl Winterton regarding the Bengal detenus. The *Leader* writes:—Earl Winterton's reply in the House of Commons to Mr. Lansbury's motion for adjournment was characterized by a spirit of arrogant reactionaryism, but nothing better was expected from the spokesman of the Government which believes neither in the principles of progress nor of liberty and whose faith in a policy of repression as a panacea for political ills is boundless. In the absence of any judicial finding against the detenus the assertion of Earl Winterton that they were "guilty up to the hilt" was adding insult to injury. It was unjust and unwarranted, and Indian public opinion absolutely refuses to accept the verdict of the executive in the matter based presumably on the reports of police informers and of secret inquiries which have often been found to be worthless. Those who are capable of taking a long view of things must feel that the Bengal policy is an extremely short-sighted one and only proclaims the utter bankruptcy of statesmanship of the present Government. The *Aj* says that it is impossible to reply to Earl Winterton's observations without feeling indignant. It may not be illegal to besmirch a man's honour in Parliament but surely such action is contrary to the dictates of gentlemanliness and etiquette. If the allegations made by the Under Secretary of State for India against Mr. S. C Bose had been given expression to by an individual outside Parliament he could have been got severely punished by a court of law. Lord Winterton is not content with making hundreds of youths rot in jails without justification and without trial but he is attacking their character too under the cover of Parliament. Is this western gentlemanliness? It is downright falsehood to say that the detenus cannot be brought to trial as it would endanger the life of witnesses. Not only the Kakori conspiracy case but several other similar cases in Calcutta itself were openly heard in law courts for prolonged periods without having any such disastrous consequences. Such excuses are made only when evidence is not available. The *Hamdam* says that it is cowardly on the part of Earl Winterton to take advantage of Parliamentary privilege to attack a man like Mr. S. C. Bose whose life is in danger and who cannot clear his reputation in court.

Communal representation.

In the course of an article headed "Duping Muslim Simpletons" the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—We fear the acceptance of the proposals of the Jinnah conference in an amended form by the All-India Congress Committee is a political manœuvre of a sinister kind which is meant to deprive the Muslims of the advantages of communal representation, the only means by which our political rights can escape being swamped by the greed of monopolists of political power. The Congress has been, except during the non-cooperation period, and is even now an organization which is predominantly controlled by the Hindus. Against the advantages of joint electorates secured to the Hindus, the All-India Congress Committee has conceded to the Muslims nothing of practical value. When electorates are common and common election takes place the Hindus, even if seats are reserved, will with the help of their power, prestige and wealth be able to get their Muslim underdogs elected by the Muslim electors. Thus voting will become a fairly prosperous trade, and we may be certain that the political *banias* of the Hindu community will ply it very briskly. The *Abhaya* says that the All-India Congress Committee has done grievous injury to Hindus by accepting the Muslim offer regarding joint electorates specially when it was aware of the oppressive treatment of the Muslims towards the Hindu minority in Sindh. The Congress too has become a tool in the hands of Muslim leaders. The pro-Muslim policy of the Congress is fatal to India. Such acts of the Congress make the Hindus lose their faith in it. The *Sadaqat* says that in view of the numerous safeguards provided in the recent Congress decision it is quite unnecessary for Muslims to insist on separate representation.

Indian States.

The *Abhyudaya* holds the action of the Chamber of Princes in sending a deputation to England to discuss with the British authorities the question of the position of Indian States in a free India as unwise and as indicative of the extent to which age-long servility can crush all independent thought. It says that it is an irony of fate that the Indian chiefs should rely on the help of Britain which always humiliated them, deprived them of their states and dethroned them on the most trifling pretexts as a reward of their staunch loyalty and have no faith in the Indian people who are never loth to raise a furious

agitation whenever the rights of the Indian chiefs are assailed. The paper advises the Chamber of Princes to carry on negotiations in the matter of the future position of the Indian States with the Congress instead of Britain. The *Oudh Punch* publishes a cartoon in which the Residency is depicted as throwing the bomb of spoliation at the castle of the Indian States and as keeping in reserve numerous shells representing trite objections. The *Medina* regards the attitude of the Government towards the Nizam as an extreme example of British despotism and says that the fourteen conditions imposed upon him are like fourteen naked swords to be used against a former ally. The paper recounts the services of the Nizam to the Muslims and says:—There is no mention of any charge against the Nizam and yet in the list of punishments a demonstration is made of all their satanic powers. Today the enemies of our religion and the adversaries who are over us are bent upon ruining our civilization, our greatness and our political existence. If Lord Irwin wants to signalize his administration by rendering Muslims helpless he should remember that this community will protect its honour to the end and this desire of his will not be fulfilled. It is time that the Muslims of India gave a practical proof of their faith and love. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Government of India tolerates the publication of baseless rumours damaging to the prestige of the Nizam and urges that it should not only punish the authors of such canards but should also publish a detailed *communiqué* to allay public apprehension.

Indian railways.

Referring to the death by suffocation of a Muslim woman in an overcrowded third class compartment of a railway train in Madras, the *Pratap* remarks:—What a tragedy! The railway department which squeezes lakhs of rupees is not blind. But what is the value of the lives of slaves? We recollect how the matter was discussed in Parliament and how Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, was moved to action when once a few white-skinned soldiers suffered from the effects of excessive heat in a railway train. An Indian woman had died in agony. Let us see whether the railway authorities even now refrain from huddling together third class passengers like beasts or not. The *Desh Bhagat* appeals to members of the Assembly to urge Government to appoint a committee to inquire into the maladministration and corruption prevailing in the railway department so that public suffering may be alleviated. Almost every railway official takes bribes from traders, and third class passengers are treated as worse than brutes. Racial discrimination is openly shown both as between European and Indian trade firms and European and Indian passengers.

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ALLAHABAD:

June 4, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
11 JUL 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 24 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 18, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

Muslim papers continue to protest vehemently against what they call Britain's invasion of Egypt's sovereign independence. The *Najat* says that Egypt cannot be free so long as Britain's inauspicious steps are there and it is a pity that the toy (Agreement of 1922) which the Egyptians had accepted has been broken very soon and the temporary peace of Egypt has been disturbed. This might lead to trouble throughout the Islamic world. The *Haqiqat* writes:—It now appears that the Anglo-Egyptian agreement is no more than a paper treaty. If Egypt had been free and strong to-day Lord Lloyd would not have dared to hold out threats of action. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* believes that the Egyptians are to-day inspired by the same sturdy spirit of independence which led them to raise the standard of revolt about five years ago and points out that in view of the adverse situation in China it would not be wise for Britain to court trouble in Egypt also. Referring to the British note to Egypt coupled with the despatch of warships, the *Bharat Jiwan* remarks:—Warships have been despatched with the object of enforcing compliance with the British note if the Egyptians did not voluntarily submit to it. This is an example of *Swaraj* received as a gift. And this is the type of *Swaraj* which Indian moderates aspire after. Although we are afraid that Egypt will have to yield before the British fleet and military prowess, we pray to the Almighty to confer such strength and courage on Egypt as may enable her to fight for her rights. The *Aj* says that the action of Great Britain in severing connexion with Russia is attributable not to the so-called Arcos House disclosures, but to the failure of the British policy in China brought about by the Russians. It says that it is the spirit of Dyerism which has made Great Britain unpopular in all the Eastern countries and shaken the foundations of the British Empire in the East.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

A number of Hindu newspapers urge the prosecution of Khwaja Hasan Nizami for publishing in his paper an indecent and false report defaming Hindu women and contend that he should not be let off merely with an expression of regret by him. The *Arya Musafir* complains that Khwaja Hasan Nizami is in the habit of publishing false news about the Arya Samaj and holds that he will not be reformed if he is let off cheap by offering an apology. He published a false report about a ladies' carriage in an Arya Samaj procession at Gwalior bearing an improper motto and even though contradicted repeated the same canard about the Arya procession at Delhi. He escaped through an apology when he had brought a false charge against Aryas of taking beef. It is idle to believe that a man of such experience and education as the Khwaja publishes such reports by mistake. His persistent acts are deliberate and need severer punishment. The *Abhaya* publishes notes by Pandit Atal Ram Shastri (a pseudonym) in the course of one of which he says that his comparative study of the Quran and the Vedic dharma has led him to the conclusion that a religious Muslim is as dangerous and harmful to the world as a religious Hindu is beneficial to it. He quotes verses from the Quran to show that they enjoin the Muslims to rob and kill infidels, and says that in view of such teachings it is nothing but folly to hope for unity with Muslims. In another note the writer says that these days Maulvis are enjoining Muslims to non-cooperate with Hindus. We look eagerly forward to the day when we shall have no dealings with the Muslims. We appeal to Hindus once to non-cooperate with them and thereby put an end to their daily wranglings. The paper publishes a Hindi translation

of some verses of the Quran by Pandit Vidyabrat of Dehra Dun who says that these verses go to show how partial and deceitful the Quranic god is. These verses of the Quran also make out that god is an ignorant, unjust and misleading being. This proves that the Quran is not a divine book. The *Krishna* (Pilibhit) urges pre-censorship of communal papers with a view to prevent the dissemination of undesirable literature as it is no good taking action after publication. The *Hamdam* protests against the inopportune demand of the Delhi Shuddhi Sabha for the discovery of the alleged conspiracy for the murder of Swami Shraddhanand when all police efforts have been unsuccessful and the person found guilty by the law has been condemned to death. It is to be hoped that His Excellency the Viceroy will not be influenced by this demand. The *Arya Mitra* opines that the action of the Muslims in appealing to the Privy Council to set aside the sentence of death passed on Abdul Rashid, the assassin of Swami Shraddhanand, will, instead of proving the innocence of Abdul Rashid, encourage other fanatics to commit similar misdeeds. In the course of an article severely criticizing the Government for not taking any action against Dr. Moonje for defying the orders of the District Magistrate of Surat under section 144, the *Medina* says :—The Government of Lord Irwin has become indifferent towards Muslims although the British Government in India owes its existence to their loyal and genuine services. Lord Irwin should ponder over historical facts and see whether the British Government was established through its own power or through the help of Muslims. How ungrateful does the Government prove itself when it is found to be paralysed in protecting the just rights of Indian Muslims simply because the Hindus are superior in numbers and wealth, possess a large number of newspapers and are vociferous. Government gives no credit to poor Mohammad Amin for obeying orders under section 144, but when mischievous persons like Malaviya and Dr. Moonje who started the unlawful movement of *Sangathan* spurn the section, the mighty British Government willingly pockets the affront. The Government scents revolution even in *Maulud Sharifs* of Muslims and merely on the reports of detectives of certain newspapers catches Muslims by the neck for delivering religious sermons in mosques, but it remains absolutely unconcerned when Hindus celebrate the anniversaries of a robber-chief like Shivaji and a tyrant, a rogue and a blood-thirsty person like Banda Bairagi and incite their co-religionists to kill and ruin Muslims. The Government is forced to release revolutionary Bengalis, but it does not even appoint a commission of inquiry after shedding the blood of innocent Muslims at Ponobalia. At present Government fears organization, wealth and clamour. Being overpowered by the growing high-handedness of Hindus it is ready to trample upon the sincerity, loyalty and political importance of Muslims. Do the Muslims even now believe that the British Government really sympathizes or can sympathize with them? The *Krishna* (Cawnpore) points out that prohibitory orders under section 144 against Dr. Moonje, who is the president of the Hindu Maha Sabha, really prejudice the interests of public peace by exacerbating public feelings. Dr. Moonje's speeches can never incite a breach of the peace. How is it then that he is so persistently pursued while no notice is taken of the grossly inflammatory utterances of Sir Abdur Rahim and other Muslim leaders? Dr. Moonje has really acted rightly in flouting the order of the Surat magistrate.

Political propaganda.

Referring to the execution of about 20 Russians by the Soviet Government in connexion with the assassination of a Soviet Minister, the *Abhyudaya* remarks :—India cannot but condemn the action of the Soviet Government in sending to the gallows 20 persons for the murder of an individual, but it is a wonder that the British Government should come out with a similar condemnation quite oblivious of its own misdeeds. Is Britain unaware of the number of executions ordered in India on the murder of one official? In Egypt the British Government created a pandemonium and huddled people to the gallows over the murder of one official. If England were to compare herself with Russia she would come to the inevitable conclusion that the latter was much more kind-hearted. The *Vartman* says that in view of their own misdeeds European nations have no right to condemn the Soviet Government for sentencing twenty anti-Bolsheviks to death. It is specially interesting to hear tales of this atrocity from the mouth of Britain which has dyed her iron hand with the innocent blood of hundreds of innocent persons in Egypt and India. The blood-stained earth of Jallianwala Bagh has not yet had time to lose its redness, yet tales of tyranny and oppression have begun to be recited. Such presumption ill-becomes Britain at any rate,

Even to-day hundreds of innocent Bengal detenus are rotting in jails. Parents continue to mourn for those misguided but enthusiastic young men who were recently hanged in the name of law and order. The men and women of the Punjab have not yet forgotten the martial law days when without any reason they were made victims of the bullets of white soldiers. Yet Britain does not seem to be ashamed of bragging. The *Fratap* remarks:—England returned Indians who consider it uncivilized to use indigenous cloth are undoubtedly the greatest enemies of the country. The glamour of novelty makes them blind towards the decline of Indian wealth and the decadence of Indian civilization resulting therefrom. It is the paramount duty of educated Indians to propagate Indian culture, dress, language and sentiments. An indiscriminate adoption of the Western mode of living and blind use of foreign articles is equivalent to committing suicide. The *Desh Bhagat* suspects that Mr. Patel is being feted in England so that he may induce his chief, Pandit Motilal Nehru, to accept the recommendations of the Statutory Commission which also has been announced before its time. The object is to win over the Indian public and to secure its cooperation in the event of a war with China or Russia. All patriots should, therefore, take immediate and concerted action to wrest the control of the Congress from Mr. Nehru and his Swaraj party. The *Haqiqat* says that Indians deserve to be treated as social lepers in Edinburgh because of their inferior and subject position in the Empire. They have really become dead to all sense of self-respect. Hindus and Muslims are being insulted in Edinburgh not because they are Hindus and Muslims, but because both are black Indians. Will they even now sink their differences and reply to this insult by liberating India? The *Desh Bhagat* states that Mr. Dange is determined to organize peasants and workers to overthrow the present British Government and appreciating his sentiments asks Government to note that the rigours of imprisonment cannot help Government to kill any one's feelings.

The *Bakr-Id.*

Referring to the article communicated by one Nadir Ali Khan to *Al Aman* in which he exhorted the Muslims to slaughter one crore of cows on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* especially as the cows are believed by the Hindus to contain 70 crores of deities, the *Mastana* remarks:—The Muslims are welcome to slaughter as many cows as they like, but they should bear in mind that *Barah Bhagwan* (Boar incarnation of God) is also one of the deities contained in the cow. Besides, if the Muslims are moved to sacrifice the cow simply because it is worshipped by the Hindus as a goddess, then they will have to sacrifice their mothers as well because the Hindus treat them also as goddesses. Referring to the precautionary measures adopted by the Government on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—We are grieved at the official arrangements because they are indicative of our downfall. Is it not a matter of shame for us that our festivals should be marked by mourning instead of festivities? We cannot conceive of a greater downfall than this that on the occasion of our festivals, marriage celebrations and such other festivities we should stand in need of the help of a third party? In a subsequent issue the paper ascribes the peaceful celebration of the *Bakr-Id* to the good arrangements made by the officials and to the fact that the Hindus and the Muslims are now tired of communal riots and says that it is now quite clear that if Government wills it can avert a disturbance. If it had acted with the same zeal, energy and fervour in past years those riots which dyed the land of India with human blood would not have been witnessed.

Bengal detenus.

The *Pratap* refers to Mr. S. C. Bose's refutation of the charges levelled against the Bengal detenus by Earl Winterton and remarks:—Earl Winterton did not feel any shame in making false statements in Parliament. It is nothing but political dishonesty to associate the Bengal detenus with the murders of Mr. Day and the postmaster of Sankritola when the assassins in both the cases have already been tried and sentenced. The reasons advanced by Earl Winterton for not trying the Bengal detenus in an open law court are untenable. But what does he care for this, for his sole object is to serve his selfish ends by hook or crook. The *Surya* remarks that Earl Winterton's speech in Parliament in support of the repressive policy adopted by the Bengal Government was unconvincing and that his plea that the lives of the jurors and the witnesses would be endangered if the Bengal detenus were brought to trial was a baseless subterfuge unbecoming for any Government. This excuse was put forward to delude Indians into the belief that Government had ample proofs, but it is now impossible to

dupe them in this fashion. The *Sainik* says that Earl Winterton's charges against the Bengal detenus were cowardly, mean and false.

Home Member-designate.

The *Pioneer* warmly welcomes the selection of Mr. James Crerar to succeed Sir Alexander Muddiman as Home Member and thinks that his ripe judgement and judicious habit of expression should be of the utmost value in bringing the controversial problems in connexion with the Reforms Commission into focus. The *Leader* writes:—Probably no worse choice could have been made from the Indian point of view. Mr. Crerar's appointment shows to what extent the policy of Government is dominated by reactionary influences. Mr. Crerar, like many other members of the heaven-born service, is a believer in the narrow cult of efficiency. The claims of justice and freedom, the demand for larger opportunities of self-expression and training in the art of self-government must be subordinated to it. This is the significance of the appointment which shows which way the wind is blowing. The *Aj* regards Mr. Crerar as a rabid type of imperialist and an opponent of India's advancement and says that it is just possible that on Sir Basil Blackett's retirement Sir Hilton-Young may be appointed as Finance Member. Sir Hilton is a famous economist of England, but his special qualification for the post is that he was the president of the commission which recommended an increase in the exchange ratio and thereby strangulated the Indian tenantry and offered facilities to foreign traders. No greater qualification is required for the post of an Indian Finance Member than this. These appointments show what lies in store for India. The high State offices have become the heritage of foreigners and as such it is useless to be sorry for them.

Indian textile industry.

Referring to the report that the Bombay Mill-owners' Association have decided upon starting a propaganda and organizing an agitation against the rejection by the Government of India of the main recommendation of the Tariff Board, the *Leader* writes:—We have nothing to say against this decision of the Association, but it ought also to address itself seriously to the task of bringing about reform in management, economies in and diversification of production and better exploitation of markets as suggested by the Tariff Board. Let them agitate as much as they like, but they should regard the putting of their house in order as the more important part of their work. The Bombay mills in particular stand in need of internal improvement. If the mill-owners do not take steps to effect the suggested improvement and merely confine themselves to agitation they may not get that amount of public support for their demand which they probably expect. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The mill-owners of Bombay are just having their eyes opened to the political features of the Government and find that it has not played fair. By appointing the Tariff Board the Government accepted the necessity for protective measures if, on inquiry, the Tariff Board should find for it. The Tariff Board was constituted as an impartial tribunal to pronounce on the claims made by the textile industry, and now that it has pronounced its verdict the Government cannot repudiate its findings. Commenting on the Government of India's resolution on the report of the Tariff Board rejecting the majority of its recommendations, the *Pratap* remarks:—Even to-day the Government is not willing to help in the manufacture of higher counts despite the recommendations of the Tariff Board and thereby expiate the sin committed by it in the year 1894 by the imposition of a 5 per cent. excise duty on yarn of 20 or higher counts manufactured in Indian mills. Indeed it is idle to expect justice from the Government of India. It has been its constant policy to destroy our cloth industry. The *Aj* says that while the report of the Textile Tariff Board is disappointing the Government of India's resolution thereon is simply exasperating. It is inconceivable that a Government which professes to be civilized and to be solicitous for the well-being of India should be so indifferent to one of its most important industries. But everything is possible in the irresponsible Indian administration controlled by foreigners. The money spent in the inquiry by their board has resulted in a happy message being sent to Britain and Japan, though the Indian mill-owners may well wring their hands. This is good enough. Perhaps these things may teach them that their interests are not to be furthered by always supporting the bureaucracy and swearing by constitutional agitation.

The Nagpur *Satyagrah*.

Referring to the Nagpur *Satyagraha* the *Abhaya* says that the authorities have "commenced their naked dance". Arrests are being made one after another. We fully sympathize with the *Satyagraha*. We wish that youths should be ready from every corner of

the country to crush the face of the bureaucracy. Although the *Surya* ridicules the movement started by Mr. Avari at Nagpur with a view to secure the release of the political detenus in Bengal, it complains of the severity of sentence passed on him and attributes it to the statement of Mr. Gandhi, the high-priest of non-violence, that Mr. Avari's movement was not a non-violent one. Commenting on the sentence passed on Mr. Mancharsha Avari, the *Pratap* remarks:—We consider it beneath our dignity to pay attention to the invectives hurled at Mr. Avari by the magistrate, but the latter has betrayed thick-headedness by declaring Mr. Avari's movement to be violent. Mr. Avari never encouraged his followers to indulge in violence even in dream. If the police has distorted his speeches, then its reports are absolutely false. Every word of the statement made by him before the magistrate shows his fearlessness and idealism. Mr. Avari is a determined, irrepressible and brave patriot. It is possible that his movement may be crushed, but his efforts to kindle the fire of resistance in the hearts of Indians will be remembered till eternity.

The Patuakhali *Satyagrah.*

The *Vartman* publishes an appeal to the Hindus by the Secretary, Satyagraha Committee, Patuakhali, in the course of which he says:—Maddened by its failure, the Government is now bent on frightful repression and we think this is our last ordeal of fire. When the Government has accelerated its pace of repression it is our duty to strengthen our battery. This is only possible if there is a continuous stream of volunteers and money from every province and nook and corner of the country. Come forward and resolve that we shall frustrate the attempt of the bureaucracy to insult Hinduism.

Indian States.

Referring to the slapping by Mr. Taylor of certain Muslims in Indore who were accused of disobeying orders under section 144, the *Najat* says that such incidents are not surprising now that Muslims have lost all sense of honour, otherwise Mr. Taylor even with the armed might of the world at his back would not have dared to be guilty of such impertinence towards a follower of the Prophet. The *Mansur* publishes a poem in which the writer says that Muslims are being subjected to bloody oppressions in Indore and every Arya has now become a Raja in Indore. The powers that be want to wipe out even the name of Islam in Indore. The Aryas do what they choose and Muslims are being oppressed for no fault of theirs. Mosques are closed to Muslims and it is a crime in Indore to utter the name of God. The officials of Indore are arresting innocent persons and sending them to jail.

Music before mosques.

Referring to the remark said to have been made by Dr. Ansari that marriage processions had always passed before mosques with music and that it was only recently that they were being interfered with, the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—If Dr. Ansari has been correctly reported, we may point out for his edification and that of his Hindu audience that it is because the marriage processions of the Hindus have begun to be recently accompanied by mischievous and provocative music that the Muslims have only recently interfered with them. Let music be not played before mosques against established custom. Let it not be played provocatively. And, last of all, let it not be played when *namaz* is going on. If the playing of music before mosques is limited by these conditions, we believe there will be no trouble over it. It is not so much the music as the *sangathanist* provocation and mischief that accompanies it which annoys and exasperates Muslims.

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ALLAHABAD:
June 18, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
18 JUL 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 25 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JUNE 25, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

The Muslim Press expresses a feeling of humiliation at the submission of Egypt to the British terms which is however tempered by the hope that one day Egyptians will make bold to win their freedom. The *Hamdam* deplores the helplessness of Egypt against British might and her consequent submission to the continued control of her army by Britain but says that with the growing national consciousness among Egyptians the day is not far off when they will strain every nerve to exchange their present make-believe independence for true freedom. The *Najat* condemns the belligerent attitude adopted by Lord Lloyd ever since his arrival in Egypt and the ultimate despatch of British warships to that country and commends the refusal of Egyptians to be intimidated by British browbeating. It is now impossible to stem the tide of freedom in Egypt and Britain can best preserve her prestige there by gradually evacuating the country. The time for warlike demonstrations is now gone as Egyptians have now developed the power of sacrifice and patriotism. Egyptians should prefer death to dishonour and should not allow the independence of their country to be compromised. The *Desh Bhagat* recalls the Serajevo murder which set all Europe ablaze in 1914 and writes:—It appears that Poland has been entrapped into the claws of British statesmen through Signor Mussolini and that the Warsaw murder has probably been planned to help Britain's design of forcing Russia into war. It believes the Russian statement about British complicity in the murder and says that Britain would be mostly responsible for the next world war. It is a pity that European mammon worship will once more drench the earth in blood. Alas, the Indian nationalists are hopelessly disorganized otherwise they could have taught a lesson to tyrannical powers by helping oppressed nationalities.

The *Rangila Rasul* case.

Muslim opinion against Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's judgement in the *Rangila Rasul* case is gaining in volume and intensity and the demand for an amendment of section 153A, Indian Penal Code, is becoming insistent. Sir Malcolm Hailey's reply to the Muslim deputation has, however, assuaged feeling to some extent. The *Najat* observes that the indifference with which Government has treated Muslim protests regarding Hyderabad and Egypt and the *Rangila Rasul* shows that the Muslim voice has no strength at its back which alone can command respect. Rajpal, the publisher of such a profane book as the *Rangila Rasul*, has been acquitted after conviction and the court of (Justice) Dalip Singh has announced as a further reward that such people can freely publish such books as the law provides no penalty for them. Muslims should for once unite and convince Government that their protests are not meant only to be spurned. Muslims cannot live contentedly in a country in which their Prophet is openly attacked in such books as the *Rangila Rasul* and Government encourages their publication with the might of its law. Muslims will have to answer one day before God. The *Medina* characterizes Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's judgement as a wonder of the age and says:—We hope that the Punjab Muslims will expose every superficial argument adduced in the judgement and will show to the Government that the author of such a blasphemous book after sprinkling salt over the wounded hearts of Muslims is exposing the law and justice of the Government to ridicule. The Punjab High Court has dealt such a heavy blow at sections of the Indian Penal Code that its very marrow has been shattered. The reply which Sir Malcolm Hailey has given to the Muslim deputation is most

disappointing and shows what a wrong view His Excellency takes regarding the preservation of law and order. Today every Muslim child in India is restless and agitated over this judgement of Kunwar Dalip Singh because the unrestrained pen of the High Court has destroyed the sanctity of the Prophet and has revealed the helplessness of the law. It is to be hoped that irrespective of Government aid, and relying on their own strength of arms, the Punjab Muslims will thoroughly expose the obvious partiality of this judgement and will show to the world that the criminal law of the Indian Government is powerless to protect religion. Referring to Sir Malcolm Hailey's reply to the Muslim deputation in connexion with the judgement the paper writes :—It is to be seen how His Excellency the Governor fulfils his promise. Now Muslims are not faced with the question of the *Rangila Rasul* only, they have also to see how they can stop such irritating publications in future. Muslims of the Punjab should consider it a sin to eat and sleep until they are able to protect the honour of their Prophet. It will also be desirable to hold an impartial inquiry into the judgement of Kunwar Dalip Singh. In a subsequent article the paper congratulates the editor and printer of the *Muslim Outlook* on their trial for the criticism of the judgement of Mr. Justice Dalip Singh and says : —It is a blessed day for every true Muslim when he is involved in trial by foreigners for proclaiming the truth and serving Islam. The régime of Sir Malcolm Hailey has proved so unhappy and unfortunate for Muslims that the *Muslim Outlook* could not possibly escape its wrath. The Punjab Government has sought to administer a balm to wounded hearts by instituting a case against the only English paper of Muslims. Proofs are constantly forthcoming in support of our assertion that the Government of India is becoming indifferent towards the protection of the religious sentiments and civic rights of Muslims and that the clamour and fury of Sangathanists has made it deaf to the call of justice. The *Mashriq* regrets that Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's ruling has left writers free to revile religious personalities. *Al Adl* fears that if Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's ruling is allowed to stand communal conflict will lead to anarchy in the country. *Al Bashir* asks for an amendment of the law and says that it is a pity that Government did not dry up this stream of vilification at its very fount by proscribing the *Satyartha Prakash*. The *Haqiqat* thanks Sir Malcolm Hailey for his sympathetic attitude towards the grievances of Muslims regarding the *Rangila Rasul* and urges that something must be done to stop such inflammatory publications. The *Hamdam* is satisfied with Sir Malcolm Hailey's reply to the Muslim deputation and wants the Punjab Government to devise means to impress on law courts in that province the real object of section 153A.

The *Baqr-Id*.

Commenting on the official version of the Dinapur riot the *Abhyudaya* remarks :—We have become so distrustful of official reports that we do not feel inclined to accept them word for word. The official version of the Dinapur riot is in keeping with the traditional policy of the Government to put the entire blame on Indians where they come in conflict with the authorities and on the Hindus when the Hindus and the Muslims are concerned. We wish that the Congress or some other national organization should hold an inquiry into the matter and submit an impartial report. The *Aj* says that if the official version regarding the cause of the riot be true every Hindu will have to express regret at the excitability of the local Hindus. The excitement displayed by Hindus at the sacrifice of a cow by a Muslim in his house especially when they themselves make use of impure foreign sugar in their religious rites was quite out of place and what is most deplorable is the fact that while one Muslim sacrificed a cow another innocent Muslim was assaulted for it. The paper refers to the attempts at Benares and Gurdaspur on the occasion of the *Baqr-Id* to wound the religious susceptibilities of Hindus by throwing limbs of slaughtered calves into their temples or quarters and urges the police to get the delinquents concerned adequately punished. If in tracing communal offenders they were to show even one-fourth of the zeal which they display in suppressing imaginary political offences communal mischievousness would be greatly reduced. In the course of an editorial note on the disturbance at Dinapur and certain incidents connected with the *Baqr-Id* at some other places the *Medina* writes :—The reports from Dinapur have proved very disquieting and show that the high-handedness of Hindus has exceeded all bounds. The Sangathanist stalwarts demonstrated their barbarism and by dyeing their hands with the innocent blood of an old woman roused the satanic spirit of Malaviya Sangathan. At Nakewa in the Basti district a satanic band of Hindus attacked Muslim houses and hampered sacrifice. Notwithstanding

this, the magistrate arrested Muslims and had the sacrificial flesh buried through *chamars*. This desecration of the sacrificial flesh deserves commendation in the régime of Sir William Marris. It is reported that Muslims were attacked at Deoband and Sikandrabad also. Will the Government of India treat these incidents with indifference and in spite of successive proofs of the high-handedness of Hindus apply the dagger of justice to the innocent throats of Muslims? The *Sada-i-Muslim* complains of the action of the Muslim district magistrate of Basti in arresting Muslims at village Nakewa for sacrificing a cow in a closed house simply because cow-sacrifice had not been performed there previously. The Hindus who had collected and assaulted Muslims there were allowed to go scot-free. The local Government should look into this matter and the Muslim right of cow-sacrifice in privacy should be universally recognized and this foolish talk of precedent should cease once for all. While congratulating the Delhi authorities on preserving the public peace during the *Baqr-Id* by their adequate arrangements, the *Hamdam* says that they have not eliminated the sources of communal tension, but rather added to them by closing the Hauz Qazi and Gali Batashan to sacrificial cows against long-established precedent. The *Haqiqat* deplores the persistent refusal of the Punjab Government to allow cow-sacrifice at Panipat and contends that it has no right to interfere with the religious freedom of any community. The Hindus are not fair in demanding that cow-sacrifice should be stopped in return for their discontinuing music before mosques. The former is a religious duty with the Muslims which the latter is not with the Hindus.

Political propaganda.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* commends the civil disobedience campaign at Madura and Nagpur and writes:—Our hope lies in this occasional outburst of sacrifice. It shows that the ground is not fallow and that the soil is fertile enough for the production of more Gandhis—younger and more vigorous. We want such demonstration farms of Indian patriotism in every province: as yet only the Central Provinces and Madras possess it. The *Sainik* calls attention to the part played by students in the Chinese revolution and emphasizes the need of organizing young men of India and enlisting them in the battle for the freedom of their motherland. The *Aj* refers to the various stages of the nationalist agitation in China and say that its present success lies in enlisting the support of peasants and workers. The same path will have to be followed in India too. There has been armed revolution in China, but in India this is neither possible nor desirable. However, the Indian revolution like the Chinese revolution will have to be worked up from the bottom of the society. Indian peasants and workers will have to be organized to ensure success in the nationalist agitation. Referring to the report published in the *New Statesman* (London) that the missing document in connexion with which the Russian legation was raided was the Indian chapter in the official war book which dealt with the ways of suppressing rebellion in India the paper says that this should be of interest to those Indians who dream of getting *Swaraj* by pleasing their rulers. The fact that this scheme was prepared by the British war department shows that the reins of government in India are held not by the Secretary of State or the Government of India, but by British generals. Even God cannot grant success to constitutional agitation when rulers far from governing people according to their wishes secretly plan schemes to suppress disturbances. The *Shankar* attributes the existing miseries and sufferings of humanity to the Parliamentary system of administration which it says is a consolidated power under the shelter of which a few plutocrats perpetrate arbitrary atrocities upon the toiling masses and which cannot be as easily overthrown as absolute monarchy. In the course of an article vehemently criticizing Sir Michael O'Dwyer's remark that the present communal disturbances are due to the inauguration of Reforms the *Medina* writes:—To throw the entire responsibility for the disturbances on the Reforms is a reprehensible attempt at concealing the faults of the Government which is bound to prove its ruin in future. So far as we think it was the Government which, on becoming afraid of the non-cooperation movement, sowed the seed of disturbances. The policy and methods which the Government of India and Lord Reading adopted for crushing the movement are largely responsible for the present disturbances. While Hindu leaders were warned against Afghan and Persian peril some arm-chair Muslim leaders were warned that the Hindu majority would ruin the Muslims. Such is the work of the Government and the entire responsibility for these disturbances, therefore, lies on it. The *Sarfaraz* condemns the aerial bombing

of the Mohmand country as barbarous and cruel as it involves the slaughter of the innocent along with the guilty and such a procedure can never be countenanced by any one at all influenced by the quality of human sympathy. What was said of the bombing expeditions of German aeroplanes into Britain during the Great War is too recent to have faded out of public memory. Terrorism may overawe people but cannot win their hearts.

Reforms.

In the course of a long letter to the *Pioneer* on the Statutory Commission Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru writes:—I sincerely trust that there is no truth whatever in the rumour which is daily gaining strength that it is proposed to exclude Indians from the commission. An exclusively Parliamentary commission with no Indian element in it can make no appeal to any section of Indian opinion and it must start on its work with the very serious handicap that it will not carry with it Indian confidence and support. I cannot help feeling that if the Central Legislature and the Local Legislatures are consulted they could furnish a list of 25 men, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis out of whom the Government should not find it difficult to make their selection . . . If the commission is to present a scheme of a more or less durable character it must be allowed to study and report upon the possibilities of the amendment of the constitution of the Central Government and its relations to the Secretary of State on the one hand and the provincial Governments on the other. The *Leader* supports the views of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and writes:—We think that unless the Indian point of view is adequately represented on the commission it will arouse a great deal of opposition in the country and that it would be a serious mistake to exclude Indians from it or to appoint only one Indian, however respected and eminent he may be, as an eye-wash. What is essential is that the commission should be so constituted as to make Indians feel that their point of view will be properly represented on it and that its terms of reference should be wide and comprehensive. The *Abhyudaya* writes:—It is not unlikely that the Statutory Commission may be exclusively Parliamentary denuded of Indian element and if the rumour regarding the appointment of Lord Reading as the chairman of the commission is well-founded we must bid good-bye to all hopes of deriving any benefit from it. We are inclined to think that the next instalment of Reforms will be no improvement upon its predecessor.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Abhyudaya* publishes an article communicated by Mr. K. P. Dikshit in the course of which he exhorts Hindus to cultivate physical strength and remarks:—If any one wants to protect himself and his honour he will have to use arms and *lathis*. It is equally necessary to impart physical training to Hindu girls. They should also be trained in handling daggers and knives. As soon as they are strong enough to use a dagger no one will dare to look at them with an evil eye to say nothing of abducting them or outraging their modesty. The *Anand* writes:—A new party is being organized among Muslims which after fully co-operating with the bureaucracy will work for crushing Hindus. The Muslims have thought it proper to serve their selfish ends by propitiating the British. They have always stood in the way of every national movement with the honourable exception of the non-cooperation movement which was allied with the Khilafat movement. Hindus should now realize that they cannot count upon Muslim cooperation in launching out a national movement. On the other hand they should guard against any mischief being wrought by them. It is time that Hindus of all sections and of all shades of political opinion should unite and strive to discomfit both the Muslims and the bureaucracy. The *Zarif* complains that the *Swaraj* (Delhi) of May 22 contains a cartoon with offensive couplets and says:—To incite Sikhs to violate the chastity of Muslim women is really to provoke widespread bloodshed. The *Akhbar-i-Ittihadul Islam* of May 13, 1927, reproduces from the local *Malang* a Punjabi poem in which there is incitement to hold the sharp sword in the hand and to break the heads of tyrannical Muslims. Government should take immediate notice of these. The *Najat* says that Muslims in the Punjab need not be afraid of the Hindu movement to effect an economic boycott of them as it will really do them good by rousing them from their torpor. They should keep quiet just now but once the Hindus begin to act they should manfully face them.

The Nagpur *Satyagraha.*

The *Jain Path Pradarshak* publishes in its editorial columns a communicated article in which the writer refers in commendatory terms to the written statement filed by Manchersha Avari in the case against him and says that it is characterized by gravity

and truthfulness. The correspondent prays that every Indian home may produce such heroic souls and says that it is the duty of every public worker to ponder over Mr. Avari's statement and decide whether or not it is advisable to court imprisonment by violating the provisions of the Arms Act, when non-cooperation also results in imprisonment, and thereby create greater awakening in the country. A correspondent writing to the *Pratap* under the pseudonym "Balravi" refers in eulogistic terms to the part played by Avari in conducting the Nagpur *Satyagraha* movement and says :—If Mr. Avari dies in jail as a result of hunger-strike India will no doubt be a loser but discontent will increase in the country. If McSwiney could set Ireland ablaze surely Mr. Avari's soul will cause a conflagration in India tomorrow if not today. The *Hindi Kesari* says that the sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment passed on Mr. Avari is simply terrible and out of all proportion to the offence committed by him. However, Mr. Avari was not well advised in starting this movement to secure the release of the Bengal detenus, especially when *Satyagraha* was not started in Bengal itself for the purpose.

Bengal detenus.

Commenting on the Indian debate in Parliament regarding the Bengal detenus the *Aj* writes :—So long as personal liberty is so unsafe in this country it is impossible for any Indian patriot to give thought to the question of Reforms and Royal Commissions. So long as the lawless law which deprives people of liberty even without trial continues to disgrace the statute-book in this country it is not only improper but also insulting to talk of working the Reforms. Public opinion as expressed in legislative bodies is repeatedly flouted by the authorities and yet Lord Winterton says that the legislative bodies exercise an influence over the administration which was not even conceived of at the time of the inauguration of the Reforms. This is how truth is perverted and falsehood is made to appear to be the truth. Such things cannot but bring the day nearer when Indians firmly holding to non-violence will refuse to pay taxes and to cooperate with the irresponsible bureaucracy. Then the British public will come to know how the Indian authorities have been duping it all along regarding India. But so long as India does not practise non-cooperation of the said character she will continue to hear such debates and wring her hands in despair.

Patuakhali *Satyagraha*.

One Nishkantakji "Visharad" writing in the *Sudharak* refers to the threatening letters received by certain Hindu leaders of the Patuakhali *Satyagraha* movement and remarks ;—The report of the receipt of these threatening letters painfully reminds one of the weakness of the Hindus, of the conduct of the Bengal Government and of the intolerance and brutality of the Muslims. We draw the attention of the Bengal Government towards the danger of the enactment of bloody scenes by Muslim hooligans in future and warn the Muslims that the satanic deeds of Aurangzeb cannot be successfully repeated in this twentieth century. Tyranny stimulates religious fervour and if through the good fortune of the Hindus the mosque and the river of Patuakhali become red with their blood then the children of Islam should know that one drop of a martyr's blood will produce such a fire as will consume all the mosques.

The Indian police.

Swami Satyadeva writing in the *Aj* says that his experience of the Indian police has impressed upon him that its moral degradation has reached a very deplorable level and that innocent people suffer grievous wrongs at its hands. In 1923 the Indian police made a false report against him to the British Government that he had received money from Bolsheviks. It made several other similar charges against him in order to make him out to be a very dangerous character. Now that a passport has been granted to him by the Punjab Government he will go to England and expose the doings of Indian police before the British public and the Secretary of State for India. On June 8 he was very clumsily shadowed by a detective at Cawnpore. He concludes :—Now I am engaged only in the work of Hindu *Sangathan* and suffer badly from eye troubles and yet detectives are busy in misleading the Government. How long is this drama to be enacted? In view of the weakness and worthlessness of the Indian police it is plain that this edifice must topple down soon. The Indian Government should set its house in order, otherwise its farce of administration cannot be carried on for long with the support of such rotten and worthless police.

The *Bharat Dharma* vigorously opposes the Children Protection Bill which has been scheduled for discussion in the next session of the Madras Legislative Council and remarks that if the Bill is passed into law a large number of Indian children is bound to be taken possession of by the Government on the charge of vagrancy and handed over to the Christian missionaries, with the result that on attaining majority they will find themselves completely denationalized and incapable of thinking in terms of their country and their religion. The paper adds that the Hindus have suffered more at the hands of the Christian missionaries who receive encouragement from the Government than at the hands of the Muslim proselytizers.

The Children Prctection Bill.

Al Bashir says that the Hindus are really weakening Muslims by provoking them into riots over music before mosques and if the latter continue to yield to provocation they will be gradually reduced to the state of their co-religionists in Spain. Wisdom therefore lies in avoiding violence and in utilizing communal enthusiasm for organization work.

Music before mosques.

The *Farishta* has a contributed article in which the writer complains about the paucity of Muslim clerks in the office of the Accountant-General, Central Revenues, and regrets that in spite of the instructions of the Home Department of the Government of India no Muslims were appointed to the recent vacancies in that office.

Muslim affairs.

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ALLAHABAD:
June 25, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 26 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 2, 1927.

The *Rangila Rasul* case.

The action taken by the Punjab High Court against the *Muslim Outlook* has evoked bitter and angry protests in the Muslim Press and has greatly intensified the agitation regarding the *Rangila Rasul* case. The Hindu Press, on the other hand, strongly supports the High Court's decision. The *Leader* writes:—We do not know if Sir Malcolm Hailey realizes that he committed a constitutional impropriety and a tactical blunder in receiving the Muslim deputation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* judgement and in expressing his disapproval of it and his view of the law which was calculated to prejudice the trial of the *Vartman* case. His object was a laudable one, namely, to reassure the Muslims that if the law was found to be defective he would take steps to have it amended. If all Muslims were reasonable and fairminded they would have been satisfied with the assurance given. But His Excellency forgot the fanatics, and that it is never safe to parley with fanaticism. These have taken advantage of his statement and probably read into it signs of weakness. The *Muslim Outlook* not content with continuing its attacks on Mr. Justice Dalip Singh, is running down the High Court itself. It is obvious that Government cannot and ought not to yield to wild threats and fanatical demands. If it does, it will strike at the root of law and order. At the same time any strong policy of repression at the present stage would be unwise. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We view with alarm the birth of a sinister agitation in Lahore which must have disastrous consequences unless curbed at once. To call to the followers of Allah to look with contempt on the Lahore High Court is a serious affair and the speeches at the Lahore meeting and the attitude of some of the leaders clearly show that their object is to bring about a crisis. And this they can easily do for they have the materials on hand. Sir Malcolm Hailey was playing with fire when he made that irresponsible speech in reply to the Muslim deputation. He honestly thought that his assurance might satisfy the community; he went very near contempt of court himself. It would, indeed, be a miracle if the feelings that have been roused among the Lahore Muslims should subside. An entire community has taken the High Court judgement as an affront to their God. They have the authority of the Governor of the Province that their grievance is right and that steps are being taken to amend the law. In the course of an article headed "Price of defending Prophet's honour" the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The imprisonment which Mr. D. S. Bukhary and Mr. Nur-ul-Haq have incurred owing to the enraged sensitiveness of the Punjab High Court on the point of honour of which it has its own conception is, in our opinion, the price which these valiant sons of Islam have paid for defending the honour of our Holy Prophet. The brave stand which they took in criticising Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip's judgement cannot but be characterised from the Muslim view-point as an undaunted and fearless way to redeem the prestige of the fair name of our Holy Prophet. The Punjab High Court, we fear, suffers from a wrong notion if it thinks that the punishment which it has given to Messrs. Bukhary and Nur-ul-Haq can damp their spirit or melt the mettle of which they are made . . . And the wonder of it all is that Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh acquitted Rajpal after "whole-heartedly" condemning him. Rajpal's acquittal after Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh's whole-hearted condemnation of his brand of authorship becomes, therefore, a mystery. It appears to have a thick veil over it. In trying to probe and unveil the mystery, we only suggest that Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh, in passing his judgement, has not only betrayed a shallow understanding of

section 153A of the Indian Penal Code, but has also proved quite unequal to the task of realizing how far the ridicule poured in the pages of the *Rangila Rasul* on our Holy Prophet can naturally excite hatred among Muslims against Rajpal and his community and to what extent his outrage on Prophet Mahomed's reputation can stir in Muslim hearts feelings of the deepest resentment. We Muslims, who are extremely offended and wounded by Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh's judgement, may well complain of it and address him in the words of the present writer's couplet meaning "Who expected from you that you would lay balm on our wound; we did not expect either that you would pour salt." The *Abhyudaya* is of opinion that the public meeting held by the Muslims of Lahore in which a resolution was passed exhorting the Muslim press to republish the offensive article for which the editor and the printer of the *Muslim Outlook* had been sentenced was unlawful and remarks:—We want to inquire of the Government what action it has taken against that meeting. As soon as that resolution was passed all the members of that meeting virtually became members of an unlawful assembly. Why did not the police disperse the meeting? The *Aj* says that every sensible Indian will support the decision of the Punjab High Court in the matter of the contempt of court committed by the *Muslim Outlook*. The *Medina* says that by acquitting the author of such a mischievous and blasphemous book as the *Rangila Rasul* Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh has not only exposed the bankruptcy of the law, but has also most severely pained the feelings of seven crores of His Majesty's subjects. He has also torn to shreds the declarations of the Kings of England and Queen Victoria about the protection of religion and regard for religious beliefs. Besides, the greatest mischief that will be wrought in the country by this illegal judgement of Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh will be the liberation of the unbridled tongue of every foul-mouthed Arya preacher to insult the Muslim Prophet. By his sightless judgement and blind attitude Justice Dalip Singh has established that he is not fit to occupy the bench of a court which is the final legal resort for about two crores of human beings. The lower courts had rightly convicted the author of the *Rangila Rasul* under section 153A, but Justice Dalip Singh has to-day exposed the helplessness of this section also and it has been proved that as the penal laws of Britain are unable to safeguard and protect religious sentiments, and as she cannot protect the honour of the Prophet, she has no right to demand loyalty from seven crores of Muslims. Probably every sensible and reasonable man will agree with the brave (*ghazi*) editor of the *Muslim Outlook* that a Judge like Justice Dalip Singh who at the time of elucidating the law and delivering his short-sighted judgement is totally oblivious of all the consequences that might ensue in the future from his action is not fit to occupy the Chair of Justice. Sir Malcolm Hailey has acknowledged the naked short-sightedness of this judgement. It was only advertising the contempt of court and taking revenge for honest criticism of a most detestable blunder to single out the editor of the *Muslim Outlook* for action. We know that the inexorable masters of power and prestige and law and order taking advantage of the weakness of Muslims, want to please the vociferous section of Hindus. In this connexion we want to tell the Punjab Government and the full bench of the Punjab High Court that by punishing the editor and publisher of the *Muslim Outlook* they have greatly narrowed the scope of the law, and if they regard the penal law of India as of world-wide application, we want to declare on our own behalf and on behalf of our zealous readers that we are all guilty of this offence and believe that for the true prestige, greatness and upholding of the law it is necessary that Kunwar Dalip Singh should immediately resign, and we also therefore repeat the word "resign." The *Hamdan* deplores the action of the Punjab High Court against the *Muslim Outlook* and says that its Judges cannot solve the present vexed problem by attaching greater importance to the prestige of their colleague than to that of the Prophet to whom four hundred million human beings own allegiance. The *Haqiqat* publishes a communicated article in which the writer urges that the law should be amended with a view to penalise literature which may provoke the feelings of any community. The amendment while keeping in view administrative difficulties and adequate punishment of the guilty persons should not be such as to lend itself to abuse by the authorities.

Reforms.

Referring to the rumour regarding the selection of General Smuts as the President of the forthcoming Royal Commission on Reforms the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—It seems to us that it will be a humiliation for the Indians with an ancient civilization and a splendid record even under British rule to show cause before a

Boer why larger political powers should not be vested in them. General Smuts, it must be recalled, has not been fair to Indians; he has a prejudice against them. The *Aj* says that the existing Legislative bodies do no good to the country; on the contrary they provide an opportunity to the bureaucracy to trample upon the opinion of elected members and display its arbitrariness and military strength. They also provide an opportunity to the Governors and the Governor General to override their decisions and demonstrate their terrible special powers. In them the true representatives of the people are repeatedly insulted by officials. If the next Statutory Commission recommends the abolition of these Legislative bodies and the vesting of all powers in the Governors to govern according to their will, we at least shall be satisfied with it. To-day the authorities play their game under the cover of these bodies. If the latter were abolished the authorities would have to come into the open field and we and the world would be able to see the black character of the white administration of India. But this is not likely to be done, for their object is to vex us, to harass us and to humiliate us before the world. For this reason they will not put an end to this sham. They govern us arbitrarily, with physical force, but do not want to say so. They want to proclaim their liberality, and for this purpose they have spread this net of hypocrisy. They will not remove it. The *Anand* says that the Royal Commission will not enjoy the confidence of the Indian nation and that its utility will be seriously questioned if Indian leaders are not represented on it. If the commission is to prove acceptable to the people at least half of its members should be Indians. The *Pratap* remarks:—Indian politicians have built great hopes on the Statutory Commission, but as long as the country does not become powerful the farce of commissions is futile. Therefore why should we not boldly dispel the lure of this mirage? The recording of our evidence by the Commission will in no way loosen the bonds of our slavery. Is it not therefore rational that the Indian National Congress should boycott the forthcoming Royal Commission? It is possible that mendicancy and flattery may enable us to secure a few concessions, but the self-respect of India cannot be satisfied with crumbs. It will, indeed, be impolitic to secure a few rights by suffering national humiliation. The *Haqiqat* though not expecting much from the forthcoming Statutory Commission urges Indians to extract the most from it by presenting a united front. They should give up all minor religious disputes and present a common national demand.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* says that history does not record a single instance in which a defeated nation has been treated worse than the Germans were treated by the Allies after the war. Their complete ruin was brought about by those who hold themselves to be the guardians of civilization and the chosen apostles of God, who joined the war in the name of the protection of the liberty of weaker nations, and who appealed to their subject nations for help in the war in the name of generosity. When signs of victory were visible all sentiments of liberty and generosity were forgotten and demands were openly made for the destruction of Germany for the satisfaction of demoniacal greed. What followed constitutes a disgrace to human nature. The terrible League of Nations of Imperialists took the place of generosity and the remaining weak nations were made victims of its mandates. Reviewing Lord Lytton's article on India in the *Daily Mirror* (London) the paper writes:—If Indians think that they will benefit by remaining within the British Empire, they should make a clear and definite pronouncement to this effect and show by their conduct that they want to remain within the British Empire. But if they consider that their interests are injured by remaining within the Empire, they should follow a course which would render British administration impossible in the country and would compel Englishmen to grant swaraj to it. This question can be decided by a sifting inquiry into the policy of the British Empire, firstly, in respect of India, and secondly, in respect of Asia. The *Vartman* calls upon young men to discard fear of death and come forward to preach communism and thereby emancipate the country and remove the sufferings of the crores of people who do not get full meals. The present unrest, continues the paper, is a spark of the fierce flame of communism which will set fire to capitalism and will not be quenched until all sorts of class distinctions and inequalities have been removed. In a subsequent article the paper takes Indian youths severely to task for not doing anything for the freedom of the country, and says that for this reason the young men of China and Russia look upon them with contempt. Proceeding it says:—The national goddess of war wants your blood. This world is for those who fight and win. Criticizing Lord

Lytton's article in the *Daily Mirror* the *Medina* writes:—Government is wrested and not bestowed. When India fulfils the necessary conditions she will attain liberty even without the consent of Britain. After long experience Indians have lost all faith in British goodness and generosity. Breach of promises and tyranny cannot engender love. The *Haqiqat* says that Indians are being banned from the public services of Iraq simply because they are a subject race and do not deserve consideration. If they want to have their claims in Iraq recognized they should first try to gain their freedom.

Proposed Medical Mission to China.

The *Abhyudaya* disapproves of the attitude of the Government towards the proposed medical mission to China and remarks:—The hesitation of the Government in the matter of granting passports to the members of the mission is born of its suspicion about the nature of the mission. Mr. Goswami has explained to the authorities in a convincing manner that there is cultural unity between India and China and that the mission is being sent not for a political but for a humanitarian purpose. The object is commendable and Government's suspicion therefore betrays the familiar callousness of its heart. The *Aj* says that the refusal of passports to the members of the Congress Medical Mission to China reveals the petty-mindedness of the authorities. It also shows that they do not want that the wounded Chinese should be medically attended to, and that too by Indians. They apprehend that this will promote greater sympathy between India and China. There is no doubt that if they finally refuse to grant passports the mission will not be able to go to China, but it will not prevent the growth of sympathy between the two countries. The *Pratap* remarks:—It appears that the Government of India will not allow the message of sympathy of the Indian National Congress to reach China. India is an enslaved country. What right has she to meddle in international politics? Were there any such provision in law such persons as talked of helping the enemies would have been shot down for "high treason."

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Agra Samachar* takes strong exception to the view expressed by the *Musalman* that it is the supreme duty of the Muslims to break idols and to its exhortations that they should unhesitatingly break idols wherever they see them and remarks:—It is against humanity to sow fresh seeds of discord when communal disturbances resulting in bloodshed are the order of the day. The *Vartman* takes Hindus to task for their inaction in spite of their idols being broken and says:—If a Hindu can remain alive even on seeing his idols broken, he cannot be called a Hindu. He is not a true Hindu who does not get excited on seeing top-knots being cut, sacred threads being broken and temples being destroyed and who even on seeing the knives of men belonging to other religions floating on the blood of his own children is absorbed in the worship of soulless non-violence. A Hindu is one who is not afraid of death. In the case of goondas bricks should be answered by stones and slaps by blows. Can we to-day claim to be descendants of Shivaji, Guru Govind Singh and Banda Bairagi? Referring to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's tour in Mysore the *Medina* writes:—From the very beginning Pandit Malaviya has been thinking of establishing Hindu raj, and now this idea has assumed the form of a firm determination. At present Mr. Malaviya is touring Indian states. The object of this also seems to be the establishment of Hindu raj which it is possible may be realized within a century owing to the headlessness and helplessness of non-Hindu communities. We consider it our duty to warn Muslims of this danger.

The *Bagr-Id.*

The *Mashriq* regrets that the Muslim district officers at Benares and Basti interfered with cow-sacrifice. It is a pity that no action was taken at Basti against the Hindus who had invaded the house in which sacrifice had been performed. The *Hamdam* complains that the Hindus assaulted Muslims at village Banjaria, tahsil Baheri, in the Bareilly district, simply because they had, as usual, brought beef from a neighbouring village and asks for an impartial and detailed inquiry into the incident.

The Postal Cash Certificates.

The *Aj* protests against the reduction of the rate of interest on postal cash certificates and holds that this action has been taken under pressure of capitalists and not so much in the interests of the general tax-payer.

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ALLAHABAD:
July 2, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
12 AUG. 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 27 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 9, 1927.

The *Rangila Rasul* case.

PROTESTS in the Muslim Press against the judgements of the Punjab High Court in the *Rangila Rasul* and the *Muslim Outlook* cases are growing in volume and vehemence. Non-Muslim papers unanimously condemn the Muslim agitation in the Punjab in this connexion. The *Pioneer* remarks: Punjab Muslims seem to be bent on alienating from themselves the sympathy of those who, like Sir Malcolm Hailey, are solicitous for the preservation of their religion from offensive attacks in the Press. The disgraceful agitation against Mr. Justice Dalip Singh is losing none of its virulence and it does little credit to the community. The *Leader* writes: No right-minded Hindu can but sympathize with the feeling of abhorrence and indignation of Muslims when scurrilous and filthy attacks are levelled against their great Prophet. But we find little justification for the sort of agitation which has been got up in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* judgement and the threats of violence which are being held out. It is impossible to conceive of a more absurd and fantastic demand than that a Judge of the Punjab High Court should be asked to resign simply because he honestly took a view of the law which has not commended itself to a section of a particular community. The minatory resolutions which are being passed at Muslim meetings give evidence of a mentality for the development of which the weak policy of certain Government officials in some provinces is not wholly without responsibility. If the Government wants to rule it must make it clear without a shadow of doubt that its policy will not be influenced by, and that it will not yield to, violence or threats of violence. The *Aligarh Mail* publishes, in its editorial columns, the text of Maulana Mufti Kifayat Ullah's announcement regarding Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's judgement in the *Rangila Rasul* case and, commenting on it, writes: Our wound is deep and yawning. It can only be healed by the conviction and punishment of Rajpal and the subjection of Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh to an injection of clear understanding by which he may be rid of the disease of the misinterpretation of section 153(A) of the Indian Penal Code from which he appears to be seriously suffering. That injection, we believe, can be effected only if His Lordship consents to go on a long leave and not resume his duties as a Judge of the Lahore High Court before he has understood the obvious meaning of section 153(A). The *Aj* says that the tremendous agitation, albeit an artificial one, in regard to the *Rangila Rasul* case, despite the assurance of the Governor of the Punjab and the expression of regret by the publisher of the book, shows that there is no chance of unity between Hindus and Muslims unless Mahatma Gandhi's advice regarding change of hearts is acted upon. This is possible only when an enduring and all-embracing agitation is carried on to eradicate the poison of communalism from the country. How long shall we, blinded by the glamour of Councils, committees and commissions, continue to ignore this supreme duty? The *Surya* characterizes the Muslim agitation for the promulgation of an ordinance regarding offensive communal publications to be as stupid as the demand for the resignation of Mr. Justice Dalip Singh and hopes that the Viceroy will not commit the blunder of issuing such an ordinance as it would be a greater blunder than that perpetrated by the Governor of the Punjab in receiving the Muslim deputation. At the conclusion of a lengthy editorial article violently criticizing the judgements of the Punjab High Court in the *Rangila Rasul* and the *Muslim Outlook* cases, and discussing various

means for safe-guarding the honour of the Prophet from the "campaign of vilification inaugurated by Sangathanists," the *Medina* writes: Now there remains only one remedy, namely, that Muslims of the whole of India should combine and rouse every palpable and latent power of their wealth, their lives, their property, their children, and the world and array themselves in iron rows against this campaign which is mean, subversive of law and order and civilization, and calculated to ruin India. Law, custom, rights of fellow-citizenship and other civic considerations of the kind are for cowards who do not want to do anything in this world and who have no regard whatever for the honour and sanctity of the Prophet. Laws and regulations have proved bankrupt. Rights of fellow-citizenship have become defunct since the proclamation of war and enmity by the fellow-citizens Civic considerations are for that country where the honour of a community is safe. Therefore, if the elders of the community wish to organize a band of devotees who may be seen carrying their heads in the hollows of their hands in defence of the honour of their Prophet then the *Medina* is the first to offer its services and also its editorial staff. To sacrifice oneself in the love of the Prophet is the highest aim of life in this and the other world. The *Hamdam* is surprised that, in spite of their knowledge of the veneration of Muslims for their Prophet, the Hindu leaders have not protested against the action of the authors of the *Vichitra Jiwan*, *Rangila Rasul* and *Vartman* in wounding Muslim sentiments. Inter-communal unity is possible only if Hindus decide to respect Muslim religious feelings, and it is being greatly prejudiced by the Sangathanist propaganda against the present Muslim agitation. The paper attributes the scant courtesy shown by non-Muslim writers to the Prophet to the fact that the desecrations of the Saudites have brought about a general decline in reverence of the Prophet. The best way for Muslims to secure greater veneration for the Prophet is to stop Saudite propaganda in India and thus convince the world that they themselves have due regard for their Prophet. The decision of the Punjab High Court in the *Rangila Rasul* case is an instance of the mentality which has been bred in the country by our short-sightedness. *Al Khalil* regrets that though Rajpal's crime is far greater than that of Abdul Rashid there was no law in the land to punish the former, and the Hindus sided with him and attacked the Governor of the Punjab for his sympathetic reply to the Muslim deputation. This can hardly conduce to communal unity, and Hindu leaders should even now condemn Rajpal's crime. The paper publishes an article by Hamid-Ullah Afsar in which he urges Muslims to offer congregational prayers on the tenth of Muharram asking for the reconsideration of Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's judgement, the amendment of section 153A, and the passing of an ordinance until the amendment takes effect, and the release of the editor and the publisher of the *Muslim Outlook*. The paper deplores the opposition to the Muslim demand for an ordinance to penalize attacks on religious heads, and points out that as the ordinary processes are too slow something must be done to put an immediate stop to such attacks which are exacerbating Muslim feeling. The *Najat* condemns the action of the Punjab High Court in penalizing the *Muslim Outlook* for its truthful comment that the judgement of Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh was unfair, and says that it would not have so boldly supported the Sangathanists if the Muslims had not been on their last legs. When Islam was in its prime no one would have dared to attach more importance to the prestige of a judge than to that of the Prophet. Whatever the Punjab High Court has done has been for the love of the Sangathanists and it has insulted the law. So we declare that it is the most unjust and oppressive judgement among the unjust and oppressive judgements that have ever been delivered in India. If it arrests the editor of the *Muslim Outlook* for this offence then all those Indian Muslims who do not regard this crime as a virtue are heretics. However, we await Sir Malcolm Hailey's action, and if it is not favourable we would advise Muslims to stand up for their own defence. The *Haqiqat* deplores the outcry raised by the Hindu Press in the Punjab over Sir Malcolm Hailey's action in receiving a Muslim deputation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* case, and says that every lover of peace should support the demand for suppressing inflammatory religious attacks. The *Mashriq* says that the action of the Punjab High Court against the *Muslim Outlook* has undone all the good work of Sir Malcolm Hailey, and Muslim feeling is now much more exacerbated than before. The *Rahnuma* says that no Muslim, to whatsoever sect he may belong, can tolerate an insult to his Prophet, and every Muslim will regard it as the means of his salvation to sacrifice his life for the sake of the honour of his Prophet and urges Government to legislate early with a view to stop foul attacks on religious heads. One Muhammad Mohsin, writing in the

Imam, says that by acquitting Rajpal the Punjab High Court has cast an ugly blot on justice and has grievously pained Muslims. The writer of the *Rangila Rasul* is more dangerous than the murderer of Swami Shraddhanand, as while the latter killed the leader of a particular sect in India the former used such offensive language in regard to the Prophet of forty crores of Muslims all the world over that they regard it as even worse than the massacre of their community. Muslims attach greater value to the honour and prestige of their Prophet than to their own lives, property, and children. The acquittal of the author of the *Rangila Rasul* has, as anticipated, led to the publication of a filthy attack on the Prophet in the *Vartman* also, and but for immediate action in the matter would have led to a very serious situation as Muslims set little value by their lives when the honour of their Prophet is at stake. The *Haq* says that the law is certainly grossly defective if it is helpless to stop the publication of such offensive books as the *Rangila Rasul*. The interests of public peace are not promoted by lacerating the feelings of a large section of population. The *Surmai Rozgar* characterizes as *Nadir Shahi* the judgement of the Full Bench of the Punjab High Court convicting the editor and publisher of the *Muslim Outlook* and urges Muslims to close up their ranks in view of the repeated attacks that are being made on them. The *Sadaqat* regrets that the Punjab High Court judgement in the *Rangila Rasul* case is encouraging vile attacks on the Prophet as is shown by the cases of the *Risala Vartman* and the *Pratap*, and urges Government to legislate early with a view to stop such mischievous propaganda and also to adopt a more sympathetic attitude towards Muslims. *Al Adl* is indignant at the action taken against the *Muslim Outlook*, and assures it of the fullest sympathy and support of the Muslim community. Something should be done to mend the law if it is powerless to stop such scandalous vilification of the Prophet. The *Sach* congratulates the editor of the *Outlook* on his imprisonment in his righteous and courageous attempt to defend the honour of the Prophet and says that Muslims should not waste their time in making fine distinctions between the Judge and the law. While admitting that the *Rangila Rasul* judgement has seriously stirred public feeling the *Aina* advises Muslims to exercise patience and remain within constitutional limits trusting to Government to redress their grievances.

Reforms.

The question of the personnel of the forthcoming Statutory Commission is receiving growing attention in the Press. While moderate papers plead for the appointment of an adequate number of Indian members the more extremist papers urge a complete boycott of the Commission by Indians. The *Aj* says that if Indian leaders were to declare that they did not want the Statutory Commission and were to devote themselves to work among the people the Commission would at once be appointed and its personnel would be made as satisfactory as possible. But this is not to be. Terrible sufferings of subjection are still in store for us, and that is why we do not rely on our own exertions, but look to an outside power for help. The paper does not at all approve of the names so far suggested for the presidentship of the forthcoming Commission. In a subsequent article the paper says that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru should have insisted on the majority of the members of the Commission being Indian public men as a condition precedent to its acceptance by Indians. It strongly condemns the suggestion of the *Englishman's* correspondent that a board of assessors should be constituted before the appointment of the Commission. If a round-table conference of Indian and British representatives frames the scheme of reforms, or if Britain, after announcing her firm determination to grant Swaraj to India, sends a Commission here to consult Indians regarding its form, then alone can she be successful in solving this problem. The first alternative is a better one and also represents the national demand as made by the members of all the political parties in the Legislative Assembly more than once. *Al Khalil* says that if the Reforms Commission consists entirely of Europeans it will be boycotted by Indians as it will be of no use for them. Not less than half of its members should be Indians enjoying public confidence, and the Congress should, after consulting all parties, place a constitution before it.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* writes :—Since the War imperialism or bullyism has become the most marked feature of the allies who, laying aside all dictates of civilization, etiquette and international practice, thoroughly plundered and maimed the Powers which laid down arms placing faith in the sense of generosity of President Wilson. The world would have fared worse at the hands of the imperialists but for various complications

among the European Powers themselves. Still Asia has to contend with serious difficulties in view of the establishment of the League of Nations, whose sole aim is to impose white domination over the coloured peoples. She cannot extricate herself from the clutches of this league of imperialists unless and until a league of Asiatic nations is formed and it seriously sets about to oppose white domination. Brute force has taken the place of justice and morality in non-white countries as a result of the kindness of the League of Nations. The policy of the present imperialistic British Government towards China and Egypt discloses the latest phase of the British foreign policy of intimidating weak and non-white nations into friendship with Britain. It has become a part and parcel of the policy of imperialists to make friends of weak nations by demonstration of force and to offer provocation to others to incite them to take up arms as has been done in the case of Russia. In another issue the paper condemns as iniquitous the policy of Britain in respect of the employment of Indian forces in all parts of the world to enlarge the bounds of the British Empire and urges the Indian National Congress to expose this phase of the British policy in foreign countries. Referring to the Indian Navy Act the paper says that while India will have to furnish money for this navy it will be employed for imperial purposes. This navy would, in reality, belong to the Singapore naval base which would try to perpetuate the subjection of Eastern countries. This base will not herald the advent of Indian Swaraj, but proclaims that if imperialists continue to hold sway in Britain they will not only perpetuate the subjection of India but will also utilize her resources to extend British domination in other Eastern countries. Commenting on the celebration of Maharana Pratap's anniversary in the country on June 2 the *Abhaya* writes: We have no right to celebrate the anniversaries of heroes so long as we do not wipe out the atrocities committed on our country by foreigners and people belonging to other religions. At present the Hindu community is being attacked from all sides. Followers of other religions are determined to destroy Hinduism by various methods of the meanest kind. Our wives and daughters are being dishonoured by Muslim hooligans, our greatest leader is being made the target of bullets and a number of leaders are being threatened with murder, yet we who put to shame the name and the race of the Maharana are sitting quietly looking to the white Government. We ought to wake up even now and realise that we are the descendants of the same brave nation which has produced resolute and patriotic protectors of Hindu religion like Maharana Pratap. It is the duty of the Hindus to take lesson from the Maharana's exemplary life and firmly to resolve that following his motto of life, which was to destroy the unjust and the wicked, to liberate the country and to sacrifice one's life in protecting the honour of the fair sex, they will also sacrifice their lives. It is the duty of the Maharana's true followers to sacrifice themselves at the altar of the Motherland. In another issue the paper writes: The anniversary of Shivaji, the hero, was celebrated at various places during the last week. In our opinion our duty does not end merely with the holding of meetings. We should take a lesson from Shivaji, the apostle of freedom, and every Hindu should be inspired with the feeling that like Shivaji he, too, will not rest content without wiping out injustice and oppression. If the Hindus want to celebrate Shivaji's anniversary in its true sense they ought to create a revolution among the Hindus for the protection of Hindu religion, so that like Shivaji they may be able to destroy the government which is based on injustice and to lay the foundation of an Indian government in India. The day when the brave Hindus begin to follow in the footsteps of Shivaji their country will become happy and the enemies of their religion will come to their senses.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Sudharak* reproduces extracts from Mr. Gandhi's article entitled "Hindu-Muslim Unity," published in the *Nava Jiwan* of June 16, 1927, and, exhorting the Hindus and Muslims to unite, says: In order to extricate ourselves from the steel claws of foreigners and to take our stand among the free people of the world it is imperative for us to sink our differences. It is, indeed, quite true that if we cannot peacefully establish unity among us we should give vent to our pent-up feeling at least for once and then sincerely unite together, otherwise as soon as our internecine quarrels weaken us the diabolical forces of the world which are lying in wait to swallow us will pounce upon us and compel us to writhe in agony in the hell of subjection. The *Arya Mittra* takes the *Muslim Outlook* severely to task for holding the Arya Samajists responsible for all the mischief that is being wrought in the country at present and advising the Government

to proscribe the *Satyartha Prakash* and says: *Outlook*, just think whether the *Satyartha Prakash* which has made the world an abode of peace and happiness deserves to be proscribed, or that book which is causing unrest in the world by inculcating murder and violence, the intolerance bred by which is well known all over the world and under the influence of whose teachings blood-thirsty persons are thinking of attaining heaven by murdering great personages.

Indian States.

The *Aj* says that the Kathiawar States showed great courage in refusing to hand over their ports to the Government of India, but apprehends that they may have to rue grievously for their decision. It wonders why the Government of India did not ask France to hand over the administration of Pondicherry when the merchants of British India complained about gold threads being cheaply imported through that port. Is it because France differs from Indian States? The treatment accorded to Nabha, Indore, and Hyderabad is an obvious example of such a difference. The British angle of vision appears to have become changed in regard to Indian States since Lord Reading's *régime*. This will produce bitter results in course of time so far as the Indian chiefs are concerned. Those who are not prepared to bear the 'insult' of democracy must be prepared for meeting such respect from foreigners. In the course of an article, strongly denouncing the Government's attitude towards Indian States, the *Vartman* writes: If the crafty statesmen wound the feelings of Indian chiefs through tyranny, hypocrisy, and diplomacy they are big fools, and their folly will prove suicidal. Their present attitude clearly shows that they will involve the British Government in ruin. If British statesmen do not mend their ways British Government will speedily be wiped out of the earth's surface. The *Surmai Rozgar* publishes a communication complaining of maladministration, dacoities and murders, etc., in the Chhattrapur State and the consequent migration of its subjects to Nowgong and threatening further ugly disclosures if reform is not effected. The *Haqiqat* is sure that the story of the poisoning of the heir-apparent of Tonk has been concocted by interested persons, and hopes that the Government of India will do nothing to embarrass the popular Nawab of Tonk.

Nagpur Satyagraha.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: The object of the Nagpur Satyagraha must appeal to every Indian patriot. The movement depended not on the money of the wealthy, not on the enthusiasm of the leaders, but on the self-consciousness of the people. It will, we have no doubt, be revived after a month, and with greater success than now. If Gandhi will take the lead and show to us what can be made of such excellent material as Maharashtra has been discovered to possess he will have done something to wipe out the Himalayan blunder of Bardoli. The *Abhaya* condemns the conviction of Avari as unjust and attributes it to the desire of the trying magistrate to please the "bureaucracy" and says: The policy of the bureaucracy has always been to crush the country by every means, fair or foul, and to inflict the severest punishment on everyone who aspires after freedom so that he may be rendered incapable of raising his head again. But we appeal to the Indian public that they should dauntlessly come forward to take part in the struggle for freedom in order to emancipate the country from the oppression of the foreigners. They should consider the Nagpur Satyagraha as a holy agitation for winning freedom and should therefore help it in every way.

Muslim affairs.

Referring to recent reports about the despatch of Moplah families to the Andamans the *Hamdan* says that the Government should not take advantage of the condition of Moplah prisoners who would naturally prefer the partial freedom of the Andamans, but should deal justly and generously with them and not colonize them in a place considered unfit for habitation even by capital offenders. The *Medina* thanks the United Provinces Government for having decided to take some Muslims in the Provincial service even though there was not a single Muslim among the nine candidates who passed in the Indian Civil Service competitive examination held at Allahabad in January last, and whom it is now proposed to take in the Provincial service. The paper contends that it is extremely difficult for Muslim candidates to secure the required educational qualifications as insurmountable difficulties are thrown in their way by Hindus. It adds:—It was the first principle of Malaviya's movement for Ram Raj to throw all sorts of difficulties in the way of Muslim education and to reduce to the minimum Muslim representation in Government

service. In pursuance of these objects several schemes have been at work to make Muslims weak and helpless.

Maharaja of Nabha.

Under the heading "Abduction of Nabha's Heir-Apparent" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* publishes a letter by Sirdar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, in which he complains of relentless and systematic attacks having been launched against the sanctity of the Maharaja's home life and says that now "underground plots are being hatched in Nabha and Patiala to abduct Tikka Saheb and further poison and ruin the home life of the persecuted ruler of Nabha." In a leading article, headed "A Challenge to the Sikhs," on this letter the paper writes: The removal of the Tikka Saheb is not a domestic problem affecting the father and mother; it is not even a political problem affecting the relations between Nabha and Patiala. It is a religious question directly affecting the entire Sikh nation. Will the Sikhs take up the challenge?

The Rangoon University.

Referring to Sir Harcourt Butler's appeal for Rs. 50 lakhs for the Rangoon University the *Pratap* writes: The gubernatorial mandate has been issued and the subscription is being raised. But how? Tahsildars, naib-tahsildars, deputy collectors, and other officials send for the villagers and say that those who own one bullock should pay Rs. 5 and those who possess one acre of land should pay Rs. 10. The poor indigent cultivators pray for being excused, but they are not heard and are intimidated. The zamindars are also threatened with prosecution in default of payment. For raising this sum the authorities have begun to hold shows all over Burma in which dances of prostitutes and gambling go on briskly. The number of gambling dens is so large that the life of the people is in danger. All these sins are being committed through the kindness of the Nawab of Burma for building a temple of the goddess of learning. Fie on this heartless barbarism!

Hindu law.

The *Aj* says that no satisfactory arrangement has so far been made for the training of judges and vakils in the Hindu law, and urges that this deficiency should be soon made good. It agrees with the opinion of Dr. Ganga Nath Jha that *Mimansa* should form a part of the course of the LL.B. examination. It also urges that the Hindu law, as embodied in case law, and in original Sanskrit works, should be codified.

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ALLAHABAD:
July 9, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

10 AUG. 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 28 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 16, 1927.

The *Rangila Rasul* case.

The *Rangila Rasul* and the *Muslim Outlook* cases continue to be the main subject for heated discussion on communal lines. The *Aligarh Mail* contends that section 153(A), Indian Penal Code, was entirely applicable in the case of the *Rangila Rasul* and writes :-"We do not desire to attribute any motives to Mr. Justice Dalip Singh in passing his judgement which has gained so much notoriety in public. But we do maintain that, junior as His Lordship is on the Bench of the Lahore High Court, he has shown an inferior sort of legal understanding in not applying section 153(A), Indian Penal Code, to a case to which the section is specially applicable." The paper is, however, at a loss to understand the "folly" of the Khilafat Committee of Lahore in starting civil disobedience "and thereby most inopportunely prejudicing Government against Muslims at a time when its sense of justice should be made all the keener by our restrained attitude in removing our grievances in the matter of Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh's judgement." The *Aj* says that although Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh's interpretation of the law affects all communities alike, it is surprising that the Muslims in the Punjab should have got so excited as to have transgressed the bounds of etiquette and civilization in their agitation over it. The way in which ignorant masses are being incited to violence in public meetings makes one doubt whether authority exists in the Punjab or not. A section of Muslims has made a mountain of a mole-hill in order to spread fanaticism in the country. Condemning the Muslim agitation against the judgement of Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh, the *Pratap* writes:—Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's judgement is a double-edged sword. On the strength of this judgement Muslim preachers can, with impunity, use the filthiest language against the Hindu incarnations. We are very sorry to find that the Hindu Sabha has passed a resolution in support of Mr. Justice Dalip Singh. Kunwar Dalip Singh's action is surely praiseworthy, not because he has let off a Hindu but because he has fearlessly interpreted the law and acted accordingly. His judgement applies equally to Hindus and Muslims. The *Arya Mitra* bitterly complains that while the Government frequently applies section 144 against Arya Samajist preachers it is not taking any action against the violent and fanatical Mullas and others who are raising a storm over the *Rangila Rasul* case and showering fire on Hindus. Commenting on the reply of the Governor of the Punjab to the Muslim deputation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* case the *Shakti* remarks:—The reply of the Governor is not only calculated to damage the prestige of the Government, but it also constitutes as great an insult to the Punjab High Court as the offensive article in the *Muslim Outlook*. We do not know whether or not the High Court will institute proceedings against the Governor as well or whether it lies within its jurisdiction or not to do so. It is regrettable that the Punjab Muslims have lost their balance of mind over this matter and that they are leading a crusade against the Hindus. They cannot tolerate the imprisonment of even one or two of their co-religionists and regard it as extremely tyrannical, little knowing that the whole country is a prison and that we are all slaves. Referring to the agitation caused among Muslims by the judgements of the Punjab High Court in the *Rangila Rasul* and the *Muslim Outlook* cases the *Medina* writes:—The day is near when every strip of India will become more uneasy than was the case during the *Khilafat* agitation and every Muslim who hears of the release of the reviler of the Prophet will come forward to engage in combat with the Government. In Delhi itself a lac of Muslims have made a

demonstration of their wounded feelings. But we see that the Government neither issues any communiqué nor proposes any remedy. Will the Government of Lord Irwin come to its senses when the situation has passed beyond control and the seven heavens have resounded with demonstrations of the seven crores of Indian Muslims? Such a day will surely be critical for the Government of India. Commenting on the civil disobedience campaign in Lahore in connexion with the *Muslim Outlook* case, the same paper writes:—The forces of tyranny and oppression do not allow the Muslims of Lahore to confine themselves to peaceful efforts. Infidelity has always been at war with Islam. This, however, serves to rejuvenate the latter. The gauntlet has been thrown and it has been taken up by the proud fighters. Unarmed Muslim volunteers have been left to the tender mercies of the unjustified violence of armed and mounted police. The atmosphere of Lahore is resounding with the blows of batons and the sound of the trampling of unarmed, non-violent and wounded fighters under the hoofs of horses. But, God willing, Muslims will not waver. The Lahore authorities have given proof of absolute want of statesmanship and the citadel of the prestige of the British Government is shaking before the legitimate fight for truth and justice. Muslims are prepared to undergo a thousand times greater sufferings for the protection of the honour of their Prophet than what the British Empire can do for upholding the prestige of Britain. In yet another article the same paper says:—When the Sikhs made a stand at Guru ka Bagh, Muslim constables were selected to thrash them. To-day they (the Sikhs) have been compensated for this. The Sikh police has been allowed to satisfy its heart's desire (for revenge). Such is the administrative policy of the British Government. Indians should take warning from this. To-day if the white-skinned western god is utilizing the Sikhs to mete out cruel treatment to their compatriots, to-morrow these very sticks will be placed in the hands of Hindus or Muslims to avenge themselves for the past incident. Would that our countrymen were to open their eyes and ponder. The *Najat* says that the Hindu Mahasabha has only made a display of its short-sightedness, cowardice and meanness in reproaching Sir Malcolm Hailey for receiving a Muslim deputation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* case. It is a debatable point whether the Muslims have been emboldened by His Excellency's reply. As a matter of fact Muslims regard their conscience alone as a guide and take their cue not from any earthly governor but from God alone. With Muslims love of their religion is all-absorbing and it is a mistake to think that they will be influenced by mundane considerations in matters spiritual. They will go on agitating until the prestige of the Prophet is restored. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that by refusing an audience to the proposed deputation of the Ahmadiya community, His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey has shown that he is not going to strengthen the forces of disorder by repeating his initial mistake. His mere declaration that Government was considering how to meet the situation created by Mr. Justice Dalip Singh precipitated a campaign of calumny against that judge and Sir Shadi Lal which has now transgressed all bounds of decency and if this new Ahmadiya deputation had been received the peace of Punjab cities would have been seriously threatened. His Excellency's condemnation of the improper attacks on High Court Judges will also have a salutary effect. Every right-minded person sympathizes with Muslims in the present crisis, but they must restrain their foul-mouthed publicists. The *Desh Bhagat* characterizes the Muslim agitation in the Punjab about the *Rangila Rasul* affair as a hollow one engineered by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan only after action was taken against the *Muslim Outlook* and says:—Punjabi Muslims have ignored the laws of *Shariat* any number of times and they are excited to-day simply because they have been egged on by certain leaders. Muslims of all free countries despise Indian Muslims because the latter quarrel needlessly with the Hindus and never hesitate to help the English who are the true enemies of Islam. They always advise Indian Muslims to strive with Hindus for this country's freedom and not to aid the British in subjugating other Islamic countries.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* publishes an article by "A student of politics" who argues that the British Empire is gradually declining and says:—The more I study the history of British colonies the more confirmed becomes my belief that what twenty years ago the British used to term as the British Empire has already been destroyed. There are some blind men who betray the shallowness of their knowledge of history by occasional references to the greatness of the British Empire, but I think there is neither any British Empire anywhere nor its greatness. It is a delusion which may be

shattered any day by the powerful kick of time. It is my firm belief, which is being strengthened by the course of events, that in the next twenty years even the shadow of the British Empire will cease to exist. The wheel of the dismemberment of the Empire is revolving, slowly no doubt but steadily. In these circumstances those who want *Swaraj* within the British Empire should act after mature deliberation lest they should have to exclaim that the Empire under which they were striving to remain had disappeared. Referring to a message for preventing "the terrible war of the future" issued by the American peasants to labour all the world over, the *Desh Bhagat* says that Indians could not have forgotten their sufferings during the last war and as hostilities are bound to take place in India herself in the next war their miseries would be simply indescribable. We all know by what heartless and disgraceful means the Government of India took money from India in the name of loan during the last war and how hundreds of unwilling men were forced in spite of their lamentations and bewailings to proceed to the front to shed blood. It is also a settled fact that the British capitalistic Government will join this coming war not in the interests of India but in its own interests as the interests of India and England always conflict. In fact all these wars are for keeping India under subjection, as it is only through her subjection that England can continue to survive. It is therefore the duty of all Indians to ponder carefully over this sympathetic message of American peasants and to determine how they can aid in preserving the peace of the world. If Indians were to withhold their co-operation to-day, British officials and soldiers would be unable to carry on the administration. If Indians had not helped Britain during the last war she would have been wiped out of existence and she would not have survived to reward Indians in the Jallianwala Bagh by raining bullets on unarmed persons. We believe that if we choose we can respond to this message of American peasants and can establish societies for preserving world peace which would go to villages and cities and impress upon peasants, workers, raises and zamindars that it would be a terrible sin to endanger world peace by helping Britain with men and money in the next war and would be like laying the axe at one's own foot. We believe that this propaganda can considerably change the atmosphere and there would surely be a great decrease in the enlistment of our young men in the army who risk their necks for the sake of ten or twenty rupees, if they are warned of all the sufferings that they would have to undergo after enlistment. In the same way propaganda can be carried on regarding help with money. Commenting on the recent orders of the Iraq Government against the employment of Indians the same paper says that though Indians planted the British flag in Iraq they are being excluded from that country now that their services are no longer needed. This should open the eyes of those Indians who are ever ready to enslave their neighbours and they should in future refuse to sacrifice their lives for the sake of mere money and should decide not to become tools of British statesmen.

Reforms.

The *Vartman* takes Congress leaders severely to task for the interest they are showing in the forthcoming Royal Commission which it characterizes as a mirage and says :—The very idea of bowing the knee before the Commission is repulsive to us. We realize our humiliation and pity this evil propensity of our leaders. Have we fallen so low that we are not ashamed to kneel to our rulers, those very rulers who shot thousands of our innocent brethren in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, who during the martial law days made a number of persons crawl on their bellies and who are even to-day making hundreds of innocent young men rot in jails? We think that the most telling evidence before the Commission will be to boycott it and thus to show to it and to the civilized world that the appointment of the Commission is a fraud. But in spite of having been deceived repeatedly we continue to believe in the justice of Government. We have not yet realized that liberty cannot be won without sacrifice. The *Desh Bhagat* asserts that the Royal Commission is a device to kill all remaining political life in the country by deluding Indians with a few petty concessions and urges the Congress to push forward its constructive programme and boycott the Commission. The *Rahnuma* says that if the Statutory Commission does not contain an adequate number of trusted Indians, Indians are sure to refuse the second instalment of reforms. The *Oudh Akhbar* wonders why no Indian name is being suggested for the presidentship of the Statutory Commission, specially when Mr. Patel and any number of capable Indians are available for the office.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on the Muslim agitation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* case and the demand at Allahabad, Bareilly and other places for the stoppage of marriage processions during the Moharram, the *Sainik* writes:—These incidents clearly show that the religious madness of Muslims has exceeded all bounds. If some effective remedy is not applied very soon the matter will become very serious. These incidents themselves point to the specific medicine. The fate of the *Satyagraha* at Lahore and of the Muslim intransigency at Allahabad and Bareilly shows that Muslim madness disappears as soon as the authorities apply the remedy. If the Government wishes it can remove the madness in an instant. In the course of an article headed "A Perilous Mistake", the *Vartman* writes:—The Government has realized that if the Hindu-Muslim disturbances continue for some time then its own prestige will receive a severe blow. It was after some time that the Government felt that if these disturbances continued unchecked the steel claw which had so far succeeded in governing India would become useless and the bureaucratic frame itself would be jeopardized. The attitude of the Government is, therefore, now changing. It is somewhat repenting that it did not do well in having fostered this new disease. This is why it is now acting cautiously. But some officers, following crooked policy, have stimulated the Hindu-Muslim tension and thereby rendered the position so bad that the plague cannot be removed by ordinary means. The paper reproduces from the *Arjun* (Delhi) a manifesto purporting to have been issued by Maulana Mahomed Ali, Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Mufti Kifayat Ullah and others exhorting Muslims to kill those (Englishmen, Hindus, Christians, Jews and Whites) who defame the Prophet Muhammad; to dishonour their boys, girls and women; to destroy temples and churches; to commit arson and devastation; perform cow-sacrifices briskly; cut top-knots and sacred threads; to shed rivers of blood and to destroy the empire of Victoria, Edward, propagate Islam and spread Islamic rule.

Earl Winterton's speech.

The *Leader* writes:—Earl Winterton's review of Indian affairs in the House of Commons was a very perfunctory, shallow and poor performance. There was not a word of sympathy for Indian aspirations, nothing which indicated a statesmanlike grasp of Indian problems. His speech showed that under the present dispensation India can expect hardly anything from Britain except periodic advice and admonitions as to how to behave. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Earl Winterton made a sorry attempt to be impertinent and to flaunt the British greatness of character and possession of driving force and of the willingness of his great nation to show us sympathy and good-will if they are genuinely wanted by India. His impertinence was but a poor attempt, a laboured emulation of his illustrious chief. More than British good-will and sympathy we want to be extricated from the strangle hold of the British hand on us and Earl Winterton in his speech has said enough to cause the misgiving that, along with the Commission, the Lees are busy with fresh provisions of luxury for the British youth who seek service here. The *Aj* says that it is nothing but deliberate misrepresentation on the part of Lord Winterton to allege that Mr. Saklatwala's views did not represent those of even one man out of a hundred Indians. Members of Parliament who know nothing about India may well give credence to his lordship's allegation, but it cannot but provoke ridicule in this country. Is there one Indian out of a thousand thinking Indians who supports the existing system of administration? India is not so much afraid of Bolshevism as of the ever-increasing influence of British imperialists. Whether Indians are happy and prosperous or otherwise under the British rule cannot be ascertained by those rulers who care more for their pay than anything else. It is only the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches. Indeed, India is now more impoverished and more diseased than she was ever before. The very fact that Indian authorities refuse to make an inquiry into the economic condition of the people shows that Indians are worse off than ever before. Lord Winterton and his predecessors have been getting members of Parliament to support their administration simply by misrepresenting facts to them, but it is to be hoped that this game of throwing dust into the eyes of the British public will not last long.

Music before mosques.

Discussing the genesis of the controversy regarding music before mosques, the *Desh Bhagat* says:—Thanks to Lord Reading, Hindus and Muslims always hate each other. In pre-British times Hindu and Muslim citizens were never so thirsty for

each other's blood. It was through the kindness of British statesmen that inter-communal discord was produced. Muslims were incited to insist on cow-sacrifice on Bakr-Id as an important religious duty, while Hindus were egged on to sacrifice their lives for their mother cow. This sowed the seeds of discord, but still relations were on the whole cordial and the unity of the non-cooperation days startled Englishmen and Lord Reading after great deliberation introduced the question of music before mosques to effect a permanent cleavage between the two communities. There were mosques in pre-British days and no Muslim can deny that Hindus were freely allowed to pass playing music before them. But the situation was entirely changed by the jugglery of Lord Reading and Muslims began to insist on music being stopped before mosques as it interfered with their prayers. Now that English statesmen have realized that they have ensured eternal discord by this move, they want to gain some control over the warring elements. So the Government of India has adopted the double-faced policy of supporting the Muslims in this matter in some places and the Hindus in other places. Both should therefore realize that Government really sympathises with neither, but is the enemy of both and wants to keep them in its subjection by setting them by the ears. Hindus and Muslims should, therefore, free themselves from the snares of false leaders who are really Government spies and make them quarrel with each other and should come to a compromise on the music question in every locality. Muslims lose nothing if music is played before mosques and Hindus lose nothing if they refrain from music before mosques.

Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* which has been trying in almost every issue to hold up the case of the Maharaja of Nabha as a "national wrong," publishes a statement by the Maharaja on the "Nabha day" in which he complains of his most unjust and cruel banishment and of plots being hatched to get him assassinated. Commenting on this statement, the paper writes:—Hindus have read and wept over the lot of Raja Harishchandra and Nala. In Nabha we have a similar instance of a good ruler being exposed to the most intense sufferings, the constant dread of assassination haunting him like a shadow. To the authorities who wonder why the Nabha wrong should exercise such deep public interest, we commend this statement of His Highness. No Indian can read it without a gasp of pain. Referring to the report of the *Riasat* that the payment of the allowance of the Maharaja of Nabha has been withheld, the *Shankar* writes:—God knows what sort of jest this is on the part of the Government. After all what object has it in view in making payment after subjecting the Maharaja to harassment in this way? Government may well be pleased at such dealings, but surely it degrades itself in the eyes of the public. Commenting on the same subject, the *Desh Bhagat* says that Government respects treaties only so long as it is forced to do so and that the laws of humanity and justice have no place in the British vocabulary. It is a pity that such mistakes and high-handed acts of the Political department lead the public to think that a Government which does not respect its treaties with Ruling Chiefs is not to be trusted and that Englishmen are liars and cheats and turn round when their object is served. If British statesmen want to retrieve their reputation for justice they should abstain from such pettinesses and should take severe notice of those officials who act in violation of treaties. It is better if Government pays up the arrears of allowance before its prestige is further damaged by discussions in the press and legislature.

The Jhansi Municipal Board.

The *Aj* congratulates the Jhansi municipal board on the courage displayed by it in challenging the Government either to expunge the disparaging remarks made against it in the annual report or to substantiate them. Paid officials of the Civil Service, says the paper, have no moral right to criticize the actions of the representatives of the people done for public good. Those who in utter disregard of the poverty of the country can get their salaries and allowances increased through the certification powers of the Viceroy have no right to disparage, from easy arm-chairs, the work of the representatives of the people. Elected members do commit blunders, but it is baseless to urge that divisional commissioners have a better sense of public good than the elected members. Debts saddled on municipal boards during their administration by collectors and commissioners furnish a striking example of their administrative efficiency and their sense of public good. It is the fruit of the administration of these officials that the water works constructed through loans collapsed even before those loans had been cleared off. Every patriot will find it hard to put up with the criticism of the work of elected members by these superfluous and irresponsible

commissioners. We are pained to find that although local self-government is a transferred subject the Minister serves as a mouth-piece of commissioners and other officials, over whom he has no control, and censures popular representatives.

Control over district boards' roads.

The *Haqiqat* says that the Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf's proposal for Government control over district boards' roads was inspired by the best of motives and was only meant to improve the admittedly miserable condition of these roads and not to usurp the powers of district boards. Mr. Chintamani and his liberal friends, however, who find the Hon'ble Nawab Sahib's personality in the ministry too strong and regard it as a stumbling block in the achievement of their personal ends, raised a regular storm in opposition to it. The Hon'ble Nawab Sahib's opponents were not trying to promote the public interest but to create feeling against the ministry according to their settled policy ever since they have entered the Council.

Communal representation.

The *Aj* does not approve of Hakim Ajmal Khan's suggestion to reduce property qualification with a view to enlarge Muslim electorates as this would involve injustice to the Hindu voter as an individual and urges that in order to achieve the same end the property qualification should be replaced by the literary qualification under which all literate people should be eligible to vote.

The Agricultural Commission.

The *Desh Bhagat* points out that recent evidence before the Agricultural Commission in London clearly shows that the Commission was constituted not for the benefit of the Indian agriculturist but with a view to provide cheaper raw material for British industry.

The Kakori case.

Commenting on the punishments awarded in the supplementary Kakori dacoity case the *Haqiqat* says that even though according to the finding of the court the offences were serious, yet the infliction of such severe sentences as smack of vindictiveness could hardly be conceived. The policy of repression and frightfulness has always proved to be disastrous for tyrannical governments. The terrible sentences can be productive of nothing but hatred against the British.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* publishes a contributed article by M. Abdul Majid Qureshi, editor of the *Tanzim*, in which the writer suggests that every mosque of a mohalla should be made the centre of all activities for the reform and organization of the Muslim community.

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ALLAHABAD:
July 16, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 29 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 23, 1927.

The *Rangila Rasul* case.

THE *Rangila Rasul* and the *Muslim Outlook* cases continue to be the main topic of the Muslim Press. Referring to the Punjab Khilafat Committee's demands, including the immediate cashiering of Mr. Justice Dalip Singh and the appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate all matters relating to the High Court, the *Leader* writes:—A more outrageous and absurd demand it is difficult to conceive. There was a time when the Khilafat Committee preached the boycott of law courts. Now it wants to dictate who should and who should not be the judges of the High Court. The Committee has also demanded the immediate release of volunteers and workers arrested for protesting against the High Court judgement and executive orders. These demands cannot be complied with without an abject surrender on the part of Government to communal extremism, and there is not the ghost of a chance that a strong Governor like Sir Malcolm Hailey would yield to them. The mischievous communal game of hurling defiance both at Government and the Hindus, and of sowing the seeds of anarchy and communal hatred among the inflammable masses ought to be demonstrated to be non-paying. The *Aligarh Mail* commends the decision of the Khilafat Committee to postpone civil disobedience and writes:—We believe Government has taken full notice of our protests and is anxious to remove our just complaint. For our part, we Muslims should henceforth be restrained over the whole problem. We put forward this plea for restraint because of Sir Malcolm Hailey's sympathetic attitude towards the Muslim community in regard to the preservation of the honour of our Holy Prophet. His Excellency has declared that the *Risala Vartman* case is a test case. We should literally wait and see the Lahore High Court deliver its judgement in this case. Referring to the Muslim agitation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* case the *Surya* writes:—Government should not hesitate to enforce the existing law against those who delivered venomous speeches in the Badshahi Mosque and violated section 144. If it cannot do so, it should at least leave the Punjab bag and baggage and allow Muslim raj to be established there. The *Medina* invites the attention of the Government to the fire of discontent raging amidst the Muslim population of India as a result of the *Rangila Rasul* and the *Muslim Outlook* cases and warns it of the danger to peace and order if it does not act with the utmost tact and foresight. The paper also calls attention to the Bolshevik menace and emphasizes the need for Government of securing the good-will of Muslims for averting the danger. It goes on to say:—For the first time during the period of their slavery Muslims are faced with the question whether their religion is safe in India or not, and their future policy will depend on the answer to this question. In the present circumstances the Muslims are obliged to wait and see what administrative action the Government takes, but if the result of waiting proves disappointing it is feared that their feelings towards the Government will not remain pleasant. If the Government does not accept Muslim demands they should begin a formidable agitation which for its strength might be unique in the annals of India and might show that no sacrifice is too great for protecting the honour of the Prophet. The *Sada-i-Muslim* writes:—The dirty attacks of Rajpal on the Prophet have deeply stirred Muslim feelings, and it is a pity that Justice Dalip Singh has wrongly declared that an insult to the Prophet is not an insult to Islam. Indian Muslims have sacrificed their lives in the past for the honour of the Prophet, and there are still hundreds of Muslim lions alive who are willing to court

imprisonment like the editor and publisher of the *Muslim Outlook*. These lions have been vexed, and those who have vexed them have not only been praised but also helped; hence if this lion is angered and rises it would not be strange. Then the empty threats of the Arya Samajists and the tricks of the existing law would be annihilated in a trice. Either this mischief and impertinence must stop, or Muslims should be allowed to repeat their history. Muslims may have been reduced to ashes, but there are embers lurking still among them. The gusts of wind should be controlled, otherwise if these embers are fanned into flame both the earth and the sky would be burnt to ashes. Remember that Muslims are prepared to sacrifice all for the honour of the Prophet, for without him there is no Islam. If the Prophet is reviled and Muslims are advised to enjoy such revilement then neither Islam nor Muslims will tolerate this. The *Najat* apprehends that the Muslim agitation is going to degenerate into a ridiculous farce owing to differences of opinion regarding the judgement of Kunwar Dalip Singh, and writes:—The extreme confusion of thought betrayed by Muslim publicists in discussing the subject must be provoking mirth among Hindus and Government, as while one party demands the resignation of the judge the other demands an amendment of the law itself. We do not lay claim to legal knowledge, but know this much that the law under discussion is not a new one and its object is known and acted upon. Before this judgement judges have convicted people for writing books of a similar nature under this very law. So, however fine the point may be that is raised by Kunwar Dalip Singh he cannot be exonerated from the crime of prejudice. This very effort of his to raise a fine point against the hitherto accepted and general view of the law which did not so far occur to any judge constitutes the worst form of prejudice. However valuable the example of legal *finesse* shown by Kunwar Dalip Singh may be it is not free from prejudice. We are grateful to Mr. Muhammad Ali's legal learning for showing up the flaws of the law, but we are not prepared to admit even for a moment that the judge is free from the charge of the worst bias. Mr. Muhammad Ali's research has exposed the defect of the law also, and we should now unitedly demand that the judge should resign his office and the law should be amended. There is no reason for discord in this matter, and Muslims should not benefit their enemies by raising false issues. *Al Khalil* approves of the decision of the Punjab Khilafat Committee to suspend civil disobedience, but urges the Government to concede the Muslim demand for an ordinance for protecting their Prophet from insulting and abusive attacks. The paper also asks for the immediate release of all Muslim "volunteers" arrested in Lahore for violating section 144 and for the withdrawal of cases against Syed Ataullah Shah and Khwaja Abdul Rahman Gazi with a view to relieve tension and excitement among Muslims. The *Mashriq* urges Muslims to cultivate patience as advised by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his reply to the request of the Ahmadiya deputation for an interview, and assures them that His Excellency is sure to redress the grievances of Muslims and to remove the difficulty caused by the new interpretation of the law. Kunwar Dalip Singh could never have anticipated the effect that would be produced on Muslims by his judgement and could not have realized that Muslims do not acknowledge their Prophet as a mere matter of form and are not like Christians prepared to tolerate open abuse of Christ by the Aryas. The *Hindustani* regards the Muslim agitation as a preparation for carrying on a *jehad* against Hindus and the Government,

The Muharram.

Referring to the Bareilly riot the *Anand* writes:—Poor Hindus have been grievously wronged. Music within closed doors was stopped; those who played it were arrested; and the Hindus themselves were beaten, but the police and the officials were unable to prevent this injustice. It is even reported that excuses were made for not recording the complaints of injured Hindus. We invite the attention of the Governor towards this matter. There is sorrow and discontent among the local Hindus. His Excellency should get an inquiry made into the riot through an impartial committee and vindicate justice by adequately punishing the guilty. If the reports of the wrongs done to Hindus are true then the local authorities, too, are not free from blame, and His Excellency should make an inquiry into their conduct also and punish them if found guilty with a view to restore the confidence of the Hindus in the Government's sense of justice. The *Medina* complains that although formerly marriages and other festive ceremonies were never celebrated during the Muharram, this year Hindus deliberately fixed the date of marriages during the ten days of the Muharram. This appears to be

the result of some organized movement. No calamity would have befallen if the marriages had been postponed for a few days. We wonder how short-sighted those men are who merely for the sake of creating mischief hold their festive ceremonies during a mourning occasion like that of Muharram. As a result of the disturbances caused by this attitude several homes are resounding with mourning cries instead of marriage drums. The *Haqiqat* attributes the disturbances during the Muharram at Multan, Sholapur and Bareilly to the aggressive mentality developed among Hindus by the Sangathanist propaganda of Dr. Moonje and his friends, and regrets that the authorities at Multan could not take precautionary measures in spite of their bitter experiences in the past. The authorities at Bareilly acted with commendable promptitude and courage and thus averted serious bloodshed. The *Hindustani* attributes the Muharram riots to the high-handedness of the Muslims and, exhorting the Hindus to shake off their lethargy, says :—You should rely upon your own exertions and should never depend upon the Government for protection. This Government is quite faithless, and, in spite of the fact that the Hindus always help it in the hour of need and sacrifice their lives in large numbers for its sake as they did in the German War, it has never been of any use to them and even now pats the Muslims who abuse it. Describing the recent Muharram disturbances at Bareilly the *Arya Patra* says that it is widely rumoured in the city that the fact that both the city kotwal and the tahsildar were Muslims encouraged the Muslims. Preparations for the riot had been made beforehand, as Muslims were angry with the Arya Samaj as its *Anathalaya* band had played in various marriage processions allowed by the Magistrate. The Muslim *goondas* could not attack the marriage processions owing to the excellent arrangements of the district magistrate and vented their spleen on the Arya Samaj. The attitude of the police towards the wounded Hindus who went to lodge reports in the kotwali was very bad.

Political propaganda.

Referring to the *Pioneer's* proposals for strengthening the North-West Frontier in view of the rupture with Russia, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The best and most effective way to fight Bolshevism is to grant us Swaraj. A free and self-governing India is a stronger defence against foreign aggression than a discontented and disappointed people smarting under a sense of tyranny and oppression. We must, however, utter a word of warning that the rapidly accumulating sins of the Government against the political-minded are slowly bringing into being a class of people who honestly believe that any rule is better than British rule. The *Sudharak* exhorts the people to do their utmost to make the Patuakhali and Nagpur *Satyagrahas* successful, as they represent the initial stage of their preparations for the final struggle for the attainment of Swaraj through this most powerful and infallible weapon. Government is very much afraid of these *Satyagrahas*, and that is why it is wielding the discus of repression with full force to suppress them. It is, therefore, all the more imperative that people should come forward in their largest numbers to swell the ranks of *Satyagrahas*. If these *Satyagrahas* fail for want of volunteers no spirit will be left in the country to face the bureaucracy. The *Vartman* says that formerly India was an ideal country with regard to morality and absence of crimes, but now serious crimes are increasing at an alarming rate. For this the Government itself is mainly responsible as it is on account of the Government that our poverty is increasing day by day and poverty leads to crime. Under the headlines "Slavery is a horrible sin : If Satan fights against *Englishmen* I shall side with him" the same paper publishes a letter from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Berlin, in the course of which he writes :—I have now only Rs. 6 left with me, and for several days I have been getting only half meals. For many weeks I have been obliged to stint myself even in the matter of shaving and washing of clothes. Perhaps the Amir of Afghanistan may hear of my difficulties, or my own countrymen may send me something. To-day our interests are identical with those of Russia. If Russians fight against Englishmen we shall, in all circumstances, side with the former. I go so far as to say that in the present condition we shall even help Satan if he fights against Englishmen. We know that in the interests of humanity 33 crores of men must be rescued from slavery. As Englishmen alone stand in the way of our independence they should be rooted up to clear the way. The *Krishna* regrets that Mr. Gandhi has enunciated queer principles in his letter which has been responsible for ending the Nagpur *satyagrah* (Arms Act) movement. We favoured this *satyagrah*, even though we knew that it would not last, as we were opposed on principle to the Arms Act. In our

opinion the cleverest artifice employed by the British Government to encompass the downfall of Indians has been the framing of the Arms Act. The peace on which the Government prided itself a few years back was the peace of unmanly people. The Arms Act has done more harm to Indians than the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwala Bagh (tragedy). Swaraj cannot be attained by sweet talk about *khaddar*, *charkha* and Hindu-Muslim unity. It is necessary to give blood to get Swaraj. Whenever it is attained it will be attained through might. Those who believe that Swaraj can be gained through non-violence are no better than babes, however high-placed they may be, and are giving a wrong lead to the nation. It is true that India is just now altogether unfit to draw the sword, and on principle also India should not at present draw the sword as this will do her harm and not good. Just now India badly needs the friendship of Britain and this friendship should last for a long time. But if Britain does not do anything for the good of India, and does not fit her to take her stand among the free and living nations of the world then India will perforce have to fight an honest fight with Britain to regain her lost position and freedom. Mr. Gandhi's logic is queer, and either his *satyagrah* is a paradox or he favours the Arms Act and wants to strengthen the bureaucracy. It would be best if Mr. Gandhi were to keep such novel views to himself. He, however, is not to be restrained, and it is a matter for gratification that India has now become fully aware of the reality of his non-violent *satyagrah*.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah's remark in his speech in the London mosque that Muslims felt that the wild talk of immediate Swaraj was a Hindu propaganda, and that a clear-cut English policy of alliance with Islam was the surest guarantee for peace the *Aligarh Mail* writes :—There is not a single Muslim in this country who does not stubbornly oppose the substitution of Hindu Raj for British Raj at which Malaviyas, Moonjes and Lajpat Rais are aiming. The British Empire is the greatest Muslim power in the sense that it contains the largest Muslim population. If the English and the Muslims are allied it means that a greater part of Asia and Africa will enjoy peace, tranquillity and prosperity owing to the absence of any Anglo-Muslim friction. If Great Britain avowedly becomes the ally of Islam and pursues a policy which may not lead to the least estrangement between the English and Muslims a greater part of world-peace can surely be assured. In the course of a lengthy review of British policy in regard to the "political enervation" of Hindus and Muslims in India the *Desh Bhagat* says that Government is trying to crush the political strength of Indians by rendering self-respecting and patriotic ruling chiefs helpless and by attacking the Hindus with the help of Muslims. It is thus idle for Hindus to look to Government for help in their sufferings. They should, therefore, bravely welcome this open declaration of war by Government and try to defend their lives, property, honour and rights. They should also win over Muslim nationalists and expose this cunning and disgraceful policy of the British. They should especially carry on propaganda in Britain, so that the masses there may press the ruling classes to abandon their anti-Hindu policy. The time has now come when every attack of Muslims should be answered, but in such a manner as to isolate the Muslim nationalists from the *goondas* who are traitors to the nation. If the Hindus want to survive they must immediately organize all their strength in conjunction with gentlemanly Muslims and try to overthrow the present Government. A strong military organization of self-defence should be set up everywhere to combat British and Muslim attacks. We would fain like India to be converted into another Ireland and would urge British statesmen to show more sense if they do not want their names to darken the pages of history and do not like to earn the opprobrium of their own progeny by endangering their empire in the East. The *Hindustani* regrets that Government has, during the last five years, lost its reputation for even-handed justice between Hindus and Muslims, and communal disturbances have, as a result, become the order of the day. The authorities cannot shirk their responsibility by alleging that the Hindus and Muslims have suddenly become quarrelsome during the last four years. What for are the civilians so highly praised if they cannot put a stop to riots? Why do they not hand over the administration to Indians so that these disturbances may come to an end? We repeat that temporary and make-shift measures and this looking on at bloody dramas will in the end prove a deadly poison for Government, and when the opportunity is gone it will be able to do nothing but wring its hands in despair.

Appointment of Finance Member.

Commending the appointment of Mr. G. B. Lambert as the next Finance Member of the United Provinces, the *Pioneer* writes:—Mr. Lambert has had ample opportunity of gaining a complete grip of all varieties of provincial problems. It is thirty years since he first arrived in India, and the whole of his career has been spent in the United Provinces. While acknowledging the ability of Mr. Lambert the *Leader* criticises his appointment as Finance Member on the ground of his "almost militant reactionaryism, a supercilious contempt for Indian opinion." Referring to this criticism the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We are asked to believe that a great calamity has happened to the political fortunes of the provinces for five years by the appointment of Mr. Lambert as the Finance Member. We suppose it forms part of the Liberal creed to bank all its faith in appointments, but the public watch with absolute unconcern the domestic concerns of the bureaucracy—the personnel of the Government—so long as the system continues as such. The province of Bihar and Orissa did not display any political miracle under an Indian Finance Member who was a Congressman and journalist. The baby outlook in politics that would stick its faith in power and pelf, we suppose, must needs find expression whenever a high appointment is made. "Politicus," writing in the editorial page of the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, says that Mr. Lambert's appointment as Finance Member will commend itself to the public, and adds:—Mr. Lambert has done very creditable service as Chief Secretary in these provinces, and no one after Mr. A. C. Chatterjee achieved such remarkable success in that difficult job as fell to Mr. Lambert's lot. He earned the good-will and cooperation of officials and the gratitude and appreciation of the public. Even his critics have no fault to find on the score of courtesy and politeness, and he has, no doubt, been among the best of the bureaucrats. The *Aj* says that the question of individual appointments is immaterial so long as the existing system of Government is not changed and the reins of administration placed into the hands of elected representatives of the people. This being the case, we fail to understand why in one quarter the appointment of Mr. Lambert as Finance Member of the United Provinces is being bewailed and the supersession of Mr. Pim opposed. We sincerely hold that such a mentality and such an artificial agitation are harmful for the country and for the cause of Swaraj. The *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates Mr. Lambert on his appointment, referring to him as "the kind-hearted and distinguished civilian of our provinces."

Secretariat appointments.

The *Leader* writes:—We heartily congratulate Sir William Marris on the appointment of Kunwar Jagdish Prasad as Chief Secretary and of Mr. Panna Lal as Secretary for Education and Industries. These appointments do not increase the number of Indians in the Secretariat, but the office of the Chief Secretary is so important as things are that the new appointments should be taken as a net gain to Indian officers. Some of Kunwar Jagdish Prasad's utterances in the Council and, some of his acts and methods as Government Whip, have come in for sharp criticism from non-official members, but his ability, eloquence and devotion to duty have been acknowledged by his critics, not less than by those with whom he has acted. The duties of his new and higher office are thought to be more difficult and delicate, but we are confident that Kunwar Jagdish Prasad will be quite equal to them. Mr. Panna Lal is in the twentieth year of his service and deserved years ago the position of a Secretary to Government to which he has now been called. His ability is indisputable, and the Minister of Education and Industries should find him a sound adviser. We trust that both Kunwar Jagdish Prasad and Mr. Panna Lal will be confirmed in their new offices in January when the new Governor and the new Finance Member assume charge of their respective offices. The *Advocate* writes:—We congratulate Sir William Marris on the appointment of Kunwar Jagdish Prasad and Mr. Panna Lal, which will be hailed with satisfaction by the public.

Earl Winterton's speech.

The *Pratap* severely criticizes Earl Winterton's Parliamentary speech, and says:—The speech was full of hypocritical observations and was intended to show that the poor Englishmen were straining every nerve to do good to Indians, but that Indians were so unworthy that they were applying the axe to their own feet. His remarks regarding the diet of Indians do not hold good in view of the fact that they have not even coarse grain to eat. Through the kindness of the British Government starvation has made notable progress. The starvation and evil customs prevailing among us have pulverized us and turned men into beasts. Englishmen

have done nothing to purge the country of these evil customs. The blame lies on them, for while proclaiming religious liberty by the beat of drum they have ensnared the people in foolishness and obstinacy. The machine-guns and the exchequer of the British Government will always be available for the protection of the branches of the *peepal* tree, the twigs of the *tazias*, follies of marriage processions, and hooliganism of Muharram so that people may remain occupied with these follies; but if some great task is undertaken for imparting strength to the heart and body of the youths of the country, extricating them from the clutches of the *peepal* tree and the *pirs* and leading them towards advancement and enlightenment we can say with certainty that all the forces of Lord Winterton's Government will be utilized under one excuse or other to undo it. They see their weakness in the strength of Indians and their fall in their organization. When there is such a conflict between the rulers and the ruled what can the Government do for the people? We have nothing to say against this. This is the inevitable consequence of foreign domination. What we resent is that people like Lord Winterton do not speak the truth, but indulge in oily speeches. The *Shakti* writes:—A perusal of Lord Winterton's speech shows that he cares very little for the welfare of India, and that his only concern is to fill the Indian Civil and Military services with an adequate number of Englishmen. Europeans, and specially Englishmen of the Conservative party, are in the habit of saying that Indians are mean, cowardly, incompetent, engrossed in religous strifes and fettered in social chains, and as such they are neither fit to carry on the work of administration, nor to lead the armies. There is no argument which can convince these men. We can only say to them that when it is our turn we shall also show the same spectacle which Shivaji showed to the Moghuls. Let the time come. Those men are in the wrong who think that as the non-cooperation movement has been suppressed and Indians are unarmed, they can be roasted (with guns). God's ways are mysterious. They work havoc. It is only a question of time. Nobody's pride lasts long. India will never be content without attaining self-government.

Reforms.

The *Leader* writes:—It is a capital contribution which Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar has opportunely made to the discussion on the subject of the coming Statutory Commission. It is characteristic equally of his thoughtfulness, his wisdom, his patriotism, his sense of fairness. We have no difficulty in endorsing almost every word he has said . . . It will be an insult to India for the British Government to set up an exclusively British Commission, and it will be the duty of self-respecting Indians to consider seriously if they will have anything to do with a body of external examiners whose verdict they should not find it extraordinarily difficult to anticipate. Commenting upon Lord Olivier's statement that complete self-government for India was not a question of practical politics, the *Aj* writes:—When such is the view of liberal and socialistic British politicians nothing can be expected from other Englishmen. This is why we urge that we should expect nothing from the Statutory Commission and take measures to compel the British authorities to negotiate with us on the question of Swaraj. There being a wide divergence between the people and the Congress it is idle to expect that the Statutory Commission will pay any heed to the demands of the Congress. We should rest assured that the Commission will finish its labours only by strengthening the bureaucracy. Swaraj would have become a question of practical politics if it has been rendered difficult, if not impossible, for the bureaucracy to utilize the man-power and money-power of India for the good of the Empire without granting Swaraj to her. Far from this being done the national assembly has become a house divided against itself and looks to the Commission itself for a favourable dispensation. This being the case we have to admit the truth of Lord Olivier's contention and hang our heads in shame.

Indian States.

The *Aziz-i-Hind* urges the Government of India to publish a *communiqué* to dispel the mischievous effect of the propaganda being carried on against States like Bharatpur, Jhabua and Tonk. The *Riyasat* has been publishing most damaging allegations against the last-mentioned State, and Government should publish a *communiqué* about it immediately so that evil-intentioned propagandists may be discouraged. The *Desh Bhagat* complains of *Nadir Shahi* oppression on Hindus in the Muslim State of Tonk and states that only recently at the village of Bisal Nivas, in the district of Nambahera, the police desecrated the *havan bedi* of certain Sadhus, beat the Mahant, and when the Sadhus resented this interference in religious matters and took up their *lathis* the police opened fire, and as a result several

persons were wounded and sweets and *havan* materials worth thousands were destroyed. All this happened because the police did not receive a *nazrana* of Rs. 50. If justice is not done the Hindus of the locality will be forced to emigrate from the State.

The Bengal detenus.

Referring to an article in the *Manchester Guardian* that in Russia arrests are made without a warrant, and that the arrested man or woman is sent to prison or exile without any kind of legal procedure, simply by an administrative order, the *Leader* writes:—The writer of the article is probably unaware that in Bengal, under "civilized" British rule, young men have been similarly shut up, without any opportunity of establishing their innocence, by administrative order, and without any kind of legal procedure. If the Bolshevik system of dealing with political heretics has surpassed in its autocracy and cruelty the Tsarist, what is one to say of the Bengal Ordinance, the necessity of which and the policy underlying which have been repeatedly defended by Earl Winterton? When will the Government realize that the continued detention of political suspects in Bengal brings disgrace to its own reputation in addition to exasperating the feelings of the people and outraging their sense of justice and fairplay?

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ALLAHABAD:
July 23, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

2 AUG 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 30 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 30, 1927.

The *Rangila Rasul* Case.

THE agitation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* and the *Muslim Outlook* cases continues to be the chief topic of comment on communal lines. The *Pioneer* writes: It seems unfortunate that the leaders of the Muhammadan community cannot keep their followers within bounds. The vehemence of the Punjab agitation has now had repercussions on the Frontier, while well-meaning people in England have been induced to add fuel to fire by signing memorials. The Muhammadan community must be told the plain truth. In seeking to bemuse the administration by means of turbulent threats and comminations when all the time machinery is at work to dispose of its grievances, it is playing an anti-social part detrimental to its prestige and destructive of sympathy. Referring to the Muslim demand for legislation penalizing attacks on founders of religions the *Aj* says: Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's judgement affects all communities alike, and the condemnation and punishment of the reviler of the founders of religions should be left to public opinion which cannot tolerate for long any such attacks. The most serious objection against legislating on the subject is that it will affect historical research also. It will be difficult to decide whether the writer of the life of the founder of a religion has discussed it from the historical standpoint, or has been actuated by malice. The *Hitaishi* strongly condemns Muslim agitation against the Punjab High Court and says: The position of law courts, which form an integral part of the administrative machinery, has now been endangered not only in the Punjab, but the whole country. It is imperative, in the interest of efficiency of administration, that the perilous agitation engineered by the Punjab Muslims should be nipped in the bud. If these malicious attacks against the Hindus and the Government are not checked this spark of fire will develop into a widespread conflagration which it will be difficult to control. The *Kshattriya Mitra* justifies the action of Rajpal in subjecting the life of the Prophet to a searching criticism, and contends that truth cannot be suppressed by false criticism and that a true Prophet is proof against all calumnies. It points out that the Prophet has exhorted the Muslims to annihilate the heathens and therefore emphasises the necessity of Hindu unity through *Sangathan* and says that true *Swaraj* and Hindu *Sangathan* are synonymous. The *Medina* questions the wisdom of those who resorted to civil disobedience at Lahore in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* affair and says:—Islam has laid down only two methods of asserting one's just rights—*jehad* (war) or patience. If there is strength and the necessary resources are available then we say that our Punjab brethren should proclaim *jehad*, otherwise, relying on divine inspiration, they should have patience and act with prudence and tact. For insults offered to the Prophet there is no remedy except an armed crusade, but all sensible men know that such a conflict will be disastrous for Muslims. The *Najat* says that the judgement of Kunwar Dalip Singh had produced so much excitement and provocation that it does credit to Muslims that they restrained themselves to such an extent. But those who could not suppress their just and natural resentment have been lodged in jail, while the wicked mischief-makers are at large. Government has by this attitude still further lowered among Muslims its reputation for justice. Muslims are justified in their demand that Kunwar Dalip Singh should not be allowed to continue in his present responsible office for which he is not fit. When judges can be influenced by their surrounding atmosphere to such an extent Government must take notice of their biassed acts. *Al Aziz* says: It was open to Mr. Justice Dalip Singh to use his discretion in upholding the conviction

of Rajpal even though the law was defective and we think that he should resign, or should be forced to do so, as it was because of him that the Punjab High Court and British justice were disgraced. Besides, he must have been either cowed down or angered by the Muslim agitation and cannot be in a fit state of mind to deal impartially with Muslim cases and should vacate his seat on the Bench in the interests of justice.

The *Muharram*.

The disturbances which occurred at Bareilly and other places during the *Muharram* have evoked a good deal of communal recrimination. Hindu papers strongly protest against the attitude of the Bareilly police, especially of the Kotwal. The *Abhudaya* writes: What need was there for the Kotwal of Bareilly to enter the *Arya Samaj* temple and insult the members of that community when the authorities had issued no order forbidding the playing of music in the town. It is also said that in excitement he went to the altar with shoes on. We want that a thorough enquiry should be made in the matter. The Hindus of Bareilly think that this action of his encouraged the Muslims to take the law into their own hands. The *Arya Mitra* remarks: We feel confident that the United Provinces Government will make a proper enquiry into the Bareilly disturbance and bring the offenders to book, and that it will also take up the question of the unwarranted arrest of innocent Arya Samajists. We refrain from making any comments on this matter as it is still *sub judice*, but we cannot help stating that the Government should study the bellicose mentality of Muslims. We consider it our duty to warn the Government of this province that if it allows the irresponsibility and high-handedness of the Muslims to increase the situation will become very terrible. We particularly request the Government to make a thorough enquiry with a view to find out whether or not its Hindu or Muslim officials identify themselves with the interests of a particular party and display a biassed mentality. The *Najat* holds Hindus responsible for the riots at Calcutta, Bareilly, Sholapur and other places, and says: If Malaviyaji and Dr. Moonje have banished humanity and sympathy are there not even three or four Hindus who would purge their community of mischievous elements? We would not falsely blame the entire Hindu community for these misdeeds, but deplore the negligence of those people who have entrusted the godhead of the Hindu community to Mr. Malaviya and have themselves retired to grieve over bloody riots and the disgraceful acts of their community. The *Mansur* regrets that the discord-breeding spirit of Hindu *sangathan* has so fatally deprived some people of courtesy and sympathy that they do not hesitate to attack even the mourning processions of Muslims during the *Muharram*. At Calcutta, Sholapur, Bareilly, Multan, Jubbulpore, Sandila, Maurawan, Farrukhabad, in short at every place from which news about trouble during *Muharram* has been received the Sangathanist Hindus have been the first to make mischief and this is proved by the official *communiqués* and Associated Press messages. In the end we would inquire of Government how long it is going to tolerate the *sangathan* movement, which is responsible for so much bloodshed and for such sacrileges as the recent attacks on the Prophet. Government should bear in mind that if this wave of sangathanist lawlessness is not checked its own difficulties will also be enhanced. The *Shuz* holds the action of the Muslims of Bareilly in attacking Arya Samajists while they were reciting hymns in their temple within closed doors during the *Muharram* to be totally unjustified and inquires whether Aryas are now to be required to give up their prayers even. The *Krishna* says that the demand of the Muslims at Bareilly to stop music during the weekly divine service in the *Arya Samaj* temple while the *Muharram* procession was passing was extremely improper and foolish, and was inspired either by madness or by a desire to pick up a quarrel. As reported, the Muslim Kotwal rushed into the temple with two hundred Muslims and ascended the altar with shoes on. Most of the men present in the temple were willing to stop music, still arrests were made. It is stated that sacred threads of those taken to the lock-up were taken off. Certain European officials are also responsible for such Nadir Shahi acts as they encourage the Muslims by yielding to their unjust demands. In reality, everywhere there is Muslim *Raj* and not English *Raj*. Government is, however, committing a serious political blunder, as these very Muslims whom it is just now patting will turn round in the event of a foreign Muslim invasion and add to its embarrassments by joining the enemy. It should not lay the axe at its own root by alienating the Hindus by treating them unjustly. The Aryas of Bareilly did not show the spirit of Dayanand in consenting to stop music. They should have disobeyed

orders and courted imprisonment. They should also have offered physical resistance when their sacred threads were being taken off and should have cheerfully welcomed punishment for struggling with the policemen who touched their bodies. Anyway, we regard it as against the self-respect of an Arya to submit meekly to his body being touched by a policeman, and we are sorry for the weakness and cowardice of the Bareilly Aryas.

Hindu-Muslim Relations.

Referring to the forcible abduction of Hindu women and children in Bengal and elsewhere tho *Anand* writes: All this is being done to extirpate the Hindus altogether, but it is a pity that our Government does not display firmness in putting a stop to it, and is thereby encouraging the hooligans. It is the duty of the Government to get such cases investigated by impartial officials and bring the offenders to book. The *Medina* discusses at length the causes of the present communal tension and attributes it to "the innate narrow-mindedness of Hindus, their capitalistic mentality, greed and vindictiveness," and says that if they do not change their attitude towards Muslims the future historian will lay the responsibility for the slavery and subjection of India on the Hindus. The *Desh Bhagat* says that the English have by their wonderful diplomatic skill won the friendship of both Hindus and Muslims and utilize each community to crush the other. Those Muslims whose *Quran* forbids them to make friends with heathens and Christians and who have suffered so much from the English in the past are now their most ardent admirers. The Muslims have probably forgotten what the English have done to their *Khalifa* and to Bahadur Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, and how they have annexed Mesopotamia, and how the people of that country are cursing Indian Muslims for their sad fate. If they were to ask of any patriotic Muslim politicians they would learn that the English still occasionally employ strategems to ruin or conquer Turkey, Egypt, Afghanistan, Persia and Arabia, etc. Muslims have probably also forgotten the atrocities they suffered in the Jallianwala Bagh and elsewhere during the Punjab Martial Law days. Alas! Indian Muslims and their leaders are to-day so drugged with selfishness that, in spite of the warnings of their co-religionists who breathe the air of freer climes and are therefore more wideawake, they are unaware that the cup they are drinking from English hands contains poison, not syrup. British friendship gives the Muslims a few more posts and a few sweet words from the lips of Englishmen. They can also harass Hindus more freely, and a few leaders might be receiving heavy secret subsidies from British statesmen. It is thus the Muslim leaders, who ally themselves with the British and incite the innocent masses, that gain. The masses themselves are being ground down by ever-recurring riots and lose all along the line. We warn Indian Muslims that by cultivating British friendship and alienating Hindus they are not only encompassing their own ruin, but are also making it possible for Englishmen to injure other Islamic countries seriously. It is the cherished desire of Englishmen that Hindus and Muslims should fight amongst themselves and Hindu feeling should be worked up against Muslims so that, in the event of war with Russia and Afghanistan siding with her, Hindu aid might be utilized to deprive the Afghans of their independence. Again, this is the precious opportunity to gain India's freedom, and Russia and Afghanistan desire that Hindus and Muslims should unite and strive for their country's independence so that the British Government, which is setting both communities by the ears, may be extirpated for ever from India and Indians may live in peace and comfort.

Appointment of the Finance Member.

"Fair-play," writing in the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, strongly criticizes the *Leader's* remarks on Mr. Lambert's appointment as Finance Member, and says: It may be that Mr. Lambert does not possess a glib tongue or the smiling face of a deceptive official, but, those who know him will agree that he is just to a fault and is possessed of a kind heart within a somewhat rough exterior of the typical Britisher. He is responsible for many a progressive measure of administration during the six years of his work as Chief Secretary, and one could quote many illustrations of his having made no difference between an Indian and a European. Commenting on the same subject the *Hitaishi* writes: It is our firm conviction that it is simply waste of time and energy to adjudicate upon the propriety or otherwise of a particular appointment as long as the reins of administration are not controlled by the elected representatives of the people. Under the existing constitution there is no material difference between a good Indian or a bad European. We, therefore, fail to understand the expression of

regret over the appointment of Mr. Lambert as Finance Member and the protest against the supersession of Mr. Pim. We sincerely feel that such a mentality and such artificial agitation are detrimental to the interests of the country and are calculated to stand in the way of *Swaraj*. The *Shakti* writes: Mr. Lambert, though an able man, is a diplomat, and an inveterate opponent of the aspirations of Indians. The *Azad* heartily congratulates Mr. Lambert on his appointment as Finance Member and says that he is a capable, impartial, and experienced officer. No doubt, he is free from show and diplomacy, and is a frank person and always says what he feels to one's face, but he possesses a sympathetic heart and tries to discharge his duties honestly. He inclines more towards caution in the matter of political reforms, but if he is convinced by argument of the justice of any demand he becomes a great supporter of it. Anyway, he has been serving this province for thirty years and has been an important limb of the Government for the last six years, and we trust he will discharge his new responsibilities most satisfactorily. The *Aziz-i-Hind* congratulates Mr. Lambert on his selection by Government as Finance Member and says: There is no doubt that Mr. Lambert is a very honest and impartial officer and always discharges his duties with great industry and ability. We are also very much gratified at his appointment, inasmuch as he will never come under the influence of Mr. Chintamani and other liberal leaders. The *Mashriq* is extremely gratified at the appointment of Mr. Lambert as Finance Member, and says that it will be welcomed by the people of these provinces. The editor states that he has found no Chief Secretary in his time to be as politic and statesman-like as Mr. Lambert, and is certain that Sir Alexander Muddiman will be satisfied with his appointment. Words fail to praise the wisdom and aptitude of Sir William Marris for making right selections.

Secretariat Appointments.

With only one exception newspapers warmly thank the Governor for the appointment of Kunwar Jagdish Prasad as Chief Secretary, and of Mr. Panna Lal as Education Secretary, and express the hope that they will be confirmed in their new offices. The *Hamdam* pays a tribute to the sense of justice of Sir William Marris and to his recognition of merit in appointing Kunwar Jagdish Prasad as Chief Secretary, and says that the people of these provinces will be undoubtedly grateful that an Indian has for the second time been appointed Chief Secretary to the local Government. Kunwar Jagdish Prasad is a capable and noted civilian who, besides filling administrative and judicial offices in various districts, has been a very successful Education and Industries Secretary for more than four years. He is extremely popular among all political parties in the Council and belongs to a respectable family of these provinces, long reputed for its love of learning, large-heartedness, and freedom from prejudice. We are sure he will fill his new office with credit if he is allowed to stay at his post for a reasonable time and not shunted off to various commissions like Sir Atul. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that if the appointment of black Indians to public offices hitherto reserved for white-skinned civilians is proof of a change in "the angle of vision" then the appointment as Chief Secretary of Kunwar Jagdish Prasad is surely an event which gives great hopes for the future. The far-sightedness, statesmanship, and sensibleness of Sir William Marris are acknowledged, and, before the close of his régime he has opened for Indians a door which, if not altogether closed, had been only half-open up till now. The *Haqiqat* writes: Kunwar Jagdish Prasad is a capable, eloquent and intelligent Civilian who, as member of the Council for the last seven years, has not only gained experience of it, but has also been popular among all the parties barring the Swarajists. There could have been no better selection for the post. The *Aziz-i-Hind*, while admitting that Kunwar Jagdish Prasad and Mr. Panna Lal are capable, and that it is the duty of Indians to rejoice over their elevation, questions whether, when Hindu-Muslim relations are strained, the appointment of an Indian, be he a Hindu or a Muslim, to the post of Chief Secretary is proper, and wonders in what light the Muslims will regard this generosity of the United Provinces Government. We think that Government should act with great circumspection in the matter and should not displease Muslims by superseding Mr. Crosthwaite, who is senior and in every way entitled to the post of Chief Secretary.

Proposed Press Legislation.

Referring to Mr. Craik's speech in the Punjab Legislative Council, regarding the control of the Press, the *Pratap* concedes that the charges against the "gutter press" are true, but contends that the blame for creating the present atmosphere lies on the present

system of government. The *Abhyudaya* writes : We do not want to say anything in defence of filthy newspapers. No condemnation is too strong of those whose sole aim is to make money, but still we are not in favour of such a legislation. If the Government frames a rule that the man under whose administration riots take place will be held responsible for them, there will be no more riots in spite of the existence of filthy newspapers. The *Sada-i-Muslim* recalls the havoc wrought among newspapers by the Press Act, and says that, thanks to the foul-mouthed Hindu papers and their ring-leader Rajpal of *Rangila Rasul* fame, the entire Press of India is again in danger of suffering from the calamity of a new Press law. It is to be hoped that all sober-minded persons, both Hindus and Muslims, who have the freedom of the Press at heart, will agitate against the proposed piece of legislation. While admitting the truth of Mr. Craik's statement in the Punjab Council about the irresponsible writings of the "gutter press" in the Punjab, *Al Khalil* holds the provincial leaders really responsible for this state of affairs as they carry the palm in preaching communal and religious hatred and generally control and finance newspapers. Many members of the Punjab Council also help such newspapers, and communal feeling can be improved not by imposing restrictions on the Press, but by removing the trouble at its source.

Political Propaganda.

The *Aj* refers to the twofold objects of Mr. Patel's visit to Europe, namely, to prove the fitness of Indians for Swaraj and to study the Parliaments of various countries with a view to effect improvements in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and says that this shows that even the greatest of men of this country have fallen victim to slave mentality. Both these objects are harmful for India. It would have been much better if Mr. Patel had not undertaken his visit to foreign countries. The way in which he conducted himself in England has done injury to the country, has brought disgrace on the Congress, and has degraded his high position and his great personality. In the course of an article, recounting the evils of Western capitalism and imperialism, the *Medina* writes : China has fallen a victim to the machinations of the Western demons who, in the garb of capitalism, are dominating the country. Poor India, too, which has for a century and-a-half been a prey to the deceitfulness of a capitalistic Government, could not escape from the grave evils of capitalism which are manifesting themselves in diverse political and religious forms. Before the domination of India by the Western nation there were no Hindu-Muslim disturbances, there was no tension among the various political bodies, and no mutual breaking of heads. The paper welcomes the formation of a "Republican" party in the Congress, and appeals to the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsees to strengthen this party and thereby to dispel the illusion of constitutional agitation and prepare the way to true liberty without which the condition of India cannot be improved.

Communal Representation.

Referring to the Punjab Muslims' manifesto, opposing joint electorates, the *Pioneer* writes : The objections to a joint electorate are plainly stated in the manifesto, but the signatories do not appear to realize that the longer the separate electorate system is maintained without any attempt being made to move, perhaps by stages, toward a joint electorate the more difficult it will be to attain that unity which is so essential to sound advancement. The *Leader* writes: The separatists who see many imaginary virtues in separate electorates do not realise the immense mischief these have done. Much of the manifestation of the narrow communal spirit can be traced to this source, but the unhealthy results of separate electorates have been cited as arguments in support of their retention. We are sorry for the attitude of the Punjab Muslim councillors, but we believe that the day is not far off when they will revise their views as a number of other strong supporters of separate electorates have done. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* opines that the manifesto definitely marks a stage in the progress of communal tension and says : There is no doubt that the Muslim mass mind will rally round this cry and leaders will find that they have either to go with the mob or be left adrift to chew their own cud.

Death of General Dyer.

Newspapers comment extensively on the death of General Dyer. The *Leader* writes : The name of General Dyer is associated with a bloody deed which sent a shock of horror and spread a wave of indignation throughout the country and laid the foundations for the starting of a subversive movement which assumed alarming proportions. He rendered the greatest disservice to British rule in India and

the painful and bitter memory of his fell deed will live long. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: But for his part in the atrocity of Jallianwala Bagh, the cruel specimen of humanity known as Dyer would never have been known to India and to the world, and his death might have hardly evoked any interest beyond the military circles. As it is, his death means, to India, the passing away of a monster-minded man, who did not hesitate to shoot down an unarmed and helpless populace in cold blood. There is no palliation for such an act; it marks him out as a detestable type to be avoided. The *Aj* says that General Dyer was a specimen of British frightfulness and will long be remembered as such by the thinking world. General Dyer is dead, but the spirit of Dyerism still survives and manifests itself from time to time in Mesopotamia, China, and on a smaller scale in India also. The *Hamdam* writes: Dyer has left this world for good, but has left behind him a monument of cruelty and callousness in the shape of the well-known Jallianwala Bagh episode. Those Britishers who regard it as their greatest national service to deprive the subject peoples of their natural rights will probably call Dyer a hero, but India will always look upon him as a Nero. We can best preserve his memory in India by keeping before our eyes the bloody scene of the Jallianwala Bagh, where the blood of the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs mingled together and by giving up our mutual dissensions and exhibiting the same unique example of unity which was witnessed at the time of the occurrence.

The Reserve Bank Bill.

Referring to the "important victory" which the popular party in the Select Committee on the Reserve Bank Bill won on the question of the constitution of the directorate the *Leader* writes: If the Reserve Bank is to fulfil its real object it should be a State Bank capable of acting independently of Government in regulating the currency and credit policy in the best interests of the country and along sound economic lines. The exchange and currency policy of Government in the past has been such as to arouse a great deal of distrust among Indian nationalists and businessmen, and there is, therefore, a great deal of justification for the proposal for the representation of Indian Legislatures on the directorate of the Reserve Bank and for a majority of elected Indian members in its constitution. The *Aj* says that the refusal of Sir Basil Blackett to proceed with the consideration of the Reserve Bank Bill owing to the Select Committee rejecting his scheme regarding the directorate of the bank illustrates the sense of responsibility of these rulers. Sir Basil Blackett's entire scheme regarding the bank clearly shows that he attached greater importance to the interests of London than to those of India.

Muslim Affairs.

The *Aligarh Mail* refers to the number of Hindu and Muslim judges in the Punjab High Court and says: From these facts it is evident that the Lahore High Court Bench is monopolised by Hindus with Sir Shadi Lal as the Presiding Deity of the court. We wonder why, in the present circumstances, it should be unreasonable for one to propose that the court be re-christened as the Hindu High Court of Lahore.

Indian States.

Al Khalil says that it is credibly informed that the heir-apparent of Tonk was given a cup containing poison by one of the attendants of the Nawab when the prince came to pay his respects to his father on the occasion of the latter's departure for Bombay. When the Nawab reached Kotah station he received a telegram informing him of the heir-apparent's death, but refused to return, even though advised to that effect by the Agent to the Governor-General. The Political department should inquire into the matter and publish a *communiqué* giving full details.

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
July 30, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 31 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 6, 1927.

The *Rangila Rasul* case.

The *Rangila Rasul* and the *Muslim Outlook* cases continue to receive prominent attention, but the tone of comments in Muslim papers shows considerable improvement. Hindu papers emphasize the dangers of Muslim agitation. The *Sainik* writes:—The fury of the Muslim agitation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* case is bewildering. Things have come to such a pass that in the Frontier Province Muslims are bent on committing atrocities on Hindus whose lives and property are in serious danger. Yet the Government pats the Muslims on the back. It is time that Hindus, Muslims and the Government took heed. Hindus should give up cowardice and untouchability and should organize themselves. Muslims should abandon their impetuosity and fanaticism and Government should restrain Muslim barbarity and lawlessness. Referring to the Muslim demand for the amendment of the law so as to make attacks on prophets and religious heads punishable with death the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—We can understand the Muslim demand for the amendment of the law so as to penalize attacks on prophets and religious heads and in this the Muslims have our whole-hearted support. But we fail to understand their mentality when they insist on this offence being made punishable with death on the basis of the injunctions contained in the Quran and the *Hadis* have no place in the Penal Code. The *Vartman* complains that as a result of the agitation in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* case Muslims of the Frontier are seeking to ruin the Hindus of that province. Mullahs of villages are being incited by means of venomous speeches. Various reports go to show that the Muslims of the Frontier Province have broken all restraints of law and have taken into their head to beat the Hindus to a pulp. In short anarchy is reigning in the Frontier Province. Blood begins to boil when we hear of the recent mean actions of Muslims. In fact we think that now Muslims have become mad and this madness will soon lead them to ruin for the world of to-day does not want to see such a blood-thirsty religion flourish for long. Government is not taking any action because the Hindus are too weak to be able to embarrass it. They are not prepared to kill and be killed if their demands are not conceded and therefore they deserve to be ignored. Does this not show that the Government sides with those who carry the rod? The community which becomes ready to die and to kill makes the Government concede even its unjust demands. But he who appeals to justice is mercilessly strangled. Truly, this is the age of "might is right." Let the Government remain apathetic, it is in its interest to be so and this is why it has become blind. But will our national leaders also fail us? Discussing the various demands of Muslims in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* case the *Medina* says that the basic demand should be that the Government and a full Bench of the Punjab High Court should ask Kunwar Dalip Singh to make a public declaration that in his judgement he had really the helplessness of law in view and was not actuated by any other consideration and that he was very sorry for the unrest and agitation which had been caused among Indian Muslims by his judgement. The effects of such a declaration will be reassuring alike for the Muslims, the Government and the public. The next demand should be the addition of a clear provision in the criminal law penalizing attacks on prophets and founders of religions. If these demands are not conceded Muslims will resort to civil disobedience and Government will

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have to face greater difficulties than those which it had to encounter in connexion with the Sikh agitation. This will also show that Government itself is the greatest enemy of inter-communal unity and foments communal disturbances to serve its secret and mean ends.

The Muharram.

The Bareilly riots continue to evoke communal recriminations. The *Leader* writes:—It is well that the case against the Arya Samajists of Bareilly has been withdrawn, but the matter ought not to be allowed to rest there. An inquiry should be made into the handling of the situation by the officers present. It was very unfortunate from the point of view of the maintenance of law and order in future that a thoroughly unreasonable demand for the stoppage of music on the part of a rowdy section of the procession was sought to be enforced by the Kotwal, for his action implied the triumph of truculence and the humiliation of the law-abiding. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says:—The Bareilly incident has considerably agitated the Arya Samajists all over the country. There is not a single important town in these provinces where the Arya Samajists have not met and recorded their indignation at the insult offered to them. Popular feeling, thus stirred, must exercise profound influence throughout Hindu India. Remember, a religious insult is never forgiven. The *Anand* says that the release of the Arya Samajists who were arrested at Bareilly while offering prayers in a temple on the occasion of the Muharram is not sufficient for the restoration of peace. It is also the duty of the District Magistrate to arrest and punish the *goondas* who were responsible for the riot and to remove such officials as were guilty of partiality. The *Kailash* alludes to the communal tension in the country with special reference to the Bareilly riot and remarks:—The accounts of the atrocities perpetrated by the Muslims upon the Hindus in the Arya Samaj temple at Bareilly have shocked the feelings of the entire Hindu population. We can no longer tolerate the Multan atrocities. While scrupulously refraining from playing the rôle of an aggressor the Hindus ought to retaliate because self-defence is the basic principle of self-preservation. Hindus have become very anxious to protect their religion and they are seriously thinking of engaging in a conflict with the Government of India for this purpose. The *Hamdam* regrets that though the Arya Samajists started trouble at Bareilly by their folly and wickedness in insisting on music in their temple during the passing of the Muharram procession they have not yet stopped their provocative actions. In the afternoon of July 21, while Muslims were offering their Juma prayers in the Juma mosque at Naumahla the Aryas seriously interrupted their devotions by engaging in music at a place very near by, though they had no justification for such music. The Hindus held a mass meeting the same evening in the Arya Samaj Orphanage which is also near by and it is said that the speakers there spat much venom against Muslims. Such meetings are undesirable while the atmosphere is so vitiated. It is a pity that while discharging the Arya accused the Collector made no announcement regarding the Muslim accused and this strange and unjust procedure is causing general disappointment and resentment among Muslims while encouraging the Aryas who regard it as the triumph of their propaganda.

Communal representation.

Hindu papers strongly criticize the manifesto issued by Muslim members of the Punjab Legislative Council regarding joint electorates. Muslim opinion is sharply divided, the majority of papers favouring the Delhi scheme. The *Aligarh Mail* says:—It is time that Muslims organized an all-India agitation against joint electorates. For that purpose it is urgently needed that we should revive a branch of the All-India Muslim League in every district of every province. If we set up such an all-India organization we shall create a power which will make our voice heard. The *Aj* writes:—We have had enough of communalism and mutual head-breaking as a result of communal representation and if we are not to involve the country in utter ruin we should bid farewell to the system and revise the policy underlying the *sangathan* and *tanzim* movements. The *Medina* remarks:—The proposals of the Delhi Conference regarding joint electorates were calculated to promote national interests as well as the communal interests of Muslims. Yet they have been rashly opposed by the Muslim members of the Punjab Council. So far as we think the present councillors, whether Hindus or Muslims, owe their seats to communal bigotry and communal strife and therefore oppose every scheme which is directed against communal struggle. If after some delay and sacrifice Muslim majority can be assured in Sind,

Baluchistan, the Frontier Province, the Punjab and Bengal then this advantage does not deserve to be sacrificed for some fleeting benefits of separate representation. The *Najat* characterizes the manifesto as altogether puerile and says:—It is the saddest misfortune of Muslims that their leaders even after undergoing so many calamities have not acquired the capacity for corporate action and always commit some folly whenever any occasion for unity offers itself. In spite of repeated reverses and discomfitures Muslim leaders have remained only arm-chair politicians. *Al Khalil* condemns the manifesto and asserts that separate electorates have been responsible not only for antagonism between Hindus and Muslims but also for discord among the latter themselves. It is surprising that a liberal-minded gentleman of the standing of Dr. Iqbal has appended his signature to the manifesto which appears to be nothing more than a manifestation of the dread of most of the signatories that as they are possessed with the evil spirit of rank communalism, they would have absolutely no chance of election from a joint electorate. The Muslims being in a majority in the Punjab should not show any nervousness there and it is really creditable for the Muslims of Bombay and Madras that though they are in a minority they have bravely voted for joint electorates. It is to be hoped that these gentlemen of the Punjab will reconsider their views and will not allow a passing phase to influence their decision in a matter on which the future of India so largely depends.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu papers are giving a good deal of prominence to reports of kidnapping of Hindu women and children by Muslims and urging the need for strong measures for suppressing the evil. The murder of two Arya Samaj leaders at Mount Abu and Bahraich has also received wide attention and is attributed by some papers to organized Muslim conspiracy. Referring to the reports that girls and women continue to be kidnapped, abducted and ravished in Bengal the *Leader* writes: - If law and order had been a transferred subject and such a large number of cases of abduction, rape and kidnapping as are being reported had continued to occur almost unchecked, they would have been cited as conclusive evidence of the unfitness of Indians to protect life, honour and property. The indifference or callousness of the Government which calls itself civilized, deserves the strongest condemnation. It is time that it awoke to its solemn duty in the matter and adopted strong measures to deal with the utmost promptness and severity with those ruffians who are committing such revolting crimes against women in Bengal. The *Arya Mitra* refers to the murder of Hindu leaders by Muslim *goondas* at Bahraich and Mount Abu and remarks:—The history of Muslim rule is full of murders in the name of religion. Even women and children were not spared. It is not at all strange or surprising that assassinations should follow in the wake of a religion which owes its existence to the blade of the sword or to the point of the dagger. Now that the murders of Badrishah and Bhairo Singh have seen the light of the day can the charge of a Muslim conspiracy behind these murders be refuted as easily as it was on the occasion of the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand? Muslims have begun to use the last weapon in their hands and if Government does not energetically intervene betimes the situation will become more serious. Hindus, however, do not fear death and if Aurangzeb's sword could not destroy Hinduism the wrath of the present-day Muslims can do us but little injury. The *Shankar* remarks:—Muslims are bringing discredit on themselves and Islam by indulging in murder and bloodshed. This, however, does not pain us for the blood of these martyrs will strengthen the foundation of Hinduism. What really grieves us is the indifference of the Government which calls itself the custodian of justice, despite the steady increase in the number of such crimes.

Secretariat appointments.

Further appreciatory comments on the appointments of Kunwar Jagdish Prasad and Mr. Panna Lal have appeared in the press. The *Mashriq* writes:—How gratifying is the news that Kunwar Jagdish Prasad is to officiate as Chief Secretary! His family, gifts and virtues are well known. His administrative capacity and intellectual attainments are acknowledged on all hands. Best of all, he holds correct views regarding Hindu-Muslim questions and his educational policy was very independent and commendable. The *Oudh Akhbar* deplores the depraved mentality of Indians which manifests itself in rank communal suspicion on every occasion and condemns the action of the *Aziz-i-Hind* in criticizing the appointment of Kunwar Jagdish Prasad in spite of the fact that he is altogether free from communal bias and in spite of the difficulty experienced by the nationalists in securing high posts for Indians. Qazi

Aziz-ud-din Ahmad writing in the *Aziz-i-Hind* assures it that both Kunwar Jagdish Prasad and his family have been noted for their impartial attitude towards Hindus and Muslims and that it need have no fear from him on that score. Kunwar Jagdish Prasad's training and record show that he cannot make invidious distinctions between Hindus and Muslims. The favour done to Indians by Sir William Marris by this appointment should be appreciated. Mr. Panna Lal too is a capable officer and his appointment also should be welcomed. Commenting on the above, the editor welcomes both the appointments and hopes that the Kunwar Saheb's régime will prove as beneficial to Muslims as to other communities. It adds:—We are not opposed to any Hindu as such and look on both Hindus and Muslims with the same eye. We are, however, pained when we see some Hindu officers showing prejudice and hatred in their treatment of Muslims. This is what is fanning the flames of inter-communal discord. The *Anand Pracharak* writes:—Kunwar Jagdish Prasad possesses extensive Secretariat experience. He has won fame both as Secretary and District Magistrate and that is why his appointment has produced not only satisfaction but gratification throughout the province. He is the second Indian to be appointed to this office and Sir William Marris deserves public gratitude for making as apt a selection as his predecessor Sir Harcourt Butler. Kunwar Jagdish Prasad's place as Education Secretary will be taken by Mr. Panna Lal, who is a scholar and an industrious and experienced officer. All these appointments are in every way commendable and Government is to be congratulated on making the best selections.

Proposed press legislation.

The *Aj* concedes that there is urgent need for fresh legislation to suppress attacks on religions and communities but contends that this does not mean that the old Press Act should be revived or that absolute power should be given to the bureaucracy to deal with the press. It urges that the legal measure to deal severely with offenders should be enacted only for one year and that it should provide for an advisory committed which should be consulted by the Government before sanctioning prosecution. The advice of such a committee should be binding on it. The members of the advisory committee should be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils. If the bureaucracy be willing to suppress communal and religious hatred under these restrictions, all well-wishers of the country should help it in the enactment of the new legislation, otherwise it would be better to suppress the evil by some other means, such as the formation of a joint committee of Hindu and Muslim scholars which should examine the offending publication and give its decision after hearing both the parties. Of course the committee will not have the authority to punish the delinquent, but it will not be possible to disregard the moral influence of its decisions. The *Desh Bhagat* says that afraid of the growing Bolshevik propaganda in China spreading to India and thinking itself unable to accomplish its aims through the existing sections of the Penal Code, Government wants to forge new chains to deprive the Indian press of its liberty. To stifle nationalist opposition and to gain popular support for such legislation the authorities are accusing newspapers of being responsible for the communal tension in the country. To mask its designs still further Government has instigated loyalist Indians to take the initiative in the matter. Some papers have no doubt been responsible for fomenting inter-communal hatred but the present law is quite sufficient to deal with them and the only trouble is that Government is not seriously inclined to put down such papers. As a matter of fact there would be no communal riots in the country if Government did not see an advantage to itself in their occurrence. We know how in the days of non-cooperation Government freely prosecuted editors under sections 124A and 153A and encouraged libel actions against them by its officers and proscribed the papers. In fact when Government was serious it employed every device and was to a certain extent also successful. If Government were sincere, it could to-day also easily use these self-same methods to punish communal papers and thus change their attitude. We are therefore firmly of opinion that the agitation for a new press law is meant only to stifle Nationalist Hindu journals, which are striving for India's freedom and openly spreading Bolshevik ideas. A member of the Legislative Assembly hailing from the United Provinces wants to propose that newspapers should not be allowed to appear without depositing an adequate initial security with Government. This means that only capitalists can start newspapers and they will naturally support Government. It is to be hoped that Indians will see through this subtle move of Government and strenuously oppose any fresh press legislation.

The Reforms.

Extremist papers deplore the importance attached by prominent Congress leaders to the forthcoming Royal Commission on Reforms and regard it as a sign of their degeneration. The *Pratap* remarks :—We cannot restrain ourselves when we find even Congressmen interesting themselves in the personnel of the Statutory Commission or its terms of reference. They swear by self-determination and freedom and hanker after reforms. Our leaders are being carried away by the storm of the Statutory Commission and before it is too late Congress workers should take heed and dissuade the Congress from co-operating with the Commission, otherwise they will be guilty of throwing the country into the abyss of retrogression for which the future generation will never forgive them. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that India does not want a commission consisting of judges and members of Parliament. It wants a commission in which Indians who are reputed for their patriotism and independence and are honoured by the country may preponderate.

Death of General Dyer.

Obituary notices of General Dyer, which have appeared in most of the papers, recall the Jallianwala Bagh "massacre" and other "atrocities" during the martial law days in the Punjab and read in his sufferings during his last days a warning for others who may be disposed to commit similar deeds. The *Pratap* remarks :—General Dyer was like a curse to India and therefore his death will be remembered only like an evil dream. A man who shot down hundreds of persons was simply dismissed from service and we could do nothing against him. Even to-day such sinners and brutes in human form as Colonel Frank Johnson and Colonel O'Brien and wretches like Bosworth-Smith who made our mothers and sisters naked and flogged them and who spat on their faces and called them "bitches, asses, pigs, and flies," and mean fellows like Malik Lal Khan and Rai Shri Ram are proclaiming our impotence by continuing to remain in the good books of the Government. What is the good of showing impotent rage? We shall have to cultivate strength. We shall cease to have Dyers and O'Dwyers only when we have become strong. The *Surfaraz* says that General Dyer's death has instead of arousing sympathy for him, revived memories of the Jallianwalla Bagh and this was because he was unrepentant to the last. May his troubles during the latter portion of his life and his prolonged sufferings during his fatal illness serve as a warning to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others who are imbued with General Dyer's spirit. The *Hindustani* recalls General Dyer's action in the Jallianwala Bagh and his other atrocities in the Punjab during the martial law days and says that Indians may forgive this dead man but they can never forget Jallianwala. It is a pity that he died unrepentant and his end was a long drawn out agony. Indians may pardon General Dyer for all his atrocities and may in their generosity even pray for his soul but they can never forgive that tyrannical Government and its members who did not award any punishment to such a heartless murderer and who did not condemn his deed but rather patted him on the back. Are the members of such a Government fit to be called just and civilized? All Englishmen and Indians should learn a lesson from the life-history and bitter end of this General of Nadirshahi temperament.

Political propaganda.

Referring to Mr. Cook's open advocacy of the Russian system of Government, the *Desh Bhagat* says that though it is gratifying that Mr. Cook has freely expressed his views, it is exceedingly surprising that Mr. Baldwin's Government does not dare to lay its hands on Mr. Cook in spite of such open attack on the Royal Crown. This is simply because it fears that Mr. Cook's arrest would usher a bloody revolution in England as the labourers of England are so well organized that they can bring the Government to its knees in a moment. On the other hand in India people are condemned to death for waging war against the King even if they merely express a desire for freedom. Lovers of liberty in India should, therefore, so strengthen themselves by organizing peasants and workers that the new Fort of Delhi may shake even without any attack. Organization of strength is a great thing and that is what emboldened Mr. Cook to think of attacking the Royal Crown. Referring to the reports of British military preparations and to a note in the *Pioneer* on the possibility of Russo-Afghan operations on the North-West Frontier, the *Zul Qarnain* says that the Urdu press is suspecting a British offensive against Afghanistan and warns Government that if it attacks Afghanistan, it will involve itself in a world war and, however intense its desire to subdue Russia, the economic consequences both for itself and the Indian people would be simply disastrous.

The Bengal detenus.

The *Vartman* says that the Bengal detenus are enduring hellish tortures and that hundreds of them are preparing for death. There are no arrangements for their treatment and even if any one is dangerously ill he is not sent to hospital. The Government will not release them unless it is forced to do so Instead of passing resolutions in the Assembly and Councils we should prepare the people so that we may be in a position to offer an ultimatum to Government and compel it to bend. Mass civil disobedience alone can bring about such a situation. The country will then be ready for sacrifice as it was during the non-cooperation movement. The goddess of sacrifice is thirsting for blood. Her thirst will not be quenched until people come forward to sacrifice themselves at the altar of *Satyagrah*. Those who are anxious for the release of the detenus should come forward with bare breasts for sacrifice. The *Pratap* publishes a letter complaining of ill-treatment of the Bengal detenus interned in the Naini jail.

Indian States.

The *Haqiqat* regrets that though Malerkotla is a small state it is imbued with the same Nadirshahi spirit which pervades many Indian states and which is responsible for their growing unpopularity. It is no small matter to despatch thirteen poor peasants with bullets and it is a pity that the Nawab Saheb of Malerkotla attaches even less value to the lives of his fellow-countrymen than those of cattle. The souls of the innocent persons killed in Malerkotla are to-day writhing for vengeance in the same way as those of the martyrs of Kulkati (Barisal). Will the Government of India order no inquiry and inflict no punishment for this shedding of innocent blood? The *Aziz-i-Hind* wonders at the silence of the Government when it is aware of the true facts about the death of the heir-apparent of Tonk and appeals to it to put an end to the lying and mischievous propaganda against the Nawab Saheb by publishing an official disclaimer.

United Provinces Police.

The *Leader* complains of excessive Muslim predominance in the United Provinces Police and quoting statistics relating to the number of Hindu and Muslim deputy superintendents of police, sub-inspectors, head constables and kotwals writes:—The excessive representation of the Muslims in the police is probably not altogether unconnected with a certain bias in the administration of several districts which has led many Hindus to question the impartiality of Government in communal matters and some, even to ask whether they are living under British or Muslim rule. It is desirable in the interest of the reputation of the Government (if the Government think they have use for it) and of the maintenance of law and order that steps should be taken to constitute the police force on those principles of communal representation which have been avowed by itself. Or, let them take the wiser course of abandoning racial considerations altogether in all appointments in all the departments. If neither course is taken they will have to thank themselves for the growing distrust of their policy by the Hindus.

The Reserve Bank.

Referring to the demand for Muslim representation in the Board of Directors of the proposed Reserve Bank the *Sainik* writes:—By this craze for special representation our Muslim brethren are making themselves a laughing-stock of the whole world; they are ruining their country and injuring their own interests by poisoning the minds of Hindus.

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Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
August 6, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. 1927 **No. 32 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 13, 1927.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu papers are greatly agitated over the reports of outrages on Hindus in the Frontier. The *Vartman* takes Hindu leaders severely to task for not taking any action in connexion with the atrocities committed on the Hindus of the Frontier Province by "cruel and barbarous" Muslims and says: Hindu civilization and Hindu religion are about to be wiped out, yet Hindu leaders remain apathetic. If such outrages had been committed anywhere on Muslims, there would have been anarchy. Of late Muslims seem to have been possessed by some devil. Their ambitions have begun to soar to the skies and unless they are crushed they will not come to their senses. It is, therefore, necessary to bring them to the right path. If Hindu leaders remain apathetic towards the misfortunes of the Hindus of the Frontier Province the time will not be far off when similar spectacles will be witnessed in the whole of India. Nothing can be accomplished unless the leaders are prepared to sacrifice their lives for preserving the Hindu society. In a subsequent issue the paper tries to make out that the outrages on the Hindus in the Frontier are the result of the "divide and rule" policy of the Government and says: The political unity of Hindus and Muslims in 1921 baffled crooked statesmen like Lord Reading. Seeing no other course, these crooked diplomats thought that nothing but the creation of communal enmity between the Hindus and Muslims could be to the interest of British domination. And this is what has actually happened. The mischievous bureaucracy, ignoring altogether the Proclamation of Queen Victoria sowed the seed of communal dissensions. The reprehensible policy of Lord Lytton, the Governor of Bengal, accentuated the differences to such an extent that the Hindu-Muslim tension spread all over India. The administration derived temporary benefit from these dissensions. Political agitation collapsed and heroic leaders like Mahatma Gandhi were forced into retirement. The plundering and ravaging indulged in by the *goondas* benefited the bureaucracy a good deal. If a Christian or a European had been even slightly molested in the Frontier 16-inch guns would have been employed and bomb-dropping aeroplanes would have been hovering for their protection. But it is a matter for deep regret that the Punjab Government remains unmoved in spite of the most terrible outrages in the Frontier. Hindus are being robbed, their houses are being burnt, and the most heinous outrages are being committed on their women. But the British military and law are unable to protect them. The despicable method which the bureaucracy is employing to serve its political ends is ruining its reputation. If the Government does not at once avenge the outrages committed in the Frontier twenty-five crores of Hindus will be forced to conclude that this Government is cowardly. If it cannot protect its own administration, how can it protect our rights? The *Pratap* remarks: We would suggest to the British Government that if it cannot control the tribal territory and protect the lives and property of its subjects there it should leave that province and withdraw its authority. In that case the Hindus of the tribal territory would at least be free from the evils of dual government. We want the Indian Muslims to express their candid opinion about the atrocities perpetrated by the Pathans upon the Hindus of the tribal territory. If it becomes clear that even thoughtful Muslims find it necessary to lend countenance to this whirlwind of Mullah fanaticism no nationalist will allow this fanaticism to stand in the way of the country's progress. The *Abhyudaya* writes: It is really surprising that the Government has not yet taken any action to stop the terrible atrocities that are being

perpetrated upon the Hindus. It should realize that if the rowdies in the Frontier go on getting emboldened in this manner they will one day prove dangerous to the country as well as the Government. The *Anand* remarks: Unless Government shows firmness such incidents will continue to occur so much so, that a time will come when the Britishers will find themselves in as bad a plight as the Hindus. The *Aj* expresses surprise that though the book *Tohfat ul-Hind* which was first published some eighty-five years ago and which is sold even now in various cities contains a poem entitled "Katha Saloi" and other poems which attack Hindu gods in the most indecent and filthy language, yet no action has been taken in regard to it. It says that "Katha Saloi" which is the most objectionable portion of the book has also been separately published. This book is in no respect less objectionable than the *Rangila Rasul* and is undoubtedly creating communal hatred in the existing atmosphere of the country. The *Gyanshakti* contends that there can never be unity between Hindus and Muslims owing to the religious bigotry of the latter, and that if Hindus possessed even one-fourth of the bigotry and communalism of Muslims, they would make their mark in the world. It says that as India is all in all to the Hindus they should do what they want to do for her well-being on the strength of their own exertions and not depend upon others for it. It is now a question of life and death for Hindus. The *Sada-i-Muslim* complains that the *Vartman* always publishes anti-Muslim articles and referring to the article quoted above from that paper says: We fail to understand how far it is wise in the present surcharged atmosphere to invite Muslims to a conflict by suggesting the idea of crushing them. Who will be responsible if Muslims are provoked into action by such observations? It is still time for the authorities to take action as Muslims will be furiously enraged at hearing such words as these: "As long as Muslims are not crushed they will not be brought to their senses." If no action is taken, the result is certain to be that the peace of Cawnpore will be endangered. As to Hindus being actually able to crush Muslims and thus to bring them to their senses this is an impossibility for them. From the time of Hazrat Qasim setting foot on Indian soil till the acquisition of the dominion over India by the East India Company from the Muslim rulers no Hindu has been born in India brave enough to face the Muslims in open field. Now when the Muslims are in sufficient numbers in India and when the feeling of religious brotherhood is daily growing among Islamic countries how is it possible for the Hindus, who cannot even shake off their own fetters of serfdom, to crush the Muslims. It is, however, meet that Muslims should be forewarned of the thoughts of Hindus so that they may be forearmed. The *Hamdam* ridicules the contention of Professor Indra and Swami Ramanand, Secretaries, All-India Aryan League, in their memorial to the Viceroy that there was a conspiracy behind the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and regrets that the story of there being documentary evidence in the possession of Government in proof of such a conspiracy is being used by Aryas to inflame public feeling against Muslims. It goes on to say: We, therefore, appeal to the Government of India either to state the nature of this documentary evidence and the reason for its refusal to take action on it or, better still, to publish it so that the Arya propaganda may be thoroughly exposed.

The *Risala Vartman* case.

So far very few papers have commented on the judgement in the *Risala Vartman* case. Hindu papers regard the sentences as unduly severe. The *Pioneer* writes: It is to be hoped that the judgement will be received with the respect due to the learned judges delivering it and that there will be a cessation of the bitter controversy, which has been disfiguring Punjab and Frontier life during the last few months. In particular, we would condemn the gross impertinence of the Mahomedan politician who is reported to have declared that the result of the case will not affect the movement for the resignation of Mr. Justice Dalip Singh. If this kind of unworthy flamboyancy persists the Government should consider the possibility of taking suitable steps against those who give it expression. The *Aj* says that the judgement ought to give the quietus to the *Rangila Rasul* agitation and that it will do so unless the agitation has been started to serve the ends of self-seeking individuals. It holds that the sentences are disproportionately severe for the article in the *Risala Vartman* was undoubtedly a mere rejoinder to similar articles in the Muslim press. The *Anand* also regards the sentences as unduly severe, specially in view of the difference of opinion, as regards the applicability of section 153A to such writings. The *Oudh Akhbar* contrasts the heavy sentences in the *Risala Vartman* case with the light

punishment in the *Vichitra Jiwan* case and says: The Punjab Government took special interest in the *Vartman* case on account of the *Rangila Rasul* agitation and no heed was paid to the protests of the accused against the case being taken up originally by the High Court. The Muslim agitation has no doubt succeeded but we fear that the conviction of the accused will aggravate the communal tension which might have remained stationary if they had been acquitted. It must be said that the sentences show insufficient regard for the age of the journal and inexperience of the author and the editor. A light punishment by way of warning should have suited the case. The *Haqiqat* is of opinion that the judgement will be generally viewed with satisfaction in Muslim India as it has overruled the verdict in the *Rangila Rasul* case. The sentences on the accused who were responsible for such filthy and profane literature as the "Trip to Hell" cannot be said to err on the side either of leniency or of severity in view of the nature of the offence. From every standpoint the judgement is quite fair and equitable. No Muslim could read with equanimity such writings and it is the duty of sensible Hindus also to show large-heartedness in this matter and to sympathize with Muslims.

The Reforms.

Referring to its special correspondent's cablegram that the India Office and Simla are believed to be agreed that Indian element should be absolutely excluded from the personnel of the Statutory Commission, the *Leader* writes: If the Statutory Commission is to be exclusively British and if the mind of the powers that be is what it is described as being, we cannot but agree that it will be both good sense and self-respect for Indians to leave the Commission alone. Well, at the moment the British in India happen to be able to have it their own way—thanks to the folly of Indians in quarrelling amongst themselves. But things will not for long remain what they are, and they will probably have to regret their short-sightedness and selfishness sooner than they may imagine at the moment. The *Aligarh Mail* strongly criticizes Mr. Muhammad Ali's advice that the Statutory Commission should be boycotted and says: The advice is the froth and foam of a destructively extremist brain which slurs over realities that are not convenient. Supposing we fall in with the boycott proposal of the Maulana, will the Indian convention do us any good? Our firm belief is that far from doing any good it will do us immense harm. The interests of the religious communities and political parties in this land clash so much that if an Indian convention were formed of their representatives they would split on the question of defining the special rights of their communities before framing a constitution which may lead us to democracy. Let the Commission come. We should welcome its inquiry and give evidence before it. This should specially be the policy of Muslims. We feel we need not tutor the Muslims on this point. They are in no mood to boycott the Commission. We know they will never take to such a suicidal policy, whatever the Maulana may say or do. The *Sudharak* remarks: The farce of the appointment of the Statutory Commission is being enacted with a view to prove our unfitness for *swaraj* and to convince the world of the honest intentions of the British Government. We do not want the Statutory Commission and we do not hold the British Government to be competent enough to test our fitness for a further instalment of reforms. What we want is *swaraj*, not as a gift from the British Government, but as a matter of right. The *Shakti* writes: India has experience of many a commission and committee since the establishment of the British rule. Lakhs and crores of rupees out of the Indian exchequer have been wasted over these commissions and yet our subjection remains intact. We have repeatedly asserted that political rights cannot be had for the mere begging, they have to be wrested. Indians should not therefore build false hopes on Great Britain, but should devote their attention to things nearer home. The *Aj* disagrees with the view of the *Leader* that the non-cooperation movement has been a failure and that the Indians had better revert to "constitutional agitation" and urges that in view of the repeated failure and ineffectiveness of "constitutional agitation" for the last fifty years and in view of the fact that non-cooperation has created unparalleled political consciousness among the people, a new national programme based on non-cooperation but different from the older one should be formulated. In the course of a series of articles discussing the position of Muslims with regard to the Reforms the *Medina* says: The times are most critical for Muslims. Owing to their special position Indian Muslims are not only the objects of the enmity and prejudice of other Indian communities, but owing to their political importance and their previous connexion with Islamic brotherhood they are also the

adversaries of British imperialism itself as a result of which British statesmen have become enemies of the Islamic world. The Muslims are thus between the devil and the deep sea. Moreover, the present reforms were based on the Congress scheme. The next instalment will also be based on the principles laid down by the Congress which has now come under the control of Malaviya & Co. In these circumstances how can a scheme prepared by non-Muslims fulfil the requirements of Muslims and remove their grievances? The Muslims should, therefore, gather together for the sake of God, the Prophet, the *Quran*, and the Ka'aba and chalk out their line of action.

The Muharram.

Hindu papers while expressing gratification at the release of the Arya Samajists arrested in the Arya Samaj temple at Bareilly, urge the Government to make a thorough inquiry into the charges against the police of siding with the Muslims and removing the sacred threads of the Arya Samajists. Muslim papers hold the Hindus responsible for the riot and strongly urge the release of the Muslim accused also. The *Shakti* remarks: The Bareilly police has brought discredit upon the Government by siding with the aggressors. A thorough inquiry should be made into the matter and such of the officials as are found guilty should be punished. Communal disturbances are increasing on account of the partiality of the Government towards its officials and the Muslims in these matters. The *Arya Mitra* remarks: A perusal of Swami Ramanand's statement regarding the Bareilly riot makes it clear that the tahsildar and the police acted wrongly in ascending the Arya Samaj altar with shoes on, and that this has grieved not only the Hindus of Bareilly, but the entire Hindu population in the country. But this action pales into insignificance before the black deed of the police in making a despicable attempt to remove sacred threads from the necks of the Arya Samajists who were arrested by them. Can there be a greater proof of the vile mentality of officials blinded by partiality? We want that the Government should act impartially in communal matters and that it should appoint as early as possible an impartial commission to enquire into the Bareilly riot. If a full and thorough inquiry is not made into this matter, as also into the murder of Bhairo Singh and Badri Shah, the consequences will be disastrous. *Al Khalil* expresses surprise that the Collector of Bareilly has in spite of unmistakable events failed to fix the responsibility for the riots which were caused by the insistence of the Aryas on music during the passage of the Muharram procession and by the throwing of stones from roofs adjoining the Arya Samaj building. It is still more amazing that while the Aryas who were at the bottom of the trouble were let off, no announcement was made regarding the Muslim accused. Justice demands that the accused of both communities should either be released together or tried together.

Political propaganda.

The *Desh Bhagat* gives prominence to the prediction of a Muslim astrologer of Meerut that Britain will be involved in a bloody war in 1929 and says: It is possible that the prediction of the astrologer may prove correct as it appears from circumstances that Britain will have to face a bloody war in 1929 or up to 1929, and as a result of this war, India may be completely freed from the British grip. In another issue the paper says that there is unrest in all parts of the world over which the English rule or in which they are interested. The civil war in China is all due to British intrigue. Indians know full well to what oppressions their countrymen are subjected merely for uttering the name of liberty, though British statesmen are never successful in securing peace. Ireland also is a long-suffering victim to this British policy of maintaining peace and order. In spite of ruthless repression that land is still a stranger to peace and order. The Republicans are, as is natural, now taking to violence as is shown by the murders of the members of the Irish Government after the recent elections and though the Irish Republican Party has denied responsibility for the murders, the Free State is at the instance of the British statesmen initiating a reign of terror and is passing a law to facilitate action against republicans. But it is certain that Republicanism cannot be killed and it is a pity that thousands of brave Irish lives will be sacrificed at the altar of misguided British selfishness. British statesmen will gain nothing by this, but only increase the odium in which their race is held by all nations of the world and add to their desire to annihilate it. It is a blessing that there is a party in England which is opposed to these injustices and Indians who want their own freedom and also sympathise with other oppressed races anxiously await the day when this just and God-fearing party

will supervene and will take the reins of government from these capitalistic murderers and there will be peace in the world. The *Parivartan*, *Hamdam* and *Hindustani* publish a translation of an appeal issued by Munshi Singh, Secretary, Hindustan Ghadr Party, to the Chinese people which appeared in a recent issue of the *Forward* (Calcutta).

The *Rangila Rasul*.

Maulana Shabir Ahmed Usmani Deobandi, writing in the *Najat*, recalls an anecdote of the Caliph, Haroun-al-Raschid, who when he suggested to Imam Malik whipping as a punishment for revilers of the Prophet was angrily told in reply that it was no good for his followers to live after hearing abuse of the Prophet and says that these words are so impressive and so full of regard for the honour of religion that one visualises Imam Malik holding the profanity of Rajpal in his hand and addressing Indian Muslims in these terms. Articles on this subject should in future adopt these words as their title. The *Hindustani* regrets that the Muslims instead of venting their spleen on the authors of scurrilous pamphlets have become so wild in their indignation that they are recklessly talking of anti-Hindu feeling spreading to Afghanistan, Persia, etc., and the innocent Hindus of the Frontier have already been deprived of their homes and belongings. Instead of enlisting volunteers by thousands and fomenting an anti-Hindu agitation on a huge scale, and thus playing into the hands of a third party, the British, Muslims should confine their efforts to the securing of an amendment of the law to penalize all gross attacks on founders of religions. Muslims should bear in mind that the British are the friends of no community and they will have to rue their present behaviour when the time comes for the British to use the Hindus against them.

Secretariat appointments.

In the course of a note welcoming the appointment of Kunwar Jagdish Prasad as Chief Secretary and eulogising his capacity and character and past record, the *Rahnuma* recalls that it was his uncle, Raja Permanand, alone who in spite of the unanimous opposition of the Hindu members supported the Muslim demand for representation according to the Congress-League compromise during the debate on the District Board Bill. It is to be hoped that by confirming him in the post Government will remove from itself the slur that it does not favour the promotion of Indians to high offices specially in the Secretariat. If unlike Sir Atul Chatterjee, Kunwar Saheb is allowed to stay at his post he is sure to prove a great help both to Government and to the people. *Al Aziz* writes: There are only, two Muslims in the United Provinces Executive Council (*sic*), i.e., the Hon'ble Nawab Ahmad Sa'id Khan and the Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf. For the rest there is nothing else but God's name. The President, Deputy President and other Ministers are none of them Muslims. When the present Home Member was appointed there was a regular upheaval in the Hindu press. But this time when these appointments were made and no post went to a Muslim the Muslim press was not even informed. Muslims naturally expect that Government would consider their claims in cases of offices which are not filled by election as in case of elective offices Muslims can never expect that Hindus would be so generous as to accelerate progress by voting for Muslim candidates.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* writes: Muslim rights are being badly ignored in the Ballia district. In the Department of Education there is practically Hindu raj and Muslims are being deliberately debarred from education and educational facilities. Our correspondent says that while the number of Hindu teachers is 300 that of Muslim teachers is only 17. Such being the dearth of Muslim teachers there is no cause for our correspondent to wonder if Muslim students are refused admission in schools and are forced to read Nagri instead of Urdu. If what our correspondent writes is true will not the silence of the Government and its failure to redress the wrong be attributed to its desire to join hands with the Hindus in keeping the Muslims backward in education and the race of life? The paper reproduces a report from the Lebanonese journals to the effect that the British are still detaining 20,000 Turkish war prisoners at Singapore. It discredits the contradiction of this report issued by the British Consul at Beirut and publishes the statement of a discharged prisoner and an extract from *Al Jamai Arabia* to show that a large number of prisoners are detained for the construction of the naval base at Singapore and are subjected to severe hardships. They are made to work all the night and blinded by means of some drug during the day to prevent their escape. When they become unfit to

work they are stranded on the coast of the Persian Gulf where many of them perish on account of starvation.

United Provinces Police.

Referring to the *Leader's* article on Muslim preponderance in the United Provinces Police the *Aligarh Mail* writes: Those who make such a complaint dissemble the fact that the top services of Government are manned by members of their community out of all proportion to their numerical strength. The *Leader* easily forgets how the offices of the Government of India are monopolized by Bengali Hindus and how in an overwhelming number Hindus are employed in the United Provinces Secretariat. If the Muslims have been given the chance of policing a little more than other people in the two provinces the reason must be sought not in any special favour to the Muslims by the Government, but in the aptitude of the Muslims for police work. The *Sadai Muslim* resents the proposal of the *Leader* about the dismissal (*sic*) of Muslims from the Police department of these provinces in which they are over-represented and inquires how it would relish a proposal to dismiss Hindus from other departments in which the Muslims are under-represented. It asks Muslim publicists to bring to light all cases in which Muslims are under-represented in any service and urges the United Provinces Government to bring Muslim representation in all such departments to its legitimate level at the earliest opportunity.

The Bengal detenus.

While expressing gratification at the release of Mr. S. C. Mitra, newspapers vehemently protest against the indefinite detention of other men. The *Leader* writes: It is a scandal of the first magnitude that the Bengal Government should have travelled so far away from the reign of law in the direction of a reign of discretion as to keep in confinement for an indefinite period a number of men against whom they have not the courage to proceed in a court of law. The episode illustrates in a very practical form the extent to which a freedom-loving people would be prepared to go against all the canons of freedom when they hold an Empire and keep a people in subjection. It should be needless to add that no people can have full confidence in a Government so conducted.

"Corruption in Government service."

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: We would like to know what the Government propose to do to mitigate the evil of corruption in the subordinate ranks of public servants which appears to grow and flourish under the very eyes of Government without any serious attempt at its eradication. In no other province of India has it attained such colossal proportions as in our province. But while remedial measures have been taken in other parts and have succeeded to an appreciable extent in mitigating it, nothing has been done in our province to arrest its progress. The most crying need is the protection of the litigant public, who are mostly ignorant villagers, from the illegal demands made on their pockets in the name of *haq*. Will the Government of Sir William Marris give their attention to it and take steps to eradicate this scandalous system of tipping.

Indian States.

The *Desh Bhagat* says that it was owing to the intrigues of the Maharaja of Patiala that the Maharaja of Nabha lost his *gaddi* and as the editor of the *Riyasat* was freely exposing the conspiracies of the ruler of Patiala, that enraged chief at first gave proof of his mean-heartedness by forbidding the entry of the paper into his territory and has now attempted to fulfil his long-cherished desire of arresting and harrassing the editor. Every independent-minded Indian will regard with scorn this foolish and contemptible act of the Patiala State in arresting a man on a false and baseless charge. If the State persists in pressing this futile charge it will further lower itself in the eyes of Indians.

The Nagpur satyagraha.

The *Aj* holds *satyagraha* against the Arms Act to be morally justifiable and not opposed to the principle of non-violence, despite Mahatma Gandhi's view to the contrary. It congratulates the citizens of Nagpur on their courage in resuming the *satyagraha* against the Arms Act, but declares that their action is premature, and not likely to be attended with success, for the country is not prepared to start similar movements in other places in sympathy with them.

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ALLAHABAD:
August 13, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 33 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 20, 1927.

The *Risala Vartman* case.

Muslim papers, while generally welcoming the judgement in the *Risala Vartman* case, continue to press for specific legislation penalizing attacks on founders of religions. Hindu papers regard the sentences as unduly severe and as a concession to Muslim agitation. They also urge immediate action against certain Muslim publications attacking Hindu deities and incarnations. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The Muslim community must be really indebted to Sir Malcolm Hailey for having got the *Vartman* case decided so expeditiously. It behoves the Punjab Muslims to do nothing that may embarrass His Excellency in the task of administration. We should also scrupulously desist from wounding Hindu sentiments in any way. In another article in the same issue the paper writes:—Considering the gravity of the crime the sentences are not severe. We feel Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh's discomfiture is complete. The judgement of Justices Broadway and Skemp is, in fact, in a sense a severe stricture on, and an indirect condemnation of, his knowledge and understanding of law. If he believes, as we do, that the use of discretion is never a belated act, he must *now* resign if he has not done so already. That is the most honourable course which we would advise Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh to adopt if he does not want to face further embarrassments resulting from the demand which the Punjab Muslims may put forward before the Secretary of State and Government that Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh, who has forfeited the confidence of a major portion of the population of the province to whom he has to administer justice, should not be made a permanent judge of the Lahore High Court. We are afraid this must be the next modest demand of the Punjab Muslims if Mr. Justice Kunwar Dalip Singh does not resign or cannot be made to resign. The *Aj* holds that the Punjab High Court was in the wrong in convicting the writer of the article *Sair-i-dozakh* in *Risala Vartman* and its publisher under section 153A. It contends that this section provides punishment only for those who create or seek to create hatred between communities. The High Court has not shown how the writer of the article has created hatred between Hindus and Muslims. It is a different matter if he has created hatred amongst Muslims against an individual, i.e., himself. The *Pratap* writes:—If the Muslim demand for an amendment of section 153A is conceded it will result in more harm than good. A handful of men will found a creed of their own and their preceptor will be beyond the pale of criticism. It will also hamper intellectual awakening. The *Anand* remarks:—It is, indeed, strange that while the Government is so sensitive about attacks on the Prophet it views with indifference the dissemination of literature by Muslim agencies containing scurrilous attacks upon the religious heads of the Hindus. Hundreds of books have been written against Lords Krishna, Ram Chandra, and other Hindu deities, but neither has any one of them been proscribed by Government nor have the writers thereof been prosecuted. Is this justice? Is the law meant to prevent attacks upon the Islamic Prophet only and not upon other founders of religion? After the sentence passed on the author of the *Risala Vartman* it is incumbent upon the Government to take action against Muslims guilty of similar offences. We hope that the Government will act prudently and justly and thereby remove the dissatisfaction that now prevails among the Hindus. The *Kailash* writes:—The Government took no action against the *Unniswin sadi ka Maharshi*, a book published by an Ahmadia of Qadian, but it prosecuted the publisher of the *Rangila Rasul* which was written in reply to it. It also took no action in connexion with the inflammatory article entitled "*From*

Delhi to the next world," but when the *Trip to Hell* was published in reply to it it promptly arrested the Hindus responsible for its publication and sent them to jail. The High Court did what it thought proper. That court and its conscience alone know what it did, but the Government ought to understand well that this sort of crooked diplomacy is not desirable. The Muslims are adepts in spreading excitement, while the greatest drawback of the Hindus is that they are disorganized. This is why twenty-four crores of Hindus are always at a disadvantage against seven crores of Muslims. If the Hindus follow the same policy they can shake not only the Government, but the whole world. Arya Samajist and Sanatanist Hindus, if you want to take anything from the Government commence organizing yourselves. If the Muslims are boycotting you you should also become men of action and by boycotting them impress upon their minds that India belongs to the Hindus and they cannot be boycotted. The *Medina* says:—The judgement has, no doubt, restored the dignity of law which Mr. Justice Dalip Singh had sought to bury, but the question is if it has assuaged the sentiments of Muslims and met their demands. Reports from Lahore show that the judgement has satisfied neither the extremists nor the moderates and for the following reasons:—(1) It provides no punishment for Rajpal who continues to pass his criminal life in perfect freedom. (2) It has not suggested any means of stopping the mischief the seeds of which were sown by Mr. Justice Dalip Singh, nor has it reversed his foolish judgement. (3) The most pressing demand of Muslims was for the enactment of a new measure penalizing attacks on founders of religions, but this judgement closes the door against any fresh legislation of the kind. (4) The sentences are inadequate. (5) The judgement does not provide any balm for the wounds inflicted on the hearts of Muslims by the imprisonment of the editors of the *Muslim Outlook* and the *Zamindar* and others. Muslims should, therefore, devise means for meeting such attitude and expedients of the Government. *Al Khalil* says that, though the *Vartman* judgement shows that insults to prophets and religious heads are punishable under section 153A, and that Mr. Justice Dalip Singh had wrongly judged its purview still, lest another Justice Dalip Singh might in future again regard its purview as too limited, a section should be added to the Penal Code expressly penalising insults to prophets and religious heads. Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's verdict, however well-intentioned, is wrong as it differs from a ruling of a sister High Court and a Bench ruling of his own High Court in similar cases. Proceedings should, therefore, be started again against Rajpal as there can be no appeal in the case to the Privy Council. Muslims will not be satisfied until the traducers of their faith and its leaders are adequately punished. The *Haq* says that while the judgement has established the comprehensiveness of the law and will act to a certain extent as a deterrent for foul-mouthed writers in future it has dwelt only upon contempt and hatred and in view of the present vitiated atmosphere a law penalizing vile attacks on religious personages as such is needed. It is hoped that Hindus also will support this demand and if fresh legislation is not resorted to by Government it should at least add whipping to the punishments of fine and imprisonment already provided in section 153A.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu papers remain greatly agitated over the reports of outrages on Hindus in the Frontier and complain bitterly of Government's "indifference and remissness" in the matter. The *Leader* writes:—There is little doubt that the action of the Afridis in tribal territory in driving out, bag and baggage, the Hindus and Sikhs who had been settled amongst them for centuries, and with whom they had been living on most friendly terms, is the result of the venomous anti-Hindu propaganda carried on among them by Muslim firebrands from British territory. That such a general expulsion of the Hindus should have been effected under the very nose of British officers is one of the most astounding features of the situation. Will the Government care to make a sifting inquiry to find out the brains who inspired the outrage and punish those who have shown themselves capable of setting in train in the most irresponsible and criminal manner forces of fanaticism which have reduced innocent Hindus and Sikhs to a pitiable position and entailed enormous loss and suffering on them. Why have they not so far issued any communiqué authoritatively informing the public of the state of affairs and of the steps they have taken or propose to take to restore the exiles to their hearths and homes and to afford protection? The *Abhyudaya* strongly condemns Muslim "rowdyism" in connexion with the *Rangila Rasul* agitation as displayed in the expulsion of Hindus from the Frontier territory and says:—Now this agitation has assumed such proportions that no country or

Government which boasts of being civilized should tolerate it. It becomes only a wild and savage people and we can call it at best the *Nadirshahi* of the twentieth century. In view of the bravery evinced by Shikhandi and Malik Kafur (eunuch generals) we hesitate to call the Government under whose administration all this is being done as even impotent. This terrible injustice and oppression is being perpetrated on our brethren in the Frontier province which is ruled by the brave British, the sole champions of justice and civilization and our heavenly trustees and guardians who do not leave our country for fear lest India should be plunged into a civil war as soon as they boarded the ship. What can we infer from this attitude of the Government? Is it afraid of the Frontier Muslims? This cannot be the case. The Government moved heaven and earth in connexion with the abduction of an English girl, Miss Ellis. But that was the question of the protection of the honour of a white woman. British fleet is immediately despatched to China and Egypt on the least trouble arising there. But the Government's laxity and remissness on this occasion is amazing and disgraceful. We do not see what right such a Government has to rule over us. We strongly urge the Government to take adequate measures for the protection of the Hindus. It ought to bear in mind that if it does not suppress this agitation at once it would be its turn to face such troubles after the Hindus. The *Surya* also writes to a similar effect. The *Kailash* remarks :—We are surprised at the aggressive mentality of the Muslims and the policy of reticence adopted by the Government. Atrocities are perpetrated in broad daylight upon the Hindus who form 24 crores of the Indian population and to whom India belongs and yet the Government remains unmoved. The only policy that can be successfully adopted against these wild tribes of the Frontier is to return stones for bricks. We cannot help suggesting to the Government that if the Frontier province is under its rule it should protect its Hindu subjects, station Hindu soldiers there, and see to it that Hindus form 99 per cent. of the local police. Referring to the protest meetings of the Hindus against Muslim aggression the *Anand* says that there is serious discontent among the Hindus against the Government, and they have begun to think that it is unable to protect them. If the Government allows the Muslim aggressors to get emboldened the spirit of retaliation will take hold of the peace-loving Hindus and the country will be plunged into chaos and anarchy. We appeal to His Excellency Lord Irwin to consider the situation impartially, to protect the just rights of the Hindus and to make efforts to put a stop to the atrocities that are being perpetrated on them. Referring to the expulsion of Hindus from the tribal territory the *Krishna* says that so long as the Hindus also do not adopt the policy of tit for tat and the Hindu majority also does not mete out similar treatment to the Muslims in places where they are in a majority the Frontier tribes and other Muslims of their way of thinking will not be brought to their senses. Bhai Parmanand used to say very rightly that unity would come of itself if the Hindus of Bihar, United Provinces, and other Hindu provinces were to treat the Muslims in the same way as the Muslims of Bengal and the Punjab had treated the Hindus. Hindus should now give up kindheartedness and toleration and should adopt the policy of tit for tat for self-preservation. The *Vartman* takes Hindu young men severely to task for keeping quiet in spite of the fact that "their mothers are being ground down in the mill-stone of atrocities" and says :—Those whose blood does not boil at the sight of their mothers and sisters being dishonoured are dead. Young men possess power enough to shake the world. It is the young men of Russia and China who are moving the world. Had our young men known their own power they would not have proved such cowards. It is our dead young men who are responsible for the terrible fall of the Hindu community. We still believe that all evils will disappear in a trice if even a lakh of our intoxicated young men, carrying their heads in the hollow of their hands, come forward to serve their community. The *Bir Hindu* publishes an article by Lala Ram Prasad, B.A., in which he says that newspapers fan communal hatred only by publishing proceedings of violent meetings and commenting on them. If Government is really serious about putting down trouble it should lay down that mosques should be strictly reserved for worship and should not be used for holding objectionable meetings and collecting men and material for riots. The *Krishna* supports the demand of Mr. Varma of the Central Provinces for the stoppage of cow-killing on the occasion of Bakr-Id and says that it is amazing that an animal held so sacred by Hindus is killed in a Hindu country. Muslim emperors did not dare to kill cows in India and had forbidden cow-slaughter. It is time Hindus girded up their loins to uphold their religious rights.

Political propaganda.

The *Desh Bhagat* says that the British capitalists, owing to their guilty conscience, see their downfall in the progress and rise of America, Japan, Germany, Turkey, Russia, Afghanistan, Persia, France, China, Nepal, and India. This dread of the prosperity of others is due to the fact that British capitalists are really responsible for the ruin of the world. British statesmen are mortally afraid of the Bolshevik bogey. The Arcos House search has, according to the *New Statesman*, only revealed a secret book of the British Government containing instructions for suppressing any Indian revolt. The discovery of this book in Acros House shows how the Bolsheviks love India and what they dare to save her. A number of circumstances go to show that they are very soon going to take practical steps to free India also like China, and it is because of this that the British capitalists and their supporters paint the Bolsheviks in diabolical characters in India. Indians should discriminate between their friends and foes and should never be influenced by anti-Bolshevik propaganda. The same paper has another article under the caption "The Last Breath of the English Government in India," by Lala Bishambhar Sahay Premi, M A., in which he says that the East India Company left no stone unturned to crush India and to make her inhabitants weak, cowardly, and poor. Indians unable to bear its oppression rose for their freedom in 1857 and the English were expelled from many parts of India. There was little left for the uprooting of British rule, but traitors sided with this Nadirshahi Government and re-established it and injured their own cause. Untold atrocities were perpetrated on Indians in 1858 and they were deprived of their army. The Queen's Proclamation followed, and simple-minded Indians were taken in by its smooth syllables, but all modern improvements were introduced into India not for the benefit of Indians, but to promote the mobility of troops and thus to crush Indians if they ever dreamed of freedom. Raw materials were freely exported causing famines. Epidemics began to decimate the country, trade declined, and *ghi* and milk became scarce for ever. Indians should know that aeroplanes will now be introduced in India with the same object of suppressing freedom. It was said that all military measures were meant to protect India from internal and external enemies, and this belief was gaining ground, but recent events have proved an eye-opener. The way in which Government has failed to protect life and property of late has totally dispelled all illusion. When there is no peace and order in the country Government should be regarded as breathing its last and making room for *danda raj* (rule of the rod). However, if this Government has proved bankrupt and its guns and shells have all proved unavailing we should rise and stand on our own legs. How long can this Government stand by you? Its cup of empire is now brimming over. This Government which you regard as your physician is itself suffering from a fatal malady and is about to die.

Sir Sankaran Nair's address.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We must confess to a feeling of disappointment in Sir C. Sankaran Nair's address at the Hindu Sabha meeting at Nagpur. He appears to have been led away by his environments and gave utterance to views which would fit in the mouth of our great Sangathanist, Dr. Moonje, and do not look very well coming from a great national leader of the type of Sir Sankaran Nair. The time for mutual recriminations has gone. The abuse of Muslims or of great well-meaning national leaders would not serve to lead us to a solution of the problem. It would only heighten mistrust and ill-feeling and lead us to nothing but wider separation and riots. The *Medina* vehemently protests against certain passages in Sir Sankaran Nair's address and contends that it is the Hindus who are responsible for the failure of the non-co-operation movement and the subsequent communal tension culminating in riots. It says:—The most dangerous movements inaugurated by the Hindus were *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan*. The object of *Sangathan* was to level gross and unjust charges against Muslims and to array the stalwarts of Mahabir Dals against them so as to compel them to emigrate to other countries or to remain slaves of these wearers of loin-cloth over whom the fortunate forefathers of Muslims had ruled for a thousand years. This is the real object of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. It is really a political movement aimed against all Muslims so that under British ægis Hindus may pass their lives in ease and comfort and continue to suck the innocent blood of Muslims. Hindus who were inspired by such ideas found an excuse in the Malabar affair. The Government, too, in pursuance of its crooked diplomacy, was preparing poisonous ground and raising the Hindu-Muslim question which serves as its shield. It could never tolerate the spirit of unity between Hindus

and Muslims. The Hindus and the Government, therefore, joined hands to carry on propaganda in connexion with the Malabar affair. Mischievous Arya Samajists were called from the Punjab, and through them propaganda was carried on in Northern India which led to the inauguration of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. Hindu papers and platforms began to resound with the cry that Muslims were oppressors, that they demolished temples and killed Hindus. In short feelings of enmity, hatred and bigotry were instilled into the minds of Hindus and Mahabir Dals were arrayed against Muslims.

"Mother India."

Miss Mayo's book, entitled "Mother India," has evoked strong resentment in the Indian press, and its publication is regarded as a propaganda to prejudice the case for further instalments of Reforms. The *Leader* quotes a number of passages from the book and remarks:—A book which contains such gross misrepresentation of Hindu culture and character, which abounds in mischievous and untruthful generalizations and which presents such a repulsive and revolting picture of Hindu social institutions and religion, cannot but arouse strong indignation among those whose civilization has been thus libelled. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* characterizes the book as outrageous and says:—Libelling a nation is no congenial task except to degraded specimens of humanity which, like the poisonous snakes, God in his inscrutable wisdom has sent down to this world. To this species belongs the daughter of Eve who hails from America. The *Pratap* gives a list of social evils obtaining in Europe and America to show that the West is much more morally depraved and says:—It should be borne in mind that selfish, cruel and depraved traffickers in girls who subsist on the wages of sin are to be found in large numbers in Miss Mayo's New York city. Our sense of self-respect demands that we should tell such poison-spitting lasses that they should first look to their own brothels, balconies, the Picadilly revelries, Hyde Park indecencies, the tricks of white slave traffickers, the evil passions of the rich and the propensities of the princes and princesses and then cast their look towards India. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges Indians to organize a widespread agitation against the book containing the vilest slanders on their national character and to demand legal action against the author.

The Bettiah riot.

The Bettiah riot has received prominent attention and is being commented upon on communal lines. The *Leader* writes:—The Bettiah riot is another of those tragic communal occurrences which have resulted from Muslim intolerance in the matter of music before mosques. It is clear from the communiqué issued by the Bihar Government that the Muslims were the aggressors. At numerous places by threats of violence and resort to violence they have been interfering with the religious and social celebrations of the Hindus. And in many places district officers have either prohibited Hindu processions under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, or imposed humiliating restrictions which have led to their abandonment. This has had the effect of encouraging the lawless and penalising the law-abiding. If the suppression of legitimate Hindu rights, which involve no infringement of the rights of citizenship of others, continues in deference to the unreasonable demands of those who have been resorting to direct action and defying law and authority, this dissatisfaction may assume inconvenient proportions. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The cause of the riot was the same old Sangathanist insistence on playing annoying music before mosques and Muslims have fared worse. The zealots of *Mahabir Dal* deliberately planned mischief and thus disturbed the peace of poor Bettiah, Referring to the loss of Muslim lives in the riot the *Medina* says:—This is the second event after the Kulkatti affair which has been written in British history with the innocent blood of Muslims. But it seems that in this case also the Hindu accused will be released for the Frontier Hindus are being avenged on the Muslims of Bihar and Bengal. How cheap has Muslim blood become during the just régime of the British! The *Haqiqat* characterises the riot as a fresh instance of the mischievous effects of *sangathan*, and says that the deliberate diversion of the Mahabir procession from the stipulated route into a predominantly Muslim quarter was clearly meant to cause provocation. We have never supported the Muslim demand that Hindu processions with music should not pass before mosques even at times when prayers are not being said, but the action of the Bettiah Hindus was clearly provocative. All congratulations to Malaviyaji, Lalaji, and Moonje that their *sangathan* is achieving the desired success as is shown by the tales of Hindu highhandedness received from Bettiah.

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ALLAHABAD:
August 20, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
19 SEP. 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 34 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING AUGUST 27, 1927.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The agitation in the Hindu press for action against certain Muslim publications attacking Hindu deities and incarnations is growing in volume and strength. The *Digdarshan* wonders how it is that though Muslims make most scurrilous attacks on Hindu gods and religious personalities, no action is taken against them, while if Hindus publish rejoinders to them, they are severely dealt with, and why the Government favours the Muslims so much. Is it because it is afraid of their indiscriminate agitation? Perhaps it is for this reason that they are getting emboldened day by day and do not care the least for the Hindus. We want to tell the Government that if it punishes only Hindu editors and publishers and takes no action against offending Muslim writers who defame Shivaji, mother Sita and Swami Dayanand, Hindus will lose faith in its administration of justice. The *Anand* says that the news that the conviction of the accused in the *Risala Vartman* case has allayed the indignation of the Frontier Muslims shows that the Government's policy in this connexion was based on conciliating the Muslims and it had nothing to do with dealing out justice to the Hindus. It has been clearly stated on behalf of the Punjab Government that action was not taken against the articles entitled *The Maharshi of the 19th Century* and *From Delhi to the Other World* because they did not cause any stir among the Hindus. This means that the law is administered in accordance with the amount of excitement. Is this not a murder of justice? Should justice not be done to the law-abiding and sober people and on the contrary should the demands of only those men be conceded who violate law and hold out threats of violence? The *Bharat Dharma* reproduces an article from the *Hindu Sarvaswa* showing how in *Radde Hindu* published by Fakhrul Mataba Press, Lucknow, in 1913, in *Tuhfatul Hind maya Katha Saloi* written by Muhammad Abdullah and printed at the Hindustani Press, Lucknow, and in *Tegh-i-Faqir bar gardan-i-Faqir* written by Maulvi Muhammad Husain most obscene, provocative and scurrilous attacks have been levelled against Hindu gods and incarnations and how equally objectionable matter is to be found in *Talqin-i-Mazhab* of Aziz Ahmad Fatehpuri, *Arya Dharma* of Qadiani and *Niyog ka bhog* of Ali Khan, and urges Hindus not to ignore these publications but to adopt all legitimate means to get them proscribed and their authors and publishers prosecuted. In the course of an article under the heading "Fanatic Muslims and inebriated Bureaucracy" the *Sainik* writes: The fanaticism of Muslim is increasing day by day. So far we used to hear only of kidnapping of boys, girls and women, but now reports of murders of Arya Samajists are also received from time to time. Four or five murders have been committed within six or seven months. Being incited by Mullahs, Maulvis and mischievous and selfish leaders, fanatic Muslims are perpetrating diabolical deeds, and the inebriated bureaucracy is gloating over all this. Today before the highest tribunal—the bar of public opinion—we prefer this charge against the bureaucracy that by doing several things which it ought not to have done and by not doing several things which it ought to have done, it has, in a way, fostered Muslim fanaticism. It has fanned the flame of Hindu-Muslim enmity. In the United Provinces, there is practically Muslim raj owing to Police raj. There is Muslim ascendency in the Police. Nawab Chattari is the chief of the Police department. There is no wonder if such predominance of Muslims in the police of our province has given rise to various kinds of doubts and apprehensions in the minds of Hindus. They have become so suspicious that they believe that a number of Muslim police officials connive at cases of abduction of Hindu women by Muslims and other cases of the kind. As a result of such things, the belief is gaining strength among Hindus that the inebriate bureaucracy does not make

earnest efforts to stop the tyrannies perpetrated on them by Muslims and that, on the other hand, it murders Hindu rights by throwing obstructions in the celebration of *Ramlila* at Allahabad and by other acts of the kind. This belief of theirs is growing on account of the naked dance of police lawlessness at Bareilly. They think that they are being ground down between the mill-stones of fanatic Muslims and the inebriated bureaucracy. We want to give timely warning to the fanatic Muslims and the inebriated bureaucracy that they should not stir this sleeping volcano. The day the Hindu community realizes that the honour and religion of Hindus are in danger it will take no time in producing Shivaji, Pratap and Guru Govind Singh. The *Krishna* appeals to Mr. Gandhi to lead the Sangathan movement in view of the bold challenge thrown out by the frontier tribes. He should take up the bow of Hindu Sangathan and do what Ram Das, Shivaji and Guru Govind Singh have done. The frontier tribes should bear in mind that their actions would force the Hindus to mete out similar treatment to the Muslims in their midst. Hindus form seven per cent. of the Frontier population but there are places in India in which Muslims form only four per cent. of the population. They should ponder how the Muslims would fare in such places. The times of Hari Singh Nalwa are too recent to be forgotten. How then do they dare to crush the descendants of Nalwa? Government also is indirectly responsible for all this mischief as it can easily put a stop to all trouble by adopting a firm attitude. If it fails to help Hindus today, they also will be forced to withdraw their co-operation another day. Hindus in their turn should trust only to themselves. They number twenty-two crores. Even a crore of determined men among them can plant the banner of their superiority and domination over the world. They should remember the doings of their forbears. They should realise that they are the descendants of lions. They should abandon their present sheep's clothing and don the dress of heroes. They should have the teachings of the Gita in their heart and the bow of Arjun in their hands and then the goddess of freedom and success will be bowing at their feet. The *Hamdam* complains that the *Krishna* numbers of the *Tej*, *Milap* and *Pratap* contain editorial articles inciting Hindus to develop militant qualities and to use them against Muslims. An attempt has also been made to work up feeling in connexion with the slaughter of cows and attacks on women in India. When such is the attitude of the responsible editors, the tone of the contributed articles can be easily surmised. In another article the paper regrets that sangathanist propagandists are utilizing the Hindu exodus from tribal territory to fan anti-Muslim feeling and points to the statement of the editor of the *Tarjuman-i-Sarhad* in which it is asserted that the Hindus were only asked to condemn the action of Rajpal but they preferred to leave the country rather than condemn a co-religionist. Non-sangathanist papers should now give publicity to this true picture of Pathan mentality and should dissociate themselves from the unholy sangathanist propaganda which is inspired by sinister motives. The *Medina* says that the reports regarding atrocities on Hindus in the tribal territory are altogether unfounded. The *Haqiqat* complains that Kali Charan Sharma has become bolder in his anti-Muslim attitude after his release and that he recently spoke at Cawnpore in support of Rajpal's book and attacked Muslim leaders.

Political propaganda.

On the occasion of the *Janmashtami* a number of Hindu papers published impassioned poems and articles invoking Lord Krishna to deliver India from oppression and injustice. In the course of an effusive article invoking Lord Krishna to re-incarnate himself, the *Vartman* writes: This is the sacred day when you incarnated yourself to destroy Kans. The times are much harder now. Then there was only one Kans, but today a number of Kansas are perpetrating atrocities on the breast of this sacred land. Then Devaki and Vasudeva alone were captives and in trouble, but today innumerable Vasudevas are rotting in the hells of the bureaucracy. Then Brajmandal alone was oppressed, but today the whole of India is crying out for deliverance. The weak are being ground down. Cows are being slaughtered. The pious are being oppressed. The *Anand* says: O Krishna in the Dwapar age you incarnated yourself and slew Kansa and other demons. Will you not put a stop to the atrocities of the demons who are destroying Hindu religion and Aryan civilization now-a-days. Under the heading "Worship of Revolution" the *Vartman* publishes a poem invoking the "Lord of Revolution". It says: Let the clouds of revolution come and overcast this forest; let there be an upheavel once in this life. Let the palaces and crowns fall down and the red banner wave. Let the drum of equality beat again; let the song of revolution be sung. Commenting on the conviction of Satindra Nath Sen, the leader of the

Patuakhali Satyagraha, the *Shakti* writes: In the judgement Mr. Viswas praised his character and self-sacrifice and observed that people respected him, but even then he could not dare to acquit him. Such is the hard lot of Indian magistrates. They would either write judgements made to order or resign. The decision of Mr. Justice Dalip Singh alone can be commended in the present political period. The judgement in the *Risala Vartman* case will be said to be one made to order, as it shows wholesale partiality. It is bad to abuse any religious leader, but at the same time it does not add to the dignity of the law to twist it to punish offenders. Strange is the justice of British Courts. The *Aj* publishes an article entitled "Obstacle to Indian liberty" in which the writer, Indira Raman Shastri, says that the diplomacy of the bureaucracy is the greatest obstacle to Indian liberty. The alien bureaucracy cannot naturally love this country. It cannot be that it is here for altruistic purposes. The skeletons of the country bear witness to it. Disinterested service implies peace, whereas the disinterested administration of the bureaucracy provokes unrest in the country. So the administration of the bureaucracy in this country can be described only as interested maladministration. It is only for the good of its country and nation. The Indians may well cry themselves hoarse over their oppression, but they will have to be sacrificed for the protection of the interests of the whites. Without diplomacy their ends cannot be served and the bureaucracy therefore has to practise it at every step to maintain itself in this country and to keep Indians at a safe distance from liberty. Referring to persistent and widespread rumours about early hostilities between Britain and Afghanistan, *Al-Khalil* says that they gain confirmation from the visits of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief to the Frontier, the recall of the British troops from China and the projected visit of the War Minister to India to inspect—the Frontier and regrets that the consequences of such a war would be disastrous for Indians generally and Muslims specially.

The Kakori dacoity case.

Newspapers are strongly criticizing the Chief Court's judgement in the Kakori dacoity case as being extremely harsh and relentless and are appealing to the Governor to exercise the prerogative of mercy, especially in the case of those who are of tender age. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the judgement will be received by the public with horror. To see these misguided youths sentenced to capital punishment, even after appealing for mercy, is indeed an instance of justice in all its relentlessness. The *Vartman* writes: The judgement must have staggered a large number of persons. It is instinct with cruelty and callousness. In this unfortunate country alone it is possible to send four young men to the gallows for a small conspiracy. This leads us to the conclusion that the lives of slaves are not considered to be of much value. The *Aj* says that there is no kind-hearted man but his heart will be lacerated at the severest punishment being inflicted on so many youths. The accused in this case were treated with undue harshness from the very outset and they were not allowed opportunity to conduct their defence with the help of the best legal advisers. The *Anand* remarks: Such severe sentences have never been awarded in any conspiracy case and the whole country will be shocked to hear the news. The *Haqiqat* holds that the Oudh Chief Court has dealt out stern justice and has shown no consideration for the repentance or immature age of the appellants. It would have been better if justice had been tempered with mercy. As however there is now no chance for a further appeal in a law court, it is to be hoped that Government will at least commute the sentences of the four condemned youths in view of the fact that they were misled under evil influences. Though even the sentence of transportation is tyrannical in political offences, that of death will be simply intolerable for the public and will surely excite popular feeling against Government. We, therefore, hope that His Excellency the Governor will on the eve of his departure from this province show mercy in this case. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that as the Kakori crime was committed many years ago and as the four condemned prisoners are now repentant and seek mercy His Excellency the Governor should spare their lives as an act of grace and allow them an opportunity to reform themselves. It would not be too much to expect that His Excellency, who is extremely kind-hearted, God-fearing and sensible, would signalize the close of his tenure by commuting their sentences to transportation.

Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

The *Pioneer* writes: The announcement that the Government intend to introduce legislation with the view of strengthening the law against writings calculated to inflame religious animosity will be received with mixed feelings. Those who are inclined to applaud the Government's action should remember that a measure of this kind is

double-edged. The decision bears unpleasant traces of being dictated by what is, it may be hoped, the passing excitement of the moment. The *Aj* expresses satisfaction at legislation being enacted to penalize the reviling of religion and wounding of religious susceptibilities and says that this shows that even the legal advisers of the Government are of opinion that the view of Justice Dalip Singh regarding the insufficiency of section 153A, I. P. C. to deal with the revilers of founders of religion is correct. It suggests that the new section to be added to the Indian Penal Code should provide that any individual as representative of a community can institute legal proceedings under it and that section 153A should also be amended so as to incorporate a similar provision. This will save the Government from the charge of partiality levelled at it in such matters. While expressing satisfaction with the proposed legislation, the *Hamdam* says that this permanent evidence of Hindu-Muslim discord would not have disfigured the statute-book if Sangathanists had not thought it their duty to harass Muslims in order to accomplish their aims and had not resorted to revilement of their revered Prophet. The failure of Hindus to condemn blasphemous literature or to welcome the proposed legislation shows that the Aryas still mean to persist in their dirty polemical methods. So long as *shuddhi* and *sangathan* are flourishing and the *danda baz* Dr. Moonje controls the Hindu Maha Sabha, inter-communal amity seems to be practically unattainable.

Dr. Ansari's statement.

The *Leader* writes: The advice which Dr. Ansari offered and the programme of work he outlined had for its objective the attainment of the important goal of national unity. He wanted to throw open the door of the Congress to all parties and to make it a truly representative organization. But the high idealism which inspired his views and outlook has made no appeal to Mr. Nehru. The *Vartman* writes: Congress workers should leave all other activities for the present and go to villages to impress upon the villagers that the present system of government is the root of all their troubles and that India is for Indians. If this is done we shall make much progress in the national battle next year. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that Dr. Ansari has shown conspicuous honesty in publishing his correct diagnosis of the political ills of the country before his election as president of the Congress. It is surprising that the doctor's statement has pained Pandit Motilal Nehru. Dr. Ansari is not a diplomat like Pandit Motilal and has like a practical man placed his cards on the table. It is gratifying that the Doctor does not favour a policy of surrender and has not lost heart though he recognizes that successful opposition to any policy of Government is impracticable in the present vitiated atmosphere. The time will, however, come when this internecine strife will cease and Dr. Ansari should be welcomed as an angel of peace as his prescription is sure to cure the communal canker. We are very hopeful and believe that though Dr. Ansari may not make much of a mark at Madras as a political guide, he is certain to solve the communal question.

Muslim affairs.

Muslim papers have begun to protest against the revilement of the Prophet in the "Book of Knowledge". The *Haqiqat* reproduces a report from the *Taqat* (Delhi) of August 16 to the effect that volumes XI and XII of the "Book of Knowledge" of the Standard Literature Co. of Calcutta contain gross attacks on the Prophet and warns the British Government that so long as a single Muslim is alive in the world, he cannot tolerate an insult to his Prophet. Muslims are prepared to sacrifice all for the honour of their faith. The writer who is a Christian has called the Prophet all sorts of names and if Government does not proscribe the publication, anti-Christian feeling will be roused among Muslims and it is not known what consequences may follow. What is still more painful to Muslims is that the book contains the picture of the Prophet. Government should immediately punish its author and publisher. The *Rahnuma* also urges Government to have these objectionable portions expunged from the book. The *Hamdam* protests against the continued "exile" of the Moplahs to the Andamans and says that no canon of civilization and humanity can justify this action of Government. It is undoubtedly due to some deep-laid move of Government which time alone can reveal. It is a pity that Muslim leaders are so silent in the matter. Referring to a report that the Government of India is inducing the Nizam to take interest, the *Haqiqat* wonders why Government is interfering with his religious freedom by asking him to violate the explicit injunctions of the Quran. Both the Nizam and Government should realise that Indian Muslims feel strongly in the matter.

Bettiah riots.

Al Khalil says: Sangathanist propaganda and organized Maha Sabha activity have now brought about such conditions in India that it has become impossible for Muslims to live in peace and comfort in the country. Every morning discloses the sorry tale of the spoliation of the worshippers of one God. After Multan, Lahore and Bareilly, comes the heart-rending news of Bettiah, where the sangathanists and Mahasabhaites attacked the Muslims in broad day-light and within two hours killed about a dozen Muslims and wounded another eighty. They forced their way to the mosque at prayer time and dyed its sacred floor with human blood. Even this did not satiate their thirst for vengeance and a mob numbering twenty or twenty-five thousand invaded Muslim shops and quarter and indulged in an orgy of pillage and arson and murder. We wonder why the police which was present in sufficient strength with this procession did not restrain this blood-thirsty and armed rabble from its work of wanton violence. The action of the Mahabir procession in suddenly leaving the main road and diverging into a lane containing a mosque and an Imambara clearly indicates that the sangathanists were bent on mischief and were simply seeking a pretext to pick up a quarrel. It is the duty of the Government to protect the Muslim minority there from the blood-thirstiness of the inhuman and high-handed sangathanists. The Bettiah officials should also be required to explain why they did not take effective measures to prevent this carnage as if such a state of things continues it would become difficult for Muslims to breathe or remain alive there. To Muslims we would say that they should, while avoiding violence, as far as possible, devote their attention to internal organization, reform and progress. We know that a special section of the Hindus has become so much influenced by the teachings of Moonje, Malaviyaji and Lalaji that it cannot bear to see Muslims even for a moment. The remedy for this lies in the Muslims acting with the greatest caution and circumspection and shunning all fissiparous tendencies and so collecting themselves round a centre that all efforts of the enemies of the faith may fail.

The *Risala Vartman* case.

The *Medina* writes: There may be some truth in the rumour that the Viceroy has invited Mr. Justice Broadway to Simla in order to discuss with him the result of the *Risala Vartman* case, for, considering the demands of Muslims, the sentences passed upon the accused are very light and the real culprit (the author of the *Rangila Rasul*) who was the cause of all this agitation and unrest among the subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor has not yet got his deserts. Moreover, those innocent persons who were imprisoned merely for upholding the honour of the Prophet have not been released. If it is true that the Viceroy is personally going to consider the Muslim demands, then it is a good augury for the future. We hope that the Government, and especially Lord Irwin, will concede the just demands of Muslims and thereby evince their liberality.

Sir Sankaran Nair's address.

Sir Sankaran Nair's address at the Hindu Sabha meeting at Nagpur has evoked strong resentment in the Muslim Press. *Al Khalil* says that the provocative sentiments uttered by Sir Sankaran Nair at Nagpur should cause no surprise as Hindu leaders of even the highest standing have in spite of protestations of patriotism never overlooked the special interests of their community. His address opens with a scathing indictment of Muslims and shows them up as the enemy of Indian peace and freedom. He has forgotten Katarpur, Ajodhia and Arrah in his blind accusation against Muslims in connexion with communal conflicts. In fact, these terrible disturbances are due to Sangathanist propaganda. What harm those who shout liberty and pour abuse on peaceful and liberty-loving Muslims have worked to the cause of Indian freedom, will form a forbidding chapter of Indian history. The *Sadaqat* says that there is much in Sir Sankaran Nair's presidential address to which Muslims must take exception. He has charged both the Government and the Hindu (Congress) leaders with showing persistent partiality towards the Muslims. It is a pity that the address of a leader of such standing was so full of misstatements and that his reasoning was so marred by communal bias.

Dasehra.

The *Aj* deplores that no settlement was reached between Hindus and Muslims at Allahabad regarding the celebration of *Ramlila*. It says that the statements of the Muslim representatives at the joint conference show that the question of music is not a religious question but that it has been raised as a result of communal tension. The point at issue is that if Hindus take out the Ramlila procession as in previous

years, there would be a riot. In these circumstances, does it not become incumbent upon the local authorities to put down rowdies? Does not the Government exist for the suppression of wrong-doers? It is a proof of the weakness of administration to be cowed down by the threats of rowdies.

United Provinces Police.

The *Haqiqat* says that the demand of the *Leader* for enlistment of Hindus in large numbers in the Police department supported by resolutions during the "Bareilly day" celebrations is a new mischief and that if it were met by the Muslims celebrating a "Bettiah day" when protests would be made against the paucity of Muslims in the Postal, Railway and Telegraph departments, a new cause of quarrel would arise The Hindus are in a minority in Bengal and the Punjab but monopolize all departments there. We stand for justice for all non-Muslim communities but would protest against the number of Muslims being decreased in the Police department in the United Provinces simply because the Hindus are more vocal while the Muslims are silent.

Communal Representation.

The *Aligarh Mail* complains that out of the fifteen candidates elected to the Senate of the Agra University by the registered graduates, not one is a Muslim and says: What a sad commentary on the practical working of the joint electorates. If the United Provinces Government is not blind to Muslim interests, it must introduce the nationalizing principle of communal representation in all elections of the Allahabad and Agra universities. We call communal representation nationalizing because unlike the communalizing joint representation it secures the just representation of all communities in an elected body.

Reforms.

The *Aligarh Mail* says that the news that Sir Mohammad Shafi has been selected for membership of the Statutory Commission is most welcome to the Muslim community, but the Muslims would like to have at least two representatives of their community on the Commission.

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ALLAHABAD:
August 27, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. No. 35 of 1927.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 3, 1927.

Viceroy's Speech.

NEWSPAPERS generally acknowledge that the Viceroy's address to the Indian Legislature was marked by transparent earnestness and sincerity and commend the proposal for holding a conference to discuss the present communal tension. Hindu papers emphasize the need of strict impartiality and firmness on the part of the authorities in dealing with communal questions. The *Leader* writes: The Viceroy in his address spoke as if the entire responsibility for the existing deplorable and disquieting state of affairs rested with the people. We have been of opinion that the people and the Government must alike share the reproach, and that the leaders who have been trying to bring about unity cannot succeed unless the officials everywhere act justly, firmly, and without fear or favour. That a number of them have not been doing so is the painful experience of a large number of Hindus, particularly in the United Provinces. How is it that in so many places they have upheld the indefensible claims of those who have tried to assert them by resort to force or threat of force? Have they thereby raised the prestige of Government or checked the spirit of direct action or inculcated respect for law and order? Is the spirit of the administration in all cases absolutely above suspicion? His Excellency has offered to act as a peacemaker by himself convening a conference of leaders. One great advantage of the decisions, if any, arrived at at such a conference will be that the officials will be under an obligation to enforce them We would suggest that if the proposed conference is convened the Delhi resolutions should form the basis of discussion. In a subsequent issue the paper writes: We are not very sanguine that the decisions arrived at at a conference convened by the Viceroy will achieve wonders or will change the heart of fanatics and reactionaries. But we venture to think that they will carry greater weight with the people and the reactionary officials and will not be altogether barren of results. It does not necessarily involve any humiliation or confession of failure to seek the intervention of the head of the State for those who have consistently held the view that officials more than the people are to blame for the existing deplorable state of communal tension. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: His Excellency Lord Irwin's address is a message full of sympathy, good-will and sound advice and is worthy of the eminence and reputation of His Excellency. We are thankful to His Excellency for the lead which he is giving. His Excellency has come forward to help us like a true friend of the country. His address gives the lie to those who say that it is the divide-and-rule policy of the Government which is responsible for the present tension, and shows that whatever others may feel His Excellency is genuinely and sincerely anxious to unite the country for its march for Swaraj. We will, therefore, make an earnest appeal to the leaders of both the communities to take advantage of His Excellency's offer of mediation in the generous spirit in which it has been made and make a formal representation to Lord Irwin to call a unity conference at Simla and concert measures for communal settlement. The *Anand* writes: The Viceroy, who is lecturing on peace ought to bestow attention on the news of the Bareilly disturbances. If His Excellency the Viceroy thinks over the matter he will know that peace will not be restored and the hooliganism of the rowdies will go on increasing so long as Government does not protect the religious rights of the law-abiding and peaceful people. If, therefore, His Excellency sincerely wants to purge the country of communalism it is his duty not to allow justice to be murdered for the sake of peace and to suppress the hooligans and firmly protect the just rights of the people. The *Haqiqat* eulogizes the transparent sincerity of the Viceroy's call for communal concord

and says that any Indian patriot would be doing a great service to his country if he gets it widely broadcasted in the vernaculars. His picture of the wanton havoc wrought by these needless riots is truly touching and must affect the hearts of all but self-seeking mischief-makers. His Excellency is right in his apprehension that the prospects of the success of a peace conference are not very hopeful, but that should not be allowed to stand in the way of holding one. No paths should be left unexplored, and the conference should be held at Delhi in October and should consider all disputed matters.

Dr. Ansari's Statement.

Muslim papers so far have supported the views of Dr. Ansari, but the comments in Hindi papers are widely divergent. The *Aligarh Mail* writes: It is creditable to Dr. Ansari that he has spoken the truth scrupulously, though not too ruthlessly. His suggestions of co-operating within the Cabinets and forming a people's party in the legislatures give us not only a clue to the trend of thought in the staunch No-changers' brains but also reflect that political sanity has dawned on them and that the day is drawing near when they themselves will lead the Opposition on the formation of which Dr. Ansari is so particular. The sooner that day comes the better it is for our political advancement along lines which destiny has chalked out for us. The *Sainik* says that the fine words and phrases used by Dr. Ansari in his statement have been borrowed from the vocabulary of defeated and down-trodden people and his noble sentiments and ideas are inopportune and impracticable. The whole of his statement appears to be the product of a brain deranged by utter despair. It is an uncalled-for advice to the country to fall prostrate. The *Aj* says: The best course for Indians to follow would be to keep aloof from Councils altogether and strive to attain liberty. If this be impossible they should no longer dream of Swaraj, but co-operate in a spirit of self-surrender with the bureaucracy with a view to secure minor reforms through its favour. In another issue the paper says: Not only labour but peasantry also requires to be organized. We should study the organization of peasantry in China, and with the necessary changes in accordance with conditions in India should introduce it here. The organization of labour and peasantry can well emancipate this country. If India undertakes this task under the presidency of Dr. Ansari this year it is quite possible that popular enthusiasm may be aroused again as in 1920-21. If we are only for reforms through co-operation, and not for liberty through non-cooperation, the Congress should be abolished. The *Siasat* supports Dr. Ansari's suggestion that all communities and political parties should be welcomed into the Congress, so that it may become truly national, and that the Khaddar restriction should be removed. The communal question should also be treated as the most important one. The *Azad* advises the country to accept Dr. Ansari's lead in the matter of fusion of political parties, work in the legislatures and promotion of communal unity. Pandit Motilal Nehru has been tried by the country and should now be replaced. The *Medina* says that by his statement Dr. Ansari has made his position extremely delicate, and the programme suggested by him may bring disgrace if there is any faltering in its execution. The chief importance of the statement lies in the fact that it exposes the political imposture of our Swarajist friends. If even to-day Pandit Motilal, instead of trying to throw a veil over a patent fact, becomes a co-operator in the true sense then unity within the Congress will be possible. Since non-cooperation has been killed the only course is to accept office and to serve the country after gaining an insight into the inner policy of the Government.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindi papers continue to urge the Government to take measures to trace up the alleged Muslim conspiracy behind the murders of Arya Samaj leaders. The *Arya Mitra* publishes an article by B. Uma Shankar, M.L.C., who says that when the bureaucracy pats the Muslims it is no wonder if reports of murder and threats of murder are received frequently and the unreasonable demands of the Muslims grow day by day. There have been Muslim Kotwals and Muslim Tahsildars in Bareilly for nearly thirty years. Why did not the bureaucracy post any Hindu Kotwal or Tahsildar when Hindus form 86 per cent. of the population of this Province? All that took place at Bareilly in the presence of an English Collector and Superintendent of Police reminds one of the days of Ghori and Ghazni, but even then they are still there. The same is the case in connexion with Muslim writings and newspapers. Khwaja Hasan Nizami was not arrested even though he wrote a filthy and inflammatory book like the *Dai-e-Islam*. All the riots and cases of abduction of women, murder, robbery, and forced conversions of people in the name of religion and the creation of ill-feeling among His Majesty's

subjects are the outcome of the teachings of the *Quran*. The Government ought to act courageously like Ibn Saud and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, enquire into the teachings of the *Quran* and its effects, and proscribe that book. Ridiculing the Hindus for their impotency in the matter of protecting their religious rights, specially those in connexion with the playing of music and taking out processions on religious and social occasions, the *Bharat Jiwan* writes: If the Muslims so desire they can make the Government tremble with the strength of their *lathi* and totally annihilate the Hindus of the Frontier, but the Hindus cannot even worship their incarnations. They do not have even so much courage as to say: "Well, we will take out our procession, you can do what you like." When they have not even so much courage, strength in their arms, blood in their veins, and sense of self-respect what are they to do? We shall advise them to conceal their faces in skirts and weep. The *Anand* contends that the recent reports of murders and threats of murders received from various quarters show that the fanatical Muslims of the country have formed an organization with the object of suppressing the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements and intimidating and murdering Hindu leaders. It says that if the Government had earnestly made an inquiry into the murder of Swami Shraddhanand the entire mystery would have been exposed then and there. But as the Government's present policy of suppressing the Hindus is gaining strength it shows slackness whenever there is a question of stopping the unjustified actions of the Muslims. This has led to the loss of confidence among the Hindus in the Government's ability to protect them and afforded encouragement to the murderers There is yet time for the Government to uphold the law and extirpate the murderers. The *Haqiqat* says that the speech of the Hon'ble Nawab Saheb of Chhattari at Jaunpur in July last on Hindu-Muslim unity has been welcomed even by his critics and hopes that he will use his power as a high Government official and his influence as a leading *raïs* to take practical measures to remove communal tension and will thus leave behind a shining monument of his *régime*.

Political Propaganda.

In the course of an article, venomously attacking imperialists and capitalists, the *Vartman* writes: The imperialists have contracted such a taste for the blood of the innocent that their teeth are always covered with blood. The biggest leeches of the world are the imperialists and their supporters. They have sucked and ruined countries after countries and desolated human habitations. They are the cause of all the troubles and worries of the world. They are the greatest sinners on this earth. The *Sainik* publishes a short history of the "Bomb Party" in which it refers eulogistically to Khudi Ram Bose, Praphulla Chaki, and other members of the conspiracy and says: The courage, deeds, endurance and heroism of these educated youths are unparalleled in the history of the world. In the Bomb Party of Bengal there were such indefatigable heroes of sterling character that had they received proper military training every one of them would have become a Napoleon. Writing in the *Desh Bhagat* Thakur Sher Singh Shamim Gorwi reproduces an excerpt from a letter of "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Berlin, in which he complains of his extremely straitened circumstances and appeals to Indians to help this worker in the cause of their country's freedom. Who knows that the "Raja's" efforts might work the salvation of India and Indians should not deny aid to this self-denying servant of theirs.

Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

The Muslim press welcomes the Bill to penalize insult to religions, though some papers want the measure to be made less comprehensive. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that it would have welcomed the Bill if the Government had enacted it either of its own accord, or at the time when the Muslims had started throwing filth at the religious preceptors of the Hindus, and especially of the Arya Samajists. The enactment of this legislation at the present juncture clearly means that it is due to the fear of the Muslims. Hindus, see and realize. The day you develop sufficient strength to enable you to make as much mischief for the sake of your religion and religious heads as the Muslims are making that very day you will cease to be kicked. The *Haqiqat* says that in spite of the conviction of the accused in the *Risala Vartman* case it is clear to every thinking person that section 153A is not wholly adequate to deal with vilifiers of revered prophets as it penalises only the promotion of hatred between different communities and not blasphemy as such. The proposed legislation by Government should be welcomed and Government should be advised to take the help of prominent Hindu, Muslim, and European leaders and law experts in framing it. While admitting that the proposed addition to section 295, Indian Penal Code, will prevent blasphemy, the *Hamdam* fears that it is so comprehensive that

it will also severely hamper legitimate *tabligh* work and warns Muslims not to accept it unless the offence is made compoundable and bailable and the words " by representations or other visible signs and gestures or any other means " are expunged from the proposed sub-section.

The Kakori Dacoity Case.

The *Pratap* regards the sentences awarded in the Kakori case as cruelly severe and says :—The Chief Court did not pay the least heed to the appeal of the persons sentenced to death. Except in the case of Manmath sentences were enhanced in every case in which Government desired an enhancement. The offence of the majority of the prisoners was not so serious as it was taken to be, and, even if it was so, some consideration ought to have been shown to their tender age and motive. Mad youths of this type would never have been punished so callously in any free country. The youths who would have vied with Sivaji, Pratap, Kemal Pasha, and Sun-Yat-Sen in valour and patriotism are going to be hanged or forced to rot in jail on account of the present condition of the country. If the Government so desires it has still a chance of saving itself from the charge of cruelty. His Excellency the Governor should exercise his special powers, and at least commute the sentences of the four accused who have been condemned to death. The *Sainik* says that the cruelty and callousness evinced in the judgement is in keeping with the formidable conspiracy of unfavourable circumstances against this unfortunate country. The learned judges have said that in 1924 there was a dreadful conspiracy against the United Provinces Government. We on our part regard the present system of administration itself as a terrible conspiracy both against the Government of the country and its subjects, and the day appears to be approaching when this conspiracy will be exposed and the conspirators will be arraigned before the highest court of the world—the bar of public opinion. The *Bharat Jiwan* writes : In view of the harshness shown by the Government to the accused from the very outset, and the notorious success of the Indian Police in fabricating evidence we are constrained to say that extreme severity has been shown in this case. We regard it beneath our self-respect even to pray for mercy, otherwise we would have said that the Governor should at least commute the sentences of death.

The Cawnpore Riot.

The *Vartman* attributes the Cawnpore riot to the "pro-Muslim policy" of the local authorities and brings serious charges against Muslim constables. It says : At Ram Narayan Bazar the Muslim police continued to encourage Muslims, armed with *lathis*, to hold their ground. It is not arresting Muslims who are hiding in streets and lanes to perpetrate deadly deeds. After the departure of the Military police the Muslim constables of the Civil police perpetrated much oppression. Innumerable innocent Hindus were sent to the thana. Hindus who were lying in their shops to guard them were arrested. Several Muslim constables snatched *lathis* from the hands of Hindus and handed them over to Muslims. There is a general complaint among Hindus against the city kotwal and "incharge" kotwal. The Hindus have no confidence in Muslim police officers To keep them at Cawnpore is to keep up unrest. The *Aj* says that the accounts of the Cawnpore riot and of the murder of a Hindu leader at Pilibhit make it plain that the partiality of the provincial authorities is the cause of all this trouble. For this very reason religious processions of Hindus have been stopped at Allahabad for several years Palpable injustice is done to Hindus in respect of the question of music before mosques. This has encouraged the lawless and fanatical Muslims. Hindu leaders receive threats of murder and are also murdered. There was no cause for a riot at Cawnpore. Rowdies went out of their way to cause a riot, and there was remissness in putting it down with the result that many men were killed and injured. This is the result of communal hatred. So long as this state of things continues, and the bureaucracy, disregarding the rights of citizenship, continues to interfere even with the legitimate functions of the people the fanaticism of one community or the other will continue to increase. The *Anand* says that the Hindus complain that the Muslim constables took part of their co-religionists very much, incited them, and got the Hindus beaten by them in their presence and afterwards arrested the innocent Hindus.

"Mother India."

The *Leader* writes : If a tourist is foolish enough to pass judgement and express opinions like those expressed by Miss Mayo, the British Government and the British people should, if they accept that verdict, consider whether such results of British rule in India justify their further presence in the country. If the British people

believe that this country with its great past, its civilization and its culture, has sunk to the depths of corruption which Miss Mayo and her admirers in the Press say it has, they should hang down their heads in shame instead of gloating over the failure of their own rule. Do they think British rule has been such a disastrous failure? In the course of an article vehemently criticizing the publication the *Vartman* says that the book has been published for promoting the cause of British imperialism by showing that India is unfit for self-government. It is not known how old a sinner Britain is. To-day every British child has been possessed by the demon of imperialism. When subject countries prove intractable the British use formidable armies, deadly weapons and poisonous gases, and drop bombs from aeroplanes. What are the poor Britishers to do? Are they not our trustees? Miss Mayo seeks to show that on account of her social and moral evils India is unfit for self-government. But if social progress is the touchstone no country in the world is fit for self-government for in the self-governing nations of the West there is much more immorality, and abortions, thefts, dacoities and murders are more frequent. The women of Western countries are greater victims of diabolical lust than Indian women. The real test of fitness for self-government is an irrepressible desire for freedom. Only that nation can enjoy self-government which considers it sinful to remain under subjection even for a moment and the young men of which are eager to sacrifice their lives.

Dadhkando.

The *Leader* writes: The change of *régime* at Allahabad has brought no change of policy in the matter of the question of music before mosques. This is the obvious implication of the evasive reply which the superintendent of police gave to the letter of Mahant Ganga Das in connexion with the organization of the *Dadhkando* procession. The way in which the authorities in numerous places are bowing to Muslim truculence, which they are unable to crush or control, has led many Hindus to ask whether they are living under the Muslim or the British flag. Last year, without rhyme or reason and without the least provocation, a section of Muslims attacked the *Dadhkando* procession under the very nose of the authorities. It should have been a point of honour with them to see that this year all the resources of law and order were employed to ensure its peaceful conduct without the imposition of conditions which were not justified by the thoroughly peaceful and orderly conduct of the processionists last year and which are likely to be interpreted as a concession to violence. Instead of strength weakness has been shown which cannot be hidden by the diplomatic language that has been employed. The just grievances of the Hindus, instead of being remedied, have been intensified. The *Aj* says that there is not a single Hindu in the country but will be grieved at the stoppage of *Dadhkando* procession at Allahabad owing to the police restrictions regarding music. There is only one remedy for this, namely, non-violent *satyagrah*, but the "protectors of Hindu interests" fight shy of it. In these circumstances Hindus have no alternative but to stop their festivals and quietly pray to the Almighty for their deliverance in this hour of need.

Muslim Affairs.

The agitation against the "Book of Knowledge" continues in the Muslim press. The *Baidar* says that the crime of the writer of the "Book of Knowledge" is worse than that of Rajpal, in that he has added a picture of the Prophet to his blasphemous comments on his life. The *Quran* has been credited to the Prophet instead of being acknowledged as a revealed book and his holy wives have been attacked in most filthy language. Such is the refinement and good taste of a member of a race which seeks to rule the world. Muslims prize their Prophet over all mundane objects, and they can bear all earthly sufferings but can never tolerate an insult to their Prophet, and they lose patience when they see any accursed person insulting him. Government is at present on its trial. It is to be seen how far it is sincere in its protestations that it has regard for every one's religion and how far the severity with which Indian blasphemers have been treated is extended to foul-mouthed European writers. The *Medina* says that the extremely mean and wicked attacks on the Prophet Muhammad in the "Book of Knowledge" are enough to stir the blood of Muslims. The question is what line of action they should take to stop such attacks. We think that the best course is to draw the attention of the entire Islamic world and to prepare it to make united efforts to put an end to such wickedness. For this it will be necessary to send a deputation to Islamic countries to create public opinion and to prepare all to oppose such unholy attacks. As a last resort a band of devotees of the Prophet should be formed who would be prepared, at any risk, to punish the foul-mouthed authors

of such attacks. If some of the devotees demonstrate their sacrifice to some of the revilers such satanic deeds can soon be ended. In another article the paper says that the scheme for the colonization of the Moplahs in the Andamans is a diplomatic move to exterminate the brave and proud race of Moplahs. And this annihilating process is going on so silently, and in such a constitutional manner, that the Moplahs are being led to the slaughter-house and we cannot do anything. What a pity that the Moplahs are being thus sacrificed at the altar of the goddess of enmity and vindictiveness and there is no one to restrain the hand of the Government.

Zaghlul Pasha.

Obituary notices in the Press pay a tribute to Zaghlul Pasha's services in the cause of Egyptian independence and interpret his death as a blow to the freedom of Asiatic countries. The *Desh Bhagat* deplores the death of this "standard-bearer of Egyptian liberty," and says that but for him the English would have enslaved Egypt also like India. His death is not only a sad blow to Egypt at a most critical juncture in her history, but also seriously prejudices the fight for India's freedom as the geographical position of these two countries makes their freedom interdependent. Nay, further, the world is just now on the brink of a great change: war clouds are looming large; Bolshevism is spreading; and every subject country is going to make a desperate effort to gain her freedom. Zaghlul's passing away should, therefore, be regarded as a world-calamity. The *Hamdam* says that Zaghlul Pasha's death is a calamity not only for Egypt, but also for other subject countries like India, as the freedom of Egypt would have given breathing time to India and other Asiatic countries His services in the cause of his country's independence were simply inestimable.

The Bettiah Riots.

The *Sadai Muslim* paper publishes an account by a Muslim sufferer of the atrocities perpetrated at Bettiah by the Hindus who had collected there fully armed even from distant Muzaffarpur and Champaran, and says that it shows that the *sangathanists* have excited the Hindus to a dangerous pitch. It also proves that Hindu attacks are always pre-meditated and prearranged, and old and weak Muslims are always selected as victims. Some Muslims in every town and city should make it their duty to keep a watch on such movements of Hindus and to warn their co-religionists of danger before the breaking out of trouble. Muslims should also organize bodies for the protection of their weak and aged co-religionists.

United Provinces Police.

Referring to the report that no Muslims have been selected for appointment as Deputy Superintendents of Police this year the *Haqiqat* wonders whether this is due to the agitation raised in the Council by Mr. Chintamani about the Police department. No doubt the Muslims have got a larger share of posts in the Police department, but will Government show no consideration for the fact that Muslims have absolutely no opportunity for securing posts in the Engineering, Medical, Education, Irrigation, Postal, and other departments. The wrong cannot even be remedied by their having a slightly larger share in a single department. It is a pity that fuel is being added to the fire of communal antagonism which is already blazing by raising the question of communal representation in the Services.

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ALLAHABAD:
September 3, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
4 OCT. 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 36 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 10, 1927.

The Viceroy's address to the Indian Legislature continues to receive wide attention. Newspapers of all shades of opinion warmly commend the solicitude of His Excellency for communal peace and, with some exceptions, support the proposal for holding a conference. A large number of papers, however, urge that no efforts for restoring peace can be successful until the district authorities abandon the policy of "divide and rule." The *Aj* writes:—The sentiments expressed by His Excellency are characterised by broad-mindedness and betray not a scintilla of partiality. If the district authorities had followed his example the communal malady would never have become so acute. If the charges made against the Allahabad police in connexion with the local *Dadhkando* procession are true even partially then Lord Irwin can know why communal hatred is not suppressed and that if this state of things continues the whole of the Hindu community will one day come to think that the Government itself is opposed to its religion. We do not hold the Government alone responsible for communal tension but we do maintain that its communal policy and the partial attitude of the district authorities form one of its contributory causes. We welcome the Viceroy's proposed conference for unity but doubt whether it will prove successful. It is, however, possible that after being acquainted with His Excellency's good intentions and getting secret instructions the district authorities and loyal persons may make sincere efforts to improve the situation and this may produce beneficial results. The *Pratap* says that the Government itself contributed largely to the growth of communal tension and that instead of doing any good to the country the proposed conference would only stimulate communal differences and demands. Eulogizing the language and sentiments of the Viceroy's speech the *Sainik* says:—The concluding portion of the speech is really very touching, but the black deeds of numerous subordinates of Lord Irwin are so cruel that they do not allow the effect of the speech to last for even a moment. The general belief of the public is that the bureaucracy is rejoicing at these disturbances. The Hindu-Muslim riots are to a large extent the result of the policy of "divide and rule" and of the system of foreign bureaucratic administration. Who can say that this belief of the public does not contain a large amount of truth? We assert with the public that if the Government wants it can stop these disturbances to-day, but it takes no notice of the black deeds of its subordinates. So long as Lord Irwin's Government does not remove this belief from public mind whenever His Excellency makes a similar speech he will have to hear the words, "would that the deeds were also such." The *Swadesh* infers from the speech that the Viceroy is not so sorry for the blindness and fanaticism of the people as he is eager to proclaim to the world that a civil war is being waged in this country. The *Medina* writes:—Lord Irwin's speech is an embodiment of sincerity and sympathy but it is extremely humiliating and shameful for the country that a representative of a foreign Government should have found occasion to deliver a message of inter-communal unity. It is an occasion for shedding tears of blood. All these disturbances and blood-shed are due to the fact that the short sighted and selfish Hindu leaders cannot bear to see facilities being provided to the Muslims for performing their prayers in peace and for earning their bare livelihood. While the elements of mischief are at work not even a thousand of such speeches of Lord Irwin can produce any effect. The idea of holding a conference is not new Half-a-dozen of such conferences have already been held without any result. We think that peace and good-will cannot be established until the political and religious rights of the various communities are

The Viceroy's speech.

clearly specified and steps are taken to protect the minorities from the oppression and aggression of the majority. It is also our conviction that all these disturbances are due to our subjection and slavery. If Indians are vested with the necessary powers to-day the disturbances would disappear altogether. The riots have also demonstrated the incompetence of the Government to govern India.

The Bareilly and Cawnpore riots.

The Bareilly and the Cawnpore riots have considerably accentuated the communal tension and recriminations. Muslim papers contend that the premeditation and preparedness of the Hindus was evidenced by the lower casualties among them and cite instances of "cruelty and barbarity" practised by Hindus. They strongly resent Hindu propaganda against Muslims generally and police officials specially, and reproduce letters widely signed by Hindu residents to show how kindly they had been treated by their Muslim neighbours during the riots. The *Pratap* writes :— The Cawnpore police played the part not of a protector but of a devourer. The policemen encouraged the hooligans and let them off after arresting them. People continued to be belaboured before the eyes of the police and the police only remained as a passive spectator. The *Aj* says that every well-wisher of the Government will have to hang down his head in shame at the manner in which the police behaved itself on the occasion of the riot at Cawnpore. The *Surya* writes :—From the heart-rending reports regarding the communal disturbance at Cawnpore it appears that the British Government has been removed from there and that if the police had been wideawake the disturbance would not have broken out and that if the authorities had sincerely desired to quell it even after its outbreak the situation would not have taken such a serious turn. Profound short-sightedness is being evinced. The *Medina* says that as the riot at Cawnpore had nothing to do with the question of cow-sacrifice or music before mosque, it is evident that the disturbance was created merely for the sake of disturbance. The barbarous and mischievous section of the Hindus of Cawnpore made organized efforts to injure the Muslims. If such is the helplessness of Muslims in India we do not know what it will lead to. Under the headings :—"Attacks on Muslims in Hindu quarters ; attempts to demolish mosques ; hundreds of Muslims wounded ; one Muslim killed ; attacks on sleeping Muslims ; the height of atrocity ; driving a nail through the face, etc.," the *Sadai Muslim* writes :—The wicked Hindus of Cawnpore had been striving to create trouble in Cawnpore for a long time but could not get an opportunity owing to the peace-loving nature of the Muslims. The local Hindu press had been doing its best to inflame the Hindu public and the *Vartman* had gone even so far as to say that the Muslims would not be brought to their senses until they were crushed. All this has now borne fruit and the Hindu *goondas* have attacked Muslims without any rhyme or reason. These cowardly Hindu *goondas* attacked sleeping Muslims after dragging them out of their houses. One Muslim tailor was subjected to the most barbarous atrocity of having an iron nail thurst into his face. Helpless cripples were wounded and strangers and old men were generally the targets of Hindu attacks. Some mosques have been damaged. Hindus have been protected in Muslim quarters and that is why Hindus have been wounded in very small numbers. The condition of the Muslim wounded shows how cruel and barbarous the attacks of the Hindus have been. Arrangements should be made by the authorities for the protection of Muslims in quarters in which they are in a minority. In a subsequent article the same paper writes :—The hospital officials especially the doctors are said to be treating the Muslim wounded badly and this should be remedied. Special guards should be posted in quarters in which Muslims are in a minority. The *Nizam-i-Alam* makes serious allegations against the Hindu police and says :—The Hindu police does not make inquiries into reports and does not take the trouble to carry the Muslim wounded to the *thana* or the hospital. The kotwali, *thanas* and jails are filled with Muslims while the Hindus have been arrested only in name. Many Muslims have to return from *thanas* without getting their reports recorded as the Hindu policemen show indifference and scold them. The Commissioner came to Cawnpore but called only one Muslim while he had interviews with a number of Hindus. Hindu vakils, raises and paid officials are inciting the populace. Municipal lorries are being used to encourage or aid the Hindu rioters. The *Hamdam* writes :—If the reports received from our correspondents at Bareilly and the Associated Press at Cawnpore are to be relied upon the Muslims have been the worst sufferers. This shows that while the Hindus were prepared beforehand the authorities were not vigilant and failed to protect the weaker community. *Al Khalil* is sorry that the *shuddhi*

and *sangathan* movements and the preaching of violence has produced such an aggressive spirit among Hindus that riots have become the order of the day. The mind shrinks from contemplating the atrocities which a section of the Hindus of Cawnpore committed not only on Muslim passers-by, but even on sleeping Muslims. Worst of all, the Hindus entered into mosques to attack Muslims, dragged them out of their shops to beat them and the height of cruelty and barbarity was reached when the oppressors thrust a nail into the face of Fayaz tailor, damaged mosques in Chakla and Hatia and wounded Muslims in quarters in which they were in a minority. If both the officials and the leaders do not set their heads together to meet this menace, civil war will break out in the country and there will be no room in it for peaceful people.

Dadhkando.

Hindu papers strongly protest against the restrictions imposed in connexion with the *Dadhkando* at Allahabad and approve of the abandonment of the procession. They also strongly resent the action of the police "in organizing a bogus procession mainly through the help of Muslims." The local Muslim paper *Al Aziz* supports the action of the authorities and indignantly repudiates the allegation that the procession was "bogus" and a Muslim show The *Aj* urges the Hindus to organize themselves and to be prepared to undergo the severest tribulations. It is disgraceful for the authorities of Allahabad, says the paper, to be cowed down by the threats of hooligans and to continue to perpetrate outrages on the religion of Hindus by placing unjustifiable obstacles in the way of their religious processions. The question of Allahabad is an all-India question and we trust that the Hindus of the whole of the country will stand by the Hindus of Allahabad in this agitation. The *Abhyudaya* writes: The conditions imposed by the Superintendent of Police were not only insulting to the Hindus but were also devoid of common sense and supported the unjust demands of the Muslims. It is impossible for others to respect the religious sentiments of the Muslims because there are a number of religious obligations which offend the Muslims. They cannot tolerate the playing of music before mosques, they take offence at singing, the funeral cry of the Hindus wounds their feelings and the sight of idols and processions is offensive to them. When the *Dadhkando* procession includes the taking out of idols who except the Superintendent of Police can guarantee that the religious feelings of the Muslims would be respected? If the Superintendent of Police wanted to protect law and order he ought to have got the procession taken out as usual and punished those who committed any breach of peace. The paper next condemns the action of the Allahabad and specially the Kydgunj police in compelling people to take out a procession and urging the higher authorities to investigate the matter and prosecute those responsible for doing so says that it is a matter of shame that on the elephant which used to carry the representations of Krishna and Baldeo the Muslim syce of a Muslim *thanadar* of the Kydgunj thana was seated. These men tried to throw dust into the eyes of the world by organizing a bogus procession but on account of its complete boycott by the Hindus they failed to do so. The *Surya* says: The Hindus have been taking out these processions regularly for hundreds of years, even when the Muslim flag waved over India but they have not been able to do so under the British Crown. This does not redound to the glory of our Government. When we see such restrictions imposed on our religious rituals how can we say that our Government wants to see us observing our religious functions freely? Let us see what reply our Satyagrahi brothers give to it. In another issue the paper says that by arranging for the taking out of "the bogus *Dadhkando* procession at Allahabad" the authorities may well have pleased the Muslims but this is certain that they callously trampled upon the religious sentiments of the Hindus. The procession was an absurd farce. Hired Muslims were everywhere in evidence throughout the procession which was so shunned by them. Should the syce of a Muslim *thanadar* be seated on the same elephant which used to carry the sacred representations of Krishna and Baldeo? We will call this an insult, nay a gross iusult to the religious sentiments of the Hindus. What self-respecting Hindu will not feel aggrieved to see the authorities and the police officers showing partiality in this matter and that also in a reprehensible manner? Let us see what the higher authorities do in this case? The *Sudharak* writes:—The Government which up till now spurned the self-respect of the Hindus openly is now bent upon attacking them from behind. Has it learnt this policy from those whom it pats? Who could conceive that the authorities would stoop to the meanness of getting the Hindu religious processions taken out by Muslims? Is the Government

not alienating the Hindus still more by committing such reprehensible actions. *Al Aziz* says that Mr. Thompson's order regarding *Dadhkando* at Allahabad was wise and while showing no favour to Muslims also imposed no such severe restrictions as to make it impossible to take out the procession. In another article the paper says that it is gratifying that the *Dadhkando* procession at Allahabad was attended by almost all Hindu leaders of the city and the crowd was much larger than in previous years. The Hindus finished their procession before sunset and without any pressure and of their own free will stopped music before all mosques even though prayers were not being said in them. A touching example of communal unity was afforded by the entertainment of the processionists by the Muslims. All the propaganda of the Maha Sabhaites for a boycott of the procession proved unsuccessful. It is a matter for satisfaction that the Hindu community has been rid of the Maha Sabha incubus which had been dissuading it from performing its religious ceremonies by inventing tales of Muslim high-handedness.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu papers are urging with increasing emphasis the theory that the murder of Swami Shraddhanand and other Hindu leaders at Ajmer, Bahraich, Pilibhit and other places are the result of a well-organized Muslim conspiracy. The *Leader* writes:—We would fain believe that these outrages are acts of individual Muslim fanatics, but their occurrence in quick succession in the course of a few months raises a presumption in favour of the popular belief. Exhorting the Hindus to follow the policy of tit for tat in communal matters the *Bharat Jiwan* says that when the Government is so openly siding with the Muslims the Hindus will not only have to undertake their own defence but also concert measures to put an end to communal dissensions. Every one who has closely studied the Muslim character has come to the conclusion that these men yield only to physical force and not to soul force, that is they cannot be silenced by reasoning but can be brought to the right path only by drubbing. Everyday incidents show that communal riots have ceased in all those places where Muslims have received a good slap. In such circumstances the only duty of the Hindus is to combat brute force by brute force. The *Kailash* complains that the *Inqilab* of August 30 contains an article entitled "The test of the self-respect of the Muslims of Partabgarh" in which it has incited the Muslims of that town against the Hindus and says that the Punjab Government has paid no attention to it because it thinks the Hindu papers of that province have not drawn its attention to the same. It goes on to say: The Tabligi Muslims ought to understand well that religious minded Hindus and Arya Samajists can never stop the work of *Shuddhi* for fear of death. If a Hindu is killed dozens of Muslims will lose their lives If even 20 crores of Hindus are killed as against 7 crores of Muslims even then 13 crores (sic) of Hindus will be left over. The *Hamdam* deplores the recent murders of Hindu leaders and appeals to the Muslims of Pilibhit to respond to Mr. Mohd. Yakub's appeal and to give every help to the police in tracing the murder of B. Bahadur Singh so that the Aryas may not be able to lay the false charge of conspiracy at the door of Muslims in connexion with such murders. Government also should occasionally publish communiques regarding the progress made by the police in the inquiries regarding the Bahraich and Pilibhit murders. The *Mashriq* says that unless Government legislates with a view to stop the present communal riots there will be anarchy in the country. The law against slander of religions should be made a little more severe and the offence should be made punishable with imprisonment alone which may extend to fourteen years. There should also be a law to restrain leaders from making speeches and editors from writing articles which might incite Hindus and Muslims. Referring to the report that in a recent communal affray in a cinema at Delhi the Arya Samajists resisted the police the *Medina* says: This is not the first instance of the followers of Malaviya and Moonje resisting the police. Such cases have occurred at several other places also. We would like to warn the Government that *Sangathan* has affected the police also This is why Hindu officials often show slackness in adequately punishing these mischief-makers and sometimes connive at their mischiefs. Such officials need to be strictly watched, otherwise the Government will have to face bitter results. If the Government has become helpless let it give a short opportunity to Muslims who will test the power of these mischief-makers and then permanent peace will be ensured.

Muslim affairs.

While deploring the attacks on Shias in tribal territory, and urging that every help should be rendered to them, the *Hamdam* opposes any British expedition into Afridi territory

and says that a burden should not be imposed on the Indian Exchequer and thousands of lives should not be lost by any such step. The version of the Orakzai tribe and the other side of the story is also not yet known. The *Mashriq* complains that under the influence of the Hindu Maha Sabha a general propaganda is being carried on with a view to foment trouble on the occasion of Muslim festivals. Not only is the sacrifice of cows objected to, but a Hindu district magistrate two years ago prohibited buffalo sacrifice also though Hindu rajas sacrifice these animals on the occasion of Dasehra. The police is made to report cases in which cows have been sacrificed at places where they were not sacrificed before and riots are got up. This means that persons who have been recently converted to Islam or have come from another place or have become possessed of sufficient means to discharge this religious obligation should not perform cow-sacrifice at a particular place simply because it had not been performed there before. This is the height of injustice. Equally unfair is the demand that the number of *tazias* should not be added to in a Chehlum procession or a procession should not be taken out at a place where it had not been taken out before. Many people sometimes take out *tazias* in a particular year in the performance of a religious vow and it is unfair to ask them to quote a precedent for their action. Government does not interfere in Hindu religious festivals and should similarly instruct the police not to note the number of *qurbanis* and *tazias* but to give full freedom to Muslims in such matters.

Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

There is considerable divergence of opinion on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and even those papers which approve it in principle emphasize the need for caution. Some Hindu papers regard it as a concession to Muslim agitation and therefore oppose it. Referring to the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Bill the *Leader* writes :—We freely admit that we find ourselves in sympathy more with Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru than with the enthusiastic supporters of Mr. Crerar's Bill. The language of the Bill is objectionably defective in that it is needlessly wide and unsafely vague. In a time of excitement, of suspicion ; in an atmosphere of prejudice or of panic, the most legitimate criticism may be held to amount to "outrage" Where is the guarantee that a law so vaguely worded will not be abused? Can the Hindus of Bengal and the United Provinces rest secure in the confidence that Government and their officers will at all times be rigidly impartial in the administration of the new restrictive law? The law has to be limited and made definite. The *Medina* says that while the demand of Muslims was for such legislation as could stop insults to founders of religions the Bill introduced by Government is more comprehensive and flexible and penalizes insults to religion itself. In India religion covers even the tail of the monkey, the urine of the cow, the leaves of the *Tulsi* plant, the branches of the *peepal* and the bamboo frames of the *tazias*. In view of such comprehensiveness of religion will not this measure prove an additional source of disturbances? Indian leaders should exercise the utmost caution in accepting a Bill of this kind. They should not cut off their nose to spite their face.

Political propaganda.

The *Swadesh* writes:—It is quite plain that white rulers and their supporters are inveterate enemies of Indian aspirations for *Swaraj*. It is for this reason that they are carrying on secret propaganda to establish that Indians are unfit for *Swaraj*. Miss Mayo's book "Mother India," and Mr. Pilcher's speech reported in the *Statesman* form part of this propaganda. To-day we are surrounded by enemies on all sides. At every step attempts are being made to wipe us out of existence. The *Vir Sandesh* publishes an article under the heading "He had come" by Pandit Jagdish Chandra Ayurvedacharya, who describes how God re-incarnated himself several times in the past to save India from oppressors and invokes Him to emancipate India once more from the terrible ways of imperialistic, blood-thirsty white capitalists.

The Kakori case.

Newspapers make earnest appeals to His Excellency the Governor to commute the death sentences of the four convicts of the Kakori case. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We know that justice has to be relentless. But there are cases which deserve mercy and it is for those who are at the helm of affairs to show their courage by giving special consideration to such cases. The fact should not be lost sight of that these young men were the victims of false ideals and if they are given an opportunity to show in their lives the influence of true ideals it will be an object-lesson to society. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks:—All these four accused are young men, are repentant and sorry for their deeds, are prepared to take an oath of loyalty

for the future and promise to help the administration in every manner and have thrown themselves on the mercy of the Government. We, therefore, strongly urge that the accused should be given one more chance in life and we hope that Sir William Marris's Government will soothe the afflicted hearts of the old parents and other relations of the accused by granting their appeal for mercy.

The Skeen Committee recommendations.

The *Medina* says that the object of the recommendations of the Skeen Committee is not to develop the military spirit of India, but to create perpetual tension between martial and non-martial elements by bringing them together in the army. God save the armies of India in the future if the recommendations of the committee are adopted.

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ALLAHABAD:

September 10, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 37 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 17, 1927.

Foreign affairs.

Referring to the recent treaty between Britain and Trans-Jordania, the *Hamdam* opines that Amir Abdullah and his Ministers have been acting as British puppets for the last three years and it seems that the Amir has received sufficient training and there is no need left to keep him in leading strings and he will therefore now discharge the duties so far assigned to the British agent. Such is the reality of the freedom of Trans-Jordania. The *Haqiqat* says that one by one all the Arab chiefs are being drawn into the British fold by the silken strands of treaties. Barring Syria, the whole of Arabia is now under British influence and the last vestige of freedom enjoyed by Trans-Jordania has now been ended by the conclusion of an alliance with Britain. The independence of the Arabs of this tract will be under the grip of British advisers. To-day British diplomacy is triumphant in the Near East, but the eyes of the Arabs have not been opened even after the last war.

The Viceroy's speech.

Newspapers continue to comment extensively on the Viceroy's address to the Indian Legislature. Even some extremist papers while attributing the riots to the policy of "divide and rule" emphasize the need for His Excellency's intervention for restoring communal peace. The *Bharat Dharma* writes:—The call for unity on the part of the Viceroy became inevitable when he saw that the Government was losing public confidence and suffering in its prestige through communal tension. It is strange that the move for unity has been simultaneously made by the Government and the Muslims. There is no doubt that both form one party, and this party has fully realized that it cannot carry on in this vast country by keeping the Hindus discontented. His Excellency is shedding tears over those killed in riots but this is all the result of his own apathy. If the Government gives up the policy of divide and rule, unity will be established in no time. The present move for unity is a trick to exonerate the Government from the charge of following such policy. The *Arya Mitra* says that while it is necessary for the Hindu-Muslim leaders to restore good-will among the masses it is also necessary that the misdeeds of Government officials should not be overlooked. What did the action of the Bareilly Kotwal in entering the Samaj temple with shoes on mean? Can such acts produce good feelings among the Hindus? We sincerely wish that the Viceroy's desire to stop Hindu-Muslim riots may fructify and his voice may reach those officials who rejoice to see these disturbances. The *Sudharak* says that there is one thing in the Viceroy's speech which it cannot believe, namely, that the whole of Britain is anxious for the well-being of India in view of the grave consequences of communal tension and wants to help her in the attainment of *swaraj*. Proof is not wanting that so far as it lies in the hands of Britain it will never allow India to attain *swaraj* but will put as many obstacles in the way as possible. There can be no peace between the Hindus and Muslims so long as there is a foreign Government in the country inasmuch as the existence of foreign rule depends upon the continuance of communal discord in the country. The *Medina* contends that the communal disturbances cannot be stopped without the aid of Government and says:—We think it is essential that we should avail ourselves of the offer of the Viceroy to act as peace-maker. The disturbances should be stopped for ever at any cost. The barbarity which is being exhibited in the name of religion cannot be restrained by sermons and admonitions and a strong power is needed for its suppression. Such a power is in the hands of the Government alone which unfortunately happens to be foreign. If this foreign Government evinces sincerity of intentions on any blessed occasion why

should we not take advantage of it? We are convinced that the sentiments expressed by the Viceroy are genuine and are inspired by his solicitude for the welfare of India. In its usual style of pungent satire the *Oudh Punch* says that no law penalizing slander of religions can bring about communal concord unless justice is administered with an even hand. Government has never sincerely tried to promote unity. Methods of election of members, appointments to offices, bestowal of honours, administration of law are all bones of contention. The Viceroy has so far spent his time in dinners and shooting parties. He cannot even plead want of co-operation on the part of the population in defence of the failure of his efforts towards peace. Will Lord Irwin take the opportunity of explaining at his very first public utterance why he has been dallying with the question for one year?

Communal riots.

Newspapers continue to indulge in accusations, counter-accusations and recriminations in connexion with the Bareilly, Cawnpore and Nagpur riots. Both Hindu and Muslim papers urge the Government to institute inquiries into the conduct of the officials of those places. The *Aj* says that the carelessness and remissness displayed by the officials and police on the occasion of the Cawnpore riot have confirmed our conviction that the Government too is responsible for Hindu-Muslim riots. Moreover, the officials have become slack, careless and ease-loving. If there had been responsible government in this country, if the district officers and their subordinates could be called to account in case of breach of peace and if they could be punished on their guilt being proved the officials and the police at Cawnpore would not have shown such dereliction of duty. The *Abhyudaya* says that though communal riots are always initiated by the Muslims and responsibility for them lies both on the Hindus and Muslims, the Government is also not free from blame. We do not say that the Government makes the Hindus and the Muslims quarrel with one another, but we cannot help saying that it does not do what it ought to do to prevent them from doing so. In the course of an article vehemently criticizing the policy of the authorities in connexion with the Bareilly and Cawnpore riots, the case of the sub-inspector of Shikohabad and some other local and communal matters the *Sainik* writes:—From all quarters complaints are being received of the autocracy, foolishness, oppression and *nadirshahi* of the authorities. The world is aware of the reprehensible indifference which the Bengal authorities are showing in spite of the fact that thousands of Hindu women have been kidnapped. In our unfortunate province police *raj* was established the very day Sir William Marris adorned the gubernatorial chair. But now there is a dangerous admixture of *nawabi*, police *raj* and Muslim *raj*, as a result of which people from all sides are crying out for deliverance. Revolutionaries, Bolshevik emissaries and Indian political agitators cannot possibly foment even a hundredth part of the discontent and sedition which this lawlessness on the part of the authorities is bound to produce. We warn the inebriated bureaucracy that if it does not check this lawlessness of its officials they will destroy the very machine of which they form a part. The *Hitchintak* says that the official report of the Cawnpore and Bareilly riots does not only make one deplore the rowdyism of the Muslims who took the initiative in both the places but also feel contempt for the bureaucracy which rules the country in the name of law and order. Nothing but the weakness of the bureaucracy can be held responsible for the terrible manslaughter in both the places. The Hindus should, therefore, open their eyes and should not depend upon the bureaucracy but organize themselves for their protection. If they do not do so they will continue to be beaten and to see repetitions of Cawnpore and Bareilly riots every day. Referring to the outbreak of communal riots and the murder of Hindu leaders by Muslims, the *Bharat Dharma* writes that though there were rumours of a breach of peace at Cawnpore the authorities took no precaution against it. The Government spends crores of rupees over the Criminal Investigation department, but this department cannot trace out those Muslim organizations which have been established to destroy the Hindus. In these circumstances, how can it be said that the Government is able to maintain law and order? It is not only ridiculous for the Government, which is unable to protect the life and property of its peace-loving subjects from hooligans, to boast of administrative efficiency but such a Government is not even fit to govern a vast country like India. The *Hamdam* demands an inquiry into the conduct of the officers who accompanied the procession at Bareilly and did not see that it adhered to the prescribed time-table and refrained from music before mosques. An independent inquiry should also be held into the firing before the mosque by the armed police

as the Muslims there were too small in number to be a menace and were also altogether unarmed and could not be expected even to withstand the fury of the armed Hindu mob not to say of adopting the offensive. The Muslims could have been easily arrested and, if firing had not been resorted to, the disturbance would not have assumed such proportions. The police and the executive in India have achieved an unenviable notoriety as to holding human life cheap and the rumour at Bareilly that a Deputy Collector fired his revolver should be closely investigated. Reports from Cawnpore clearly show that the Hindus were the aggressors. The Muslim kotwal of Cawnpore is in an unenviable plight as both Hindus and Muslims complain against him. This shows that he discharged his duties with honesty and zeal. Referring to the Nagpur riot *Al Khalil* says:—It is clear that the violent teachings of the sangathanist leaders are bearing fruit and it must be doing their heart good to hear of the atrocities perpetrated by their followers. The leaders and officials should realize that if the brake is not applied at once civil war would break out in the country and it would then be difficult to gain control over the situation. Muslims also should organize themselves and engage in commerce and industry if they want to progress.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu newspapers bitterly complain of general aggressiveness of Muslims against Hindus and in support of this charge refer to communal riots at various places, abduction of Hindu women, murder of Hindu leaders and expulsion of Hindu families from the frontier territory. The *Chand* remarks:—The present policy of the British Government in regard to the Hindus can place the empire in very great peril. If Government will not undertake the responsibility of protecting the Hindus this will lead to very terrible consequences. Hindus themselves will have to undertake this responsibility in self-defence and for the protection of the honour of their women. Then they will begin to form secret societies and when the thought of the atrocities on their mothers and sisters will awaken in their mind the desire for revenge then the existence of seven crores of Muslims and of their patron, the Government, will be endangered. When the entire Hindu community will get tired of this horrible scene of their total destruction, degradation and disgrace, and when the feeling will begin to arise in their mind that it is far better to die fighting with their enemies than suffer annihilation, then rivers of blood will flow from every part of India. We tremble to think of this idea. We disapprove of it, but somebody whispers into our ears that unless the Government of India and the Indian Muslims change their attitude this terrible consequence is as certain and inevitable as death. Even under the British rule of this twentieth century India is to-day smarting under the blows of Aurangzebian rule. Hindus should wake up and know that the power of organization should be the basis of their awakening. In another article the magazine says that the honour of the women of the whole of Bengal is to-day at the mercy of *goondas* and yet the Bengal Government, with all its army, police and Criminal Investigation department is unable to trace out these miscreants. Is it not scandalous that despite such inefficiency the Government should hold itself to be the custodian of law and order? The responsibility for remedying this deplorable condition of Hindu women in Bengal does not rest only on the shoulders of Bengalis. A vigorous agitation should be carried on throughout the country for the purpose. In the course of an article in the *Arya Mitra* Babu Uma Shankar, M.L.C., writes:—Since the teaching of the *Quran* has been spread in India the Hindus and other non-Muslims have not been able to live in peace. The tolerance of the Hindus has led the Muslims to believe that they can do whatever they like against the non-Muslims, but not *vice versa*. In my opinion, the *Quran* is at the bottom of all the mischief and being incited by its poisonous teachings the Muslims are practising high-handedness. The *Jadu* says that the Hindu leaders have made it their policy to preach unity from public platforms and to incite to internecine warfare in private gatherings. They have also split themselves into two parties one of which prates of inter-communal concord and the other inculcates *danda-bazi*. Lalaji has been a very capable exponent of this policy and it is to be seen whether his sojourn in England has brought about any change in his mentality.

The Unity Conference.

Newspapers are generally pessimistic as to the success of the Unity Conference at Simla. The *Pratap* refers to the efforts for unity that are being made at Simla and says that Lord Irwin and his subordinates cannot be included among those who have become tired of Hindu-Muslim riots for if these men so desire they can stop these

riots by fostering a nationalist outlook among the people and strongly suppressing the rioters but they will do nothing of the kind. They will simply deliver good speeches and show to the world that they have done all that was possible for them to restore peace but could not achieve any success on account of the folly of Indians. Those Indians, too, who look to the immediate gain and have the Royal Commission in view cannot succeed in restoring unity because they are really seeking offices, memberships and honours and not unity. Unity can be restored only by those who look to the gain of the general public and not to their personal aggrandisement. The *Arya Mitra* opines that the Unity Conference cannot fulfil its mission until it goes into the causes of the riots and the murders of Hindus and tries to remove those causes. The *Medina* writes :—The Conference is not suggesting any remedies for the diseases which are afflicting the hearts of the people. At a time when the leaders have assembled at Simla for such a momentous task the Hindu newspapers and leaders are poisoning the atmosphere by venomous writings and speeches and do not wish to remain quiet even for the time being. Muslims are *goondas*, Muslims are tyrants, Muslims are dishonest, Muslims are assassins, Muslims kidnap women and Muslims are the enemies of the Hindus—this is the unanimous cry which is raised from Hindu platforms and the press. Such being the case who can say that even after settling the principles the Unity Conference will be successful in its main objects? The Hindu mentality has clearly indicated that the Hindus are not anxious for peace and that they expect the Muslims to repent of their vices and to seek peace with folded hands. Muslims, no doubt, want peace, but not in such a humiliating manner. In our opinion the leaders should, in the first instance, resolve to try to change their hearts and to base unity only on pure love and friendship, sincerity and humanity. They should also resolve to abandon a number of imaginary claims and their satanic obstinacy with regard to them.

Daschra.

The question of Dasehra at Allahabad is receiving increasing attention in the Hindu Press. The papers are unanimous that no restrictions of any kind should be accepted. Exhorting the district authorities of Allahabad to allow the Hindus of the town to take out their Ramlila procession without any restrictions, the *Abhyudaya* says that the Hindus will never accept any humiliating condition whether it is imposed by the Muslims or the authorities. If the District Magistrate allows the Hindus to take out their procession without any restrictions they will be able to take it out peacefully and will themselves remain anxious to avoid any breach of peace. The *Aj* says that it will not be proper to take out Ramdal processions if the Hindus of Allahabad are not allowed their civic rights in respect of the unrestricted use of public roads and, it is hoped, that they will never do so. Ram was born for the vindication of truth and rights. It will be wholly improper to celebrate his achievements at the cost of one's rights. In that case the authorities, if they choose, may well represent some Rai Bahadur honorary magistrate as a monkey and the Muslim sycos of Muslim sub-inspectors as Ram and his followers and take the credit for taking out the Ramdal procession. But all Hindus are not traitorous Rai Bahadurs and they will not like to take out under humiliating conditions the procession of an unequalled hero like Ram. The *Hamdam* deplores the insistence of the organizers of the Allahabad Ramlila on the fullest freedom to play music before mosques even at prayer time and says that previously this question did not arise as the two afternoon prayers were said in mosques before which the procession was not passing for the time being and the procession itself passed out of the city before the time of evening prayers. The organizers of the Ramlila have now changed the time of the procession so that it will pass before some mosques not only during the afternoon prayers but also during the evening prayer. As the time for evening prayer is very limited, it is very difficult for Muslim shop-keepers to collect for it in a mosque which the procession has already passed and as music interferes with prayers the Hindus have no valid ground for insisting on it unless they are bent on paining the feelings of Muslims and thus bringing about a disturbance. If the old time-table is adopted there would be no difficulty and there should be no objection to it seeing that the Ramayan records that Ravana was killed at sunset and the observance of this timing in the playing of the Lila is possible only if the procession passes out of the city before sunset. Mr. Thompson's efforts to secure a celebration of the Ramlila are commendable and his sincerity is evident from his undertaking that this year's arrangements would not count as precedent and it would be a sad mistake on the part of the Hindus not to avail themselves of his offer.

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* says that the heart trembles to think of the consequences of the short-sightedness of the Sangathanist spirit shown by the Hindu members of the Lucknow Municipal Board in refusing permission for holding the biggest *Milad Sharif* of Lucknow in the Aminabad Park where it has been regularly held for the last fifteen years. This incident has caused universal grief and unrest among Lucknow Muslims who regard it as an interference with their religious rights which they are in no way prepared to tolerate. Some Muslims believe that it is part of the sangathanist propaganda to insult the Prophet. *Al Khalil* complains that the *Book of Knowledge* has reopened the wounds caused in the hearts of Muslims by recent offensive Hindu publications which had not even had time to heal. Muslims cannot tolerate insults to their Prophet. The accursed writer in the *Book of Knowledge* has gone even so far as to assert that the Prophet was a man of ordinary morals, was addicted to tyranny over females, was a prey to epileptic fits which he styled as periods of revelation, was deceitful, lying, cunning, blood-thirsty and quarrelsome and was a robber. To make matters worse, the foolish and ignorant writer has given an imaginary picture of the Prophet in which he is shown seated on a throne in a magnificent palace. Only those who know the love and veneration which every Muslim has for his Prophet can realize his burning indignation and we urge the Government to proscribe the offending volumes of this publication immediately and to prosecute the author and publisher. Government would be responsible for the consequences if it inflames Muslim feeling by procrastination in the matter.

The Reserve Bank Bill.

Under the heading "The Reserve Bank Fiasco" the *Leader* writes :—The dramatic announcement of Sir Basil Blackett in the Assembly that the Reserve Bank Bill would not be proceeded with during the present session furnishes one more instance of the irresponsibility and autocracy of those who hold the keys of power. The Assembly has been treated with scant courtesy and and the Congress members recorded their emphatic protest by walking out . . . Such a fiasco can only be possible under a constitution which is based on autocracy and in which the position of the Government of India is that of a subordinate branch of His Majesty's Government. In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—It was honourable and dutiful on the part of Sir Basil Blackett to have placed his resignation in the hands of the Viceroy as a protest against the objectionable action of the Secretary of State on the Reserve Bank Bill. And it was right that His Excellency should have declined to accept the resignation. It would have been correct if His Excellency himself had followed the lead given by Sir Basil. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The Finance Member took a commendable step consistent with his dignity in tendering his resignation. There is not the least doubt that the country will be sorry to lose at this stage the services of a man of the ability of Sir Basil with his remarkable grasp of financial problems and who has done so much to stabilize the finances of India. The *Aj* says that the Muslim demand for provision being made in the statute book for the inclusion of two Muslims in the directorate of the proposed Reserve Bank is an instance of the madness of communalism run riot. For this state of things the Government itself is responsible for despite professions to the contrary it has since the time of Lord Minto been supporting communal demands in practice. If the Government were to cease to encourage communal demands, if it were to abolish separate representation, if it were to declare that Government posts would go by merit and if it were not to give all high posts to Europeans, communalism would come to an end in no time. But it is doubtful whether it will ever do so. If Lord Irwin is sincerely anxious to put down this evil, he will have to follow this policy for there is no other alternative.

Indian States.

Muslim papers are vehemently protesting against the alleged prohibition of *namaz* and *azan* in Hindu states and some are suggesting recourse to *satyagrah*. The *Mansur* urges that, as suggested by Mr. Gulam Bhik Nairang, a conference of Muslim leaders should be immediately held to consider the atrocities that are being practised on Muslims in Hindu states as a result of the *sangathan* movement and to organize non-violent opposition on the lines adopted by the Akalis. The *Medina* writes :—Life is being rendered intolerable for Muslims in Hindu states. To stop them from *azan* and *namaz* is worse than killing them. Such being the case, the demolition of mosques in some Hindu states and prohibition of *namaz* and *azan* and sacrifice is virtually to force them to leave the states.

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If this is a reprisal for the expulsion of Hindus from the Frontier Province then we are afraid that Muslims can similarly avenge themselves in other places as Hindus do not predominate everywhere. This is a question of religious life and death for Muslims. If *satyagrah* is found necessary it will be inaugurated with a vehemence which will shake the world. The *Najat* also complains that as an effect of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements mosques are being demolished, *azan* and prayers are being stopped and sacrifice of even goats and sheep is being forbidden in certain Hindu states. Even the Political Agents have failed to redress these religious grievances of Muslims and if this state of affairs continues Muslims might be compelled to carry out the behests of their religion in this connexion. The responsibility for this grave step on the part of Muslims would then lie entirely on the shoulders of the Political Agents.

Political propaganda.

Under the headlines " Great War of the Near Future and India's Military Strength : Some Terrible Scenes of the Last Great War : Disgraceful Treatment of Indian sepoys :" the *Medina* reproduces an article from the *Forward* (Calcutta) containing serious allegations regarding the treatment accorded to Indian sepoys during the last war and commenting on it says :—Now that the imperialistic lust for war is making preparations for another great war it seems advisable to give a vivid account of the miserable plight of those destitute Indian sepoys who perished in the battle-fields of France, undergoing the privations of life in foreign country, not only maintaining the honour and prestige of Britain, but also protecting the national and political life of that country. The events show that in the war which is going to be waged in the near future cheap Indian blood will be spilled recklessly.

Music before mosques.

The *Hamdam* says that emboldened by their success in preventing cow-sacrifice at different places by means of propaganda and aggression the Hindus have now put forward a new fangled right of music before mosques at prayer time. Hindus can gain nothing by disturbing the prayers of Muslims and after their experience of blood-shed that has followed in the wake of this question they should either time their processions so as not to pass before mosques at prayer time or should stop music before mosques. The interests of the nation demand that Hindu publicists should give the right lead in the matter.

Bolshevism.

Referring to Bolshevik designs to create a world-wide revolution, the *Vartman* says :—The plans of the Bolsheviks will remain secret until a sudden outbreak of war on the battle-fields of Europe. They do not know how to brag or to hold out empty threats. This is the work of Imperialists. The Bolsheviks only want to emancipate those who are groaning under slavery. Their greatest desire is that the peasants and labourers, who are being ground down under subjection, should be given an opportunity to breathe in a free atmosphere and to improve themselves. They want to purify the earth by washing it with blood. They want to quench the thirst of the earth with blood, but with the blood of sinners alone.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

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ALLAHABAD :

September 17, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 38 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 24, 1927.

The Unity Conference.

THE Hindu Press has been following the proceedings of the Unity Conference at Simla with keen interest. Extremist papers seek to make out that no unity is possible so long as the country is under foreign domination. The *Aj* writes:—If there had been responsible Government in the country, and even if officials had been punished whenever found guilty, surely there would have been no riots. This makes it plain that this is not merely a question of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity, but also involves the fundamental issue of establishing firm and responsible government in the country. Foreigners cannot be responsible for the good of the country. In their own interest it is natural for them not to view with disapproval the dissensions between Hindus and Muslims and to support one of the communities against the other. In its editorial column the *Swadesh* publishes a contributed article in which the writer points out that the cause of the failure of repeated efforts for communal unity is the subjection of the country. A number of people agitate for posts and offices and take shelter behind religion for self-aggrandisement. The bureaucracy takes undue advantage of such an opportunity and helps to fan the communal fire by its apathy and at times by its partiality. How is it that the bureaucracy which vanquished a powerful nation like the Germans could not check the Calcutta riot? How is it that despite its presence disturbances took place in various places and lasted for several days? What does this silence, this apathy, and this dereliction of duty mean? There is surely some mystery at the bottom of all this. To-day the Viceroy sheds tears over the disturbances and Indians think that everything has been done. If the bureaucracy with all its well-equipped regiments and machine-guns cannot put down disturbances of unarmed communities what thinking person is there who will hold that it is fit to rule? We admit that fanaticism is also one of the causes of communal discord, but it is equally true that it is the product of ignorance or bad education of which a gift has been made to us by the foreign rule. A foreign Government can maintain itself in a country only so long as there are domestic dissensions. Who does not know that the British bureaucracy too exists here by following the policy of divide and rule? The *Sainik* says that some passages of the Viceroy's speech on unity sound as if the learned lord of demons, Ravan, was sermonizing on the virtue of monogamy. . . . . There appears to be no trace of honesty and sincerity in the Unity Conference. Questions like that of stopping music before mosques have been raised simply to propitiate the "prostitute of politics," inasmuch as it was made clear in the Conference that there can be no solution of the religious and social questions so long as the political problems of the Muslims are not solved. This makes it clear that poor "religion" is being mercilessly dragged to serve the sinful belly and that this dangerous farce of religion is being enacted for the crumbs of "memberships" and services. We are not in favour of such an outwardly, showy, and deceitful unity. The *Pratap* says that by raising political issues and insisting on their settlement Muslims have unequivocably admitted that the dispute is not a religious but a political one, and have also made it clear that self-willed Muslim leaders, greedy of political rights, are playing upon the religious feelings of their co-religionists for gaining their political ends. Efforts at unity can never be successful in such an atmosphere. Referring to the Viceroy's speech and the appeal of the Hindu-Muslim leaders on communal unity the *Hindi Kesari* says that the recent riots at Bareilly, Cawnpore and Nagpur and the murder of

Hindu leaders at various places show that the communal question can never be solved by speeches and appeals. The police does not even get the scent of the gatherings of the Muslims for attacking Hindu temples and processions so long as the actual attack does not take place. The Viceroy has not even referred to the supreme necessity of the officials discharging their duty with a view to make the occurrence of such riots impossible. So long as the Government does not direct its officials to observe strict impartiality and show greater alertness the Unity Conference is not likely to do any substantial good. The *Medina* regrets that while the Muslim leaders have most generously demanded a final understanding about important political, religious, social and civic rights so as to bring about a national pact and ensure lasting co-operation the Hindu sangathanist representatives have clearly confined themselves to superficial religious and social questions with a view to wipe out the individuality of Muslims and to absorb them like the Greeks, Tartars and Huns of old. It is a mercy that this cunning move has been seen through by a section of the more respected leaders, and they are insisting on a final settlement of all political and quasi-political issues. Muslim leaders should beware of accepting any terms which offend their religious sentiments or militate against their distinct civic individuality. Hindu Congressmen also should realize the dangers of this course of fraud and deception and should calmly consider the Muslim proposals as lasting unity is unattainable without a national pact.

Communal Riots.

Muslim papers assert that as Hindus make premeditated and sudden attacks in riots, and the police arrives by the time the Muslims manage to start retaliation, the latter suffer most both in casualties and arrests. The papers strongly resent the Hindu propaganda against Muslim police officers. The *Hamdam* says that the casualties in the Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Bombay riots show how cheap the lives of unfortunate Muslims are held and how the Hindus in their pride of numbers always outrage the religious feelings of Muslims and on the latter objecting attack them *en masse*. All that happened at these places shows that sangathanist propaganda has fully succeeded, and that Hindus everywhere have been inflamed against Muslims. Muslims remain engaged in their pursuits and unapprehensive of their compatriots, and being thus taken unawares suffer heavily in life and property. The stains of the bloodshed by the sangathanists in Bettiah had not been washed when hot on its heels came the atrocities on Muslims in Bareilly, Cawnpore and Nagpur, and now we see their sufferings in Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Bombay. What is going to be the outcome of this state of civil war which is being created in the country, and how long are the Muslims going to remain thus negligent? The *Medina* regrets that the sangathanist leaders most cleverly utilize instances of Muslim attacks on Hindus, their women and children and of Muslim invasions of Hindu rights to foment rabid anti-Muslim feeling in their community, and the Muslims have now been awakened too late in the day to the poisonous possibilities of the *sangathan* movement. Muslims now behold the consequences in their greater losses in the recent riots. Both at Cawnpore and Bareilly the Muslims lost more heavily in life as well as property. At Bettiah the most terrible atrocities were practised. Houses were set on fire, shops were plundered, children and old people were massacred, and now an office is being opened there with a fund of one lakh to defend the Hindu oppressors though they form 95 per cent. of the population and the officials also are all Hindus. The Hindus are bound to escape scot-free. The same sorry tale is repeated at Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Bombay. Muslim leaders should now instead of resenting music before mosques and fighting over petty questions concentrate their energies for some time on *tanzim*, education, and trade, and they will then find how *shuddhi* and *sangathan* are blown to the winds like cob-webs. The *Haqiqat* attributes the agitation against the Muslim police officers of Bareilly and Cawnpore to Hindu conspiracy to oust Muslims from the police department and regrets that the Hindus of Cawnpore have been encouraged by the concessions made by Government to Arya agitation at Bareilly. The charges against the Muslim police officials of Cawnpore are, the paper asserts, baseless, and as a matter of fact Muslims complain that for fear of Hindu protests the Hindu rioters have not been treated with sufficient severity. The *Najat* says that the riot at Nagpur was remarkable, inasmuch as the Hindus made organized attacks and even reduced houses to ashes. Everything is possible in a city which is the capital of a province and where the Muslims are in a minority. In truth, so long as Muslims themselves do not discriminate between what is good and what is bad for them, and do not seriously ponder over their helplessness in every riot they will continue to fall a prey to others.

Hindu-Muslim Relations.

The Hindu Press remains agitated over the murders of Hindu leaders and continues to press for an inquiry with a view to tracing the "organized conspiracy" responsible for these murders. The *Hitaishi* says that the murders of Hindu leaders one after another within the last few months confirm the conviction that they are not the acts of individual fanatics but the outcome of an organized conspiracy, and hopes that the Muslim leaders will try to stop this practice and the Government will unearth the conspiracy soon. Referring to the Muslim agitation for the proscription of the *Satyarth Prakash* the *Arya Mitra* says :—If the Government concedes the foolish demand of the Muslims and ever thinks of proscribing that book the fire of opposition will blaze forth in the Arya Samaj camp and will not be extinguished until its object is achieved. The Arya Samaj holds the *Satyarth Prakash* next to the Vedas in sanctity. It can never bear to see this sacred book being deliberately trampled under foot before its own eyes. We are sure when the time comes every Arya Samajist child will prefer to mount the gallows rather than part with the *Satyarth Prakash*; he will go to jail but *Satyarth Prakash* will be in his hands. The paper publishes the enrolment form issued by the Sarvadeshik Sabha to be filled by those intending to offer Satyagraha in case the Government proscribes the *Satyarth Prakash* in deference to the demand of the Muslims. The forms are to be sent to the Sarvadeshik Sabha, Delhi. In the course of the introductory remarks Shiva Dayalu, Assistant Secretary, United Provinces, writes :—Realizing danger to *Satyarth Prakash* and seeing their rights being trampled under the feet of injustice and oppression, the Sarvdeshk Sabha has after mature deliberation come to the conclusion that there is no means of defence except tremendous and incessant sacrifice. The paper also publishes three letters by different writers, exhorting the Arya Samajists to take part in this "religious war" and to see that every household whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, is supplied with a copy of the *Satyarth Prakash*. The *Anand* wonders why the Government evinces such slackness ing bringing to book those Muslims who murder the Hindu leaders and wound the feelings of the Hindu community and asks what this policy of concealing the offences of Muslims means? Does the Government hold the attacks on the Hindus to be justifiable, or is it afraid of instituting proceedings against the Muslims? What effect is this producing on the Hindus? Do they not regard this attitude of the Government to be partial? Is it not undermining the prestige of the Government? Referring to the action taken against the *Light* the *Sadai Muslim* says that Muslims will never forget the weakness and crookedness of Government in yielding to Hindu agitation and punishing Muslim publicists for trifling offences. Mr. Malaviya defied section 144 at Calcutta, and Dr. Moonje followed suit in Sind, but Government remained absolutely silent. Are Muslims to blame because they respect the law of the land? A Muslim publicist has been throttled on a flimsy and absurd pretext, but the Hindu papers are allowed to indulge in incendiarism and venom-spitting. Government should not give proof of its weakness by becoming a puppet in the hands of the Hindus, but should stand steadfastly by the immutable principles of justice and equity.

Viceroy's Speech.

Commenting on the Viceroy's speech to the Indian Legislature the *Aligarh Mail* writes :—In the armoury of denunciation of a section of our people the most powerful weapon against British rule is the accusation that the Britishers govern us by the principle of *divide et impera*. We believe it is the height of folly to make such an accusation, for if the Britishers divide us why should we be so foolish and insane as to allow them to make us quarrel among ourselves? To the appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy for peace and toleration there can be only one suitable answer—co-operation of the people with him in settling communal differences. The *Mashriq* eulogizes the sincerity of the Viceregal utterance and regrets that it has been hailed with widespread riots. It points out that Hindu officials are influenced by Hindu Sabha propaganda, and suggests that if the country is not to drift into civil war experienced European officers should be appointed as district magistrates and, failing them, Hindu officers should be posted in predominantly Muslim districts and Muslim officers in predominantly Hindu districts. Government should bear in mind that the lust for loot animates the great majority of the population, and anarchy is now reaching within the realms of possibility.

Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

Hindu papers generally regret the passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and regard the measure as a dangerous addition to the "armoury of repression." The *Leader* writes :—Those who value freedom of speech and writing and realize that the progress of

human thought has been achieved, and can only be achieved by challenge to traditions and beliefs which obscure the truth and enslave the mind, cannot feel happy at the passage of a measure which owed its origin to the intolerance of a section of the Muslim community. That it is a retrograde piece of legislation which curtails liberty and renders the task of reformers, who have been waging a war against pernicious customs and beliefs which have acquired a religious character, more difficult hardly any one can deny. The new law is calculated to strengthen the position of orthodoxy and to place at a disadvantage militant religious reformers. Commenting in a similar strain the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The new measure will be a danger to the activities of journalists, authors, social and religious reformers, and will in short mean stagnation in the country. This new engine of terrorization will make it impossible for religious and social reformers, like Dayanand Saraswati, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Keshav Chander Sen, to flourish and carry out their sacred mission so essential to stimulate and revivify society. The *Aj* expresses the hope that the new law will be enforced with impartiality and regrets that representatives of communities have not been empowered to take legal proceedings under it. Past experience shows that this section can also be abused. Who can guarantee that it will never be used to please the particular community? Who can say that the Punjab Government has not shown partiality, either deliberately or otherwise, in not taking legal proceedings against the writer of *Unniswin sadi ka Maharshi* but prosecuting the author of *Rangila Rasul*. Many books offensive to the religious feelings of Hindus have so far been written, but no action has been taken against their writers. On the other hand, Hindu writers have been prosecuted. The natural tolerance of Hindus has proved fatal to them. This is a good method of teaching tolerance to Indians. In order that one-sided use of the new law should not be made they should take the hint to organize themselves and clamour most vociferously. There is no doubt that the new law has added one more weapon to the armoury of repression.

Milad at Lucknow.

Muslim papers continue to protest against the opposition to the holding of *Milad* in the Aminabad Park and appeal to the Hindus to be more tolerant and neighbourly in their attitude. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—The majority in the Lucknow municipality has shown a very reprehensible spirit of communal narrow-mindedness in putting a ban on the performance of *Milad Sharif* ceremony in the Aminabad Park, Lucknow. We hope the United Provinces Government will see that nothing untoward happens, and that the Lucknow Muslims are allowed to perform the *Milad* ceremony in the Park without let or hindrance. The *Hamdam* complains that the Hindu members of the Lucknow Municipal Board have shown scant consideration for the feelings of their Muslim brethren by refusing permission for holding *Milad* in the Aminabad Park and reminds them that when Hindus had kept aloof from the board for three years as a protest against the Jehangirabad amendment in the United Provinces Municipalities Act their Muslim colleagues most impartially discharged their duties during their absence and readily acceded to the Hindu demand for a larger number of seats. It is regrettable that a totally different situation has arisen now, and the Muslim members had to resign as a protest against the action of their Hindu colleagues. Continuing in a subsequent issue the paper deplores Hindu intransigience in regard to the question of *Milad* in the Aminabad Park, and regrets that the Hindu Press has tried to hoodwink the public by stating that Hindu as much as Muslim religious gatherings are forbidden in the Park. It is surprising, it says, that these journals conveniently forget that there are two temples in the Park within which the Hindus can perform their religious functions. The Muslims never objected when a permanent place of worship was being constructed for the Hindus in the Park and when land was twice granted for it, but the Hindu members of the board and its chairman are so narrow-minded and intolerant that they will not allow a most harmless religious function to be performed for a single day, and that also for a few hours only even when no one can possibly be inconvenienced thereby. The *Haqiqat* says that there seems to be a conspiracy to ban all religious gatherings, including *namaz* in the Park, and Muslim members should boycott the board until it abandons its biased attitude. Muslims, however, should not antagonize Government by trying to defy the law, but should concentrate on agitation for the annulment of the offending municipal bye-law.

Political Propaganda.

The *Vartman* recounts the evils of subjection and the various methods which different countries advocate for winning freedom. It says:—Some wish to drown those evils

in a stream of blood,—while others would remove them by means of self-sacrifice and suffering. Some regard armed revolution and the use of bombs and pistols as the easiest means of emancipation, while others see salvation in kissing the feet of those who have bound them with the chains of slavery. It is evident that there is a difference of opinion among the people, but all are unanimous that before doing anything it is essential to have an idea of the price of liberty, and, unless there is a desire to do something for liberty, no amount of fuss can secure it. It is, therefore, necessary that those who want independence should think of its price. The *Swadesh* publishes a contributed article in which the writer, Muneshwar Prasad Avasthi, says that as a means of putting an end to communal tension the Congress should put a vigorous national programme before the country. Such a programme can best consist of the organization of peasants and labourers, opening wide the door of the Congress by removing the restriction regarding the use of *khaddar*, the boycott of British goods as a protest against recent autocratic actions of the bureaucracy and agitation for the suppression of the use of intoxicants. These movements will create awakening in the country. Dr. Ansari and other leaders should consider this programme at the next session of the Congress and try to give effect to it. In order to avert the Bolshevik menace the *Mashriq* advises Britain to cultivate the friendship of Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia, and warns it not to depend on the loyalty of any Indian race as Indians have always bowed before invaders. It may be that some Muslim families of Arabian descent might resist the temptation for a change and Government should, in the interest of justice, discard the Congress-League pact and give an equal share to Hindus and Muslims. The *Najat* attributes the projected Frontier tour of the British War Minister to dread of Russian expansion, and says that events in China, the decline of British influence in Persia, and Russia's intrigue in Afghanistan and Turkey's alliance with Russia have upset British statesmen. The manner in which the Russians have been working in China and Afghanistan and in which they have abandoned their rights there as a first-class European Power, and the way in which Russians have helped in the military training of these countries and have made economic and commercial concessions are moves of a far-reaching character, and have brought these countries under the thumb of Russia. It is because of these considerations that Britain wants to organize a Far Eastern Army for the defence of India and other neighbouring possessions. It would not have been necessary for Britain to embark on this costly project if she had the grace and good-will like Russia to conciliate the countries bordering India.

The Reserve Bank Bill.

Referring to the withdrawal of the Reserve Bank Bill the *Aj* says that the Government of India is under such complete subjection that it cannot even say without the permission of its master that it acts to order. In the Legislative Assembly irresponsibles discuss with irresponsibles, waste their time and make themselves the laughing-stock of the world. These are our "Reforms." The *Medina* attributes the withdrawal of the Reserve Bank Bill to the united front shown by the non-official members of the Assembly, and says that the amended Bill militated against the interests of the Government as neither did European capitalists get any share in the Bank nor did the Imperial Bank succeed in securing three-tenths of its shares. On the other hand, the reserves of the Royal Exchequer being invested in the Bank it would be entirely under the control of the legislature which also wanted to appoint its directors by election. This would, in fact, be tantamount to entrusting to Indians a considerable share in the control of their country's finance, and it is not strange that the Secretary of State has thought fit to postpone consideration of the Bill *sine die*. The Congress members have however seen through this move and are not going to take this gross insult to the Assembly lying down.

The Rangila Rasul.

Al-Khalil says that Rajpal's book is so provocative and insulting that every Muslim becomes beside himself with anger when he listens to its contents. Even Mr. Justice Dalip Singh and Mr. Malaviya have admitted that the book is most undesirable, and the Punjab Government took action to prevent its republication in Amritsar. It is, therefore, a pity that this book is being briskly sold in Meerut and is causing serious unrest among Muslims. Ten thousand copies of it have been printed in Hindi by Baldeo Prasad at the Hari Press, Benares. The Hindu leaders and Government should immediately stop the circulation of such incendiary books. The interests of public peace demand drastic action as Muslims cannot brook insults to their Prophet. The district authorities also should immediately

stop the sale of the book just as the Punjab Government has been prompt in preventing its re-printing. The *Medina* says that the publication of this book in the United Provinces after the *Vichitra Jiwan* judgement betokens gross negligence on the part of the local Government. Is it necessary for the warning of Government, inquires the paper, that rivers of blood must flow through streets and markets, and can it be awakened from its sleep only when the rising flames of rioting and disturbance are visible from Government House?

The Kakori Case.

Newspapers of all shades of opinion warmly commend the action of the Government in postponing the execution of the condemned prisoners in the Kakori case, and express the hope that the death sentences will eventually be commuted. The *Sainik* prays to God to grant good sense to this "cold and unfeeling Government" so that it may spare the lives of the four youths. The *Abhyudaya* commends the spirit of patriotism which swayed the accused in the Kakori dacoity case and strongly appeals to the provincial authorities, and specially Sir William Marris personally, not only to commute the death sentences, but to release them altogether. It says that if His Excellency cannot see his way even to commute the capital sentences, he should leave their cases to be decided by his successor who might like to inaugurate his régime by showing mercy to these unfortunate youths.

Hindu Marriage Bill.

Hindu papers generally strongly support Rai Sahib Har Vilas Sharda's Bill regarding the marriage of girls and boys. The *Aj* expresses surprise that in face of the absolute and obvious necessity of such a legislation Government should have counselled cautious proceeding with the measure. It says that the Bill under consideration is a very modest measure and should be immediately passed. It would have been much better if law had provided against the marriage of boys below twenty years of age and that of girls below sixteen years.

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ALLAHABAD:

September 24, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 39 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 1, 1927.

Unity Conference.

Newspapers generally deplore the failure of the Unity Conference to arrive at any settlement and each community blames the other for it. Some papers emphasize the need for the intervention of His Excellency the Viceroy. The *Leader* says:—It is not unnatural that many Indians have been feeling that the communal problem cannot be solved until there is a fundamental change in the system of government. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We do not want to strike a note of pessimism, but we are afraid the conference is not proceeding on the right lines. Self-reliance is good, but we reiterate our conviction that the warm hand of Lord Irwin is essential to success under the existing circumstances. The *Aj* says that the conference has failed because the leaders instead of devising means for the attainment of Swaraj began to concentrate their attention on Reforms. Reforms come after Swaraj; it is wrong to think that they will lead to Swaraj. Swaraj means the right to effect Reforms. So long as this right is not secured there can be no Reforms and so long as Swaraj is not established there can be no unity. The *Anand* says that if His Excellency the Viceroy wants to establish real unity in the country he should firmly uphold justice and maintain customary rights without showing partiality to any community. When His Excellency has seen that the leaders of both the communities are unable to arrive at an understanding he should himself arrange to put down communal hostility with a strong hand. The *Abhyudaya* says that the Hindus are not prepared to accept any compromise in connexion with their right to play music on public roads and if their representatives effect any kind of agreement in this connexion it will remain only on paper. We cannot allow fanaticism and violence to be encouraged in the name of compromise. *Al Khalil* attributes the outcry of the Hindu press against the political issues raised by the Muslim representatives to its fond hope that the discussions would be confined mainly to *Arti* and *Namaz* and music before mosques and the Hindus would have to pay nothing out of their pockets in the settlement of these questions. Why, inquires the paper, do the Hindus not accept all the just political demands of the Muslims when the latter want representation in the elective bodies and services only according to their population? Why again should the Reforms be not extended to the North-West Frontier Province which is a part of India? The Muslims, it declares, are now no longer such fools that they would not see through the moves of the Hindus and would withdraw their demands.

Dasehra.

Hindu papers strongly protest against the restrictions imposed by the local authorities in connexion with the Dasehra procession at Allahabad and some other places and regard them as a concession to violence. They warn the Government that this policy will make the task of administration more and more difficult. Muslim papers support official action and condemn the attitude of the Hindus. The *Leader* writes:—In view of the evasive, though tactful and conciliatory reply received from the District Magistrate the Central Ramlila Committee of Allahabad had no alternative but to decide upon the abandonment of the time-honoured Ramlila celebrations for the third year in succession. A surrepitious entry in a police register, the accuracy of which the Hindus have emphatically challenged, has been relied upon to defend the policy of administrative action which the authorities have been pursuing to the detriment of Hindu rights If in the circumstances the Hindus of Allahabad yield they will be unworthy of calling themselves self-respecting citizens whose duty it is to see that law is respected and force

does not become triumphant, and will be inviting further humiliation on themselves. This aspect of the question may not appeal to those who take a narrow administrative view in the maintenance of law and order and who may think that the easier solution lies in placing restrictions on the law-abiding and not in restraining those who threaten with violence the lawful exercise of their rights. But we may point out that this is a short-sighted view which cannot but undermine respect for law and authority and make the task of Government increasingly difficult. Referring to the news about the abandonment of the Ramlila at Etawah as a protest against the order of the District Magistrate prohibiting the playing of music before mosques at prayer time, the *Abhyudaya* writes :—The order of the authorities regarding the stoppage of music is quite improper and illegal and no condemnation of it is too strong. The Hindus ought to respect this order to the same extent as the authorities respect the Hindu rights and the law. The paper says that though the order passed by the District Magistrate of Allahabad on the application of the local Ramlila committee is different from that of his predecessor yet as the form in which it has been passed does not protect the right of the Hindus to take out their procession without any restrictions it cannot satisfy them. This order may not be objectionable in the eyes of the law but it is surely so in the eyes of the Hindus. Commenting on the abandonment of Ramlila at Allahabad, Etawah and elsewhere the *Anand* writes :—Prayag is a sacred place of the Hindus but for several years past the authorities have been bent upon trampling the rights of that community and Ramlila has not been celebrated there for the last three years consecutively. The same is the case at Etawah and a number of other places. Condemning the policy of the authorities of these places we appeal to the local Government, the Government of India and especially Lord Irwin to rectify this wrong. The abandonment of the festival has caused intense pain to the Hindus and peace cannot possibly be restored while they are smarting under a sense of injustice. The *Hamdam* regrets that the organizers of the Allahabad Ramlila were so obstinate as to refuse to stop music for a short time before any mosque in which evening prayers were being said at the time of the passage of their procession. It says that as repeatedly asserted by it the Ramlila procession used to be taken out at Allahabad at such a time that it passed out of the city before evening prayers and that music used to be stopped before mosques in which prayers were being offered. The organizers now want to take out the procession late so that it may pass some mosque in the bazar at the time of evening prayers and also refuse to stop music before mosques at the time of prayers. The District Magistrate is right in rejecting these demands as they are neither supported by long-established precedent nor conducive to public peace. As the playing of music before mosques at prayer time has repeatedly led to riots, the District Magistrate as the custodian of the public peace is quite justified in his attitude. It is a pity that the Sangathanist spirit has so obsessed the Hindu majority that it is not at all amenable to reason and justice.

The attack on Rajpal.

The attack on Rajpal has considerably stirred the Hindu press which regards it as a further confirmation of its contention that there is a conspiracy behind the recent murders of Hindus. The *Leader* approves of the sentence passed on the assailant of Rajpal and thinks that a lighter sentence would not have met the ends of justice. Proceeding, it says :—We think a sifting investigation has become necessary to find out whether such fell deeds derive their inspiration from any organization. Incitements to violence cannot be overlooked when they are followed by overt acts and Government incurs a serious responsibility by not treating them seriously. If those who resort to this form of terrorism think that they will succeed in cowing down any section of the Hindu community, they are sadly mistaken. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The *Rangila Rasul* agitation is, as expected, leading to disastrous consequences. The dastardly attack on Rajpal is the tragedy for which that ill-advised agitation is responsible. Is it not high time for Muslim leaders in the interests of Islam and their community to take a determined stand against such ungodly bigotry and hatred which is the real enemy of Islam? The passing of the Bill for penalizing religion will, we are afraid, encourage this barbarous bigotry by leading fanatics to think that Government itself is against honest criticism and that their religion is really in danger. The *Aj* says that the times and the society which produce such hellish creatures as the would-be murderer of Rajpal deserve to be condemned. Muslims pride themselves on their bravery. It is a matter of shame and disgrace for them that such a cowardly and hellish man should be born among them. Murders have been perpetrated frequently of late. It is the duty of Muslim leaders to take measures

to stop them. Their condemnation of the murder and their desire for unity will be established only when they openly try to get these murderers punished. The *Vartman* says that the attack on Rajpal in broad daylight confirms the presumption that there is a conspiracy behind the murders of prominent Hindu workers and leaders. Government has seen for a long time whither Muslims are going. But it is a pity that it does not want to take any action. Is it not thereby countenancing the Muslims? It should remember that its policy will prove fatal to it. The *Anand* is not at all surprised to hear of the attempted assassination of Rajpal and remarks that in view of the poisonous agitation that was being carried on against the *Rangila Rasul* it was strange that its author was safe up till now. When Muslim Moulvis, M. Zafar Ali and M. Muhammad Ali, had gone even so far as to say that if the Government did not punish Rajpal the Muslims, acting in accordance with the tenets of Islam, would avenge themselves they cannot exonerate themselves from the charge of this attempted murder. There can be no compromise with the followers of a religion in which it is possible to praise the assassins of Swami Shraddhanand and Rajpal so long as such a mentality is not changed.

Political propaganda.

The *Swadesh* writes :—Experience shows that Queen Victoria's proclamation laying down that no colour distinctions would be made in the eye of the law in India was intended to baguile the Indians. If colour distinctions were observed openly under the East India Company they are now observed in a covert manner. Since the passing of the Government of India under the British Crown and the establishment of the power of the bureaucracy, hundreds of Indians have been kicked to death, have fallen victims to bullets and have been insulted in innumerable ways but far from the offenders being punished their crimes have been whitewashed in some way or the other on the plea of the enlargement of spleen or error of judgement. The ill-treatment of Indians in foreign countries and the martial law tyrannies in the Punjab show that these *firangis* far outdo other Europeans in this respect. The Kriplani incident shows that Mr. Kriplani was insulted simply because he is an Indian and this constitutes a challenge to every self-respecting Indian. This incident gives a lie direct to Lord Reading's statement that under British rule no Indian could be insulted on racial grounds. People who expect justice from the bureaucracy should take a lesson from this incident. If Indians want to survive, if they want to protect the honour and self-respect of their nation and country they should stand up holding their head high. Injustice can be countered only by standing up against it in a fearless and organized manner. The *Virsandesh* publishes an article by Pandit Surendra Sharma who, addressing Mr. Gandhi writes :— When you blew the war trumpet in front of your spiritual army the enemy got confused. The officials inebriated with the wine of brute force were at their wits' end. The foundations of their edifice of imperialism began to shake and the senses were confounded of the power whose hands were stained with the blood of helpless people in the Jallianwala massacre. But you cried halt soon after. You yourself may know whether you discharged the responsibility of a general then. If you had advanced your forces at that time, it is most likely that the rage of the enemy would have transgressed all bounds and thousands of your soldiers in the form of *satyagrahis* would have been scorched by bombs and as a result of the harsh practices of the inebriated officials Jallianwala massacres would have been re-enacted in the country. Why, because the governing power which holds its foundation to be strong on the basis of brute force and does not care the least for the good and for the aspirations of crores of people as against its own interests might do anything to maintain its authority and prestige over crores of helpless people. The *Najat* reproduces excerpts from a book entitled "The other side of the picture" by an American named Thomson. These show that the Mutiny of 1857 was caused by the humiliation during court-martial of 85 sepoys of Meerut who had refused to use greased cartridges. They were brought under arrest to the Military court, stripped of their uniform and put in irons. This was a most touching scene and excited the sympathy of other sepoys. Many of these arrested sepoys had made great sacrifices for the British and had shown unexampled heroism on the field of battle. They loudly appealed to their General to spare them this humiliation and when disappointed taunted their comrades with looking on while they were being treated thus. It was this incident which turned the hearts of Indians against Englishmen. One hundred and twenty sepoys were captured at Peshawar on June 15, 1857, and though none of these had killed their officers and most had joined the mutiny without any criminal intent and a recommendation had been made in regard to 55 Sikh sepoys that they had taken no

part in the mutiny, it was ordered that one-third of the number should be executed and they should be those against whom their officers complained. If the requisite number could not be secured on the basis of such complaints old sepoys should be included among those to be executed. All the remaining sepoys were to be sentenced to various terms of imprisonment which was in no case to be less than three years. The blowing of the rebels from the mouth of cannon was a terrible spectacle and produced a great impression In the Punjab a cannon was over-charged with gun-powder and when a man was placed before it his body was blown into hundreds of pieces, and his head fell into the hands of one of the spectators. The *Desh Bhagat* publishes the translation of an article by Agnes Smedley in which it is asserted that England is making preparations for a war against Russia as she is a thorn in the side of British Imperialism in Asia. England is resorting to every subterfuge of dishonest trickery to provide a pretext for the League of Nations to declare war against Russia. Indians must realize that the future of India, China and Russia is inextricably bound up. An English politician has said that if Russia is not attacked before she has time to complete her military preparations, Asia will one day become free. That is why it is thought necessary to stuff the Indian mind with poisonous propaganda. News sent by the Hankow Government's national news agency is excluded from India while the pro-British news of Reuter's Agency is allowed freely. The object is to keep Indians in the dark so that they may be more easily susceptible to propaganda.

Muslim affairs.

The *Aligarh Mail* writes :—A correspondent contributes to our columns a communication entitled "Hindu Raj at Ajmer" which reveals how Muslims are practically ousted from the higher cadre of Government services in the Ajmer-Merwara Province. Of 27 Government officers in that province there is only one Muslim. Government service in the Province seems to be the monopoly of one community. Will the Government of India set the matter right before the patience of its Muslim population is exhausted and its discontent finds an outlet in some practical agitation ? The *Haqqat* appeals to the Bengal Government to proscribe the *Rangila Rasul* which, it says, is being circulated by certain mischievous Aryas at Asansol. A correspondent complains in a subsequent issue of the same paper that the Shuddhi Sabha preachers go about with naked swords and spears in villages in the Gorakhpur district inhabited by Muslim *Gaddis* and *Ghosis*. The estates of Tamkohi, Salimgarh and Rudrapur encourage these preachers and use improper means to force the Muslim *Gaddis* to change their faith and they are even beaten. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* publishes an appeal by 58 Timuri princes sent by Khwaja Hasan Nizami in which a protest is lodged against the insulting attacks on the character of the chaste Roshanara Begum, sister of the Emperor Auranzeb. His Excellency the Viceroy and other British officials and Hindu and Muslim leaders and journalists are exhorted to contradict this calumny and to stop the circulation of books and articles and the staging of dramas which repeat it. This insult to the Moghal royal family cannot be brooked by its descendants. *Al Bureed* also supports the appeal and commends it to the attention of the Government.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Aj* traces the genesis of the Muslim demand for separate and special representation and points out that this demand was indeed originated and supported by British officials in order to weaken the nationalist party. It was Lord Minto who emphasized the political importance and imperial services of the Muslims in Indian politics and thereby gave the form of open animosity to the Hindu-Muslim tension. Those who are to-day striving for Hindu-Muslim unity cannot overlook this fact. Lord Irwin who is now appealing for Hindu-Muslim unity should ponder that it was Lord Minto's crooked policy which sowed the seed of the present communal tension. Lord Morley with a view to strengthen the foundations of British rule in India countenanced this immoral policy despite his personal convictions to the contrary. This is the seed of Hindu-Muslim discord and as soon as it is destroyed harmonious relations will be restored between Hindus and Muslims. The *Abhyudaya* says that some secret organization of badmashes founded on the lines of the Klu Klux clan appears to be working against the Hindus in India. Murders of Hindu leaders and workers and letters of threat received by them lead people to suspect its existence. If the Government does not trace out this organization it would one day imperil its own existence. In the course of a lengthy article the *Hindi Kesari* cites a number of instances to show that the police, army and munitions of the Government cannot protect the just rights of the peaceful subjects but help the armed hooligans in the fulfilment of their unjustifiable demands. Whenever and wherever the Muslim hooligans begin to commit

high-handedness it seems that they have no fear of the British Government at heart. The reason for this is taken to be that Government bayonets are not meant for restraining them but for trampling upon the time-honoured rights of the Hindus. Englishmen are wise enough to realize that this spirit of hooliganism created by them will some day react against themselves but they have been so blinded by self-interest or self-conceit that they are trying to prove the unfitness of Indians for Swaraj before the Royal Commission. In these circumstances the only course left open to the Hindus is that they should protect themselves through *sangathan* and boycott the Muslims wherever the latter commit excesses. The *Hamdam* deplores the sad plight of the Muslims of Talegaon owing to their boycott by the Hindus and says that in its present serious form it has become unbearable. If no immediate steps are taken to check it Hindu-Muslim relations throughout the country will become more critical.

Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

The *Aligarh Mail* writes :—For the remarkable achievement of successfully piloting in the Assembly his Bill to punish scurrilous writings against religions and their founders, the name of Mr. James Crerar will be brilliantly chronicled in the history of central legislation. Mr. Crerar's Home Membership has begun well and bids fair to be a great success if he continues to respond to public opinion as he has already done in having the historical Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly. The *Abhyudaya* regrets that it cannot congratulate the Assembly on the form in which it has passed the Bill inasmuch as it is likely to do more harm than good. On account of its passage the fanatics will not tolerate any criticism of their religion and will always kick up a row by raising the cry of insult to religion. The Bill would thus encourage fanaticism and intolerance, increase the official powers and prove a new weapon in the armoury of repression and is sure to be abused.

Communal riots.

The *Haqiqat* says that the terrible events at Nagpur show that Dr. Moonje's co-religionists in that city ought to be congratulated on their having fully imbibed his teachings. It must have done the doctor's heart good to hear of the atrocities of his sangathanist heroes on the Muslim minority. It is needless to discuss the cause of the riot as the facts themselves proclaim which party was to blame. The *Hamdam* says that Muslims are horrified to read accounts in local papers of the severe losses suffered by the Muslims of Nagpur. Dr. Moonje is to be congratulated that the bands of lathi-bearing men openly organized by him have succeeded in their object and have taken more than sufficient revenge for the events of Kohat from the poor Muslims of Nagpur. The Dinapore riot followed within three months of the Maha Sabha gathering at Patna and history has been repeated at Nagpur within even a shorter period after the session of the Provincial Hindu Sabha there. The official statement that the Muslim processionists threw out a challenge to the Hindus is wrong. It was really the Hindus who were prepared fully armed for a fight and attacked Muslim houses and women and children when the men were away with the procession. The Hindus were helped in their orgy of arson, rapine and plunder by the action of the authorities in posting police in predominantly Muslim quarters and preventing Muslims from going to the aid of their co-religionists in trouble. The Hindu police also did not interfere with Hindus bearing lathis. It is really necessary that an independent inquiry should be made into all these events and adequate arrangements should be made for the protection of Muslims.

Tabligh Conference.

In the course of a leading article emphasizing the importance of the Provincial Tabligh Conference to be held at Budaun and exhorting Muslims to attend it in large numbers the *Medina* writes :—The successive disturbances which have occurred during the last four years have been actuated by the desire to render Indian Muslims destitute and helpless in every way and to impress with bloody letters the sense of helplessness and destitution on their minds. In our opinion the most commendable feature of the conference is the inclusion in its programme of a competition of those who are skilled in the ancient art of using arms. If attention had been paid to this question at least three or four years ago, Muslims would not have suffered such bodily injuries and loss of life and property at the hands of the stalwarts of Malaviyajee in the various disturbances. The time has come when Muslims should cease priding themselves unduly on their natural bravery, intrepidity and readiness to risk life. They should, acting on the Islamic directions relating to warfare, become embodiments of the injunction : "And

prepare against them (the enemy) what force you can." They should do so not for any war of aggression or by way of vindictiveness but in order to be able to live honourably in India and to defend themselves against the undue presumption of the aggressors.

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting upon the legislation of the Australian Government prohibiting Asiatics from settling down in the German New Guiana the *Pratap* writes :—It is a good specimen of the system of mandates founded by the robber-like members of the League of Nations. In fact the mandated territories are under the League of Nations and not under the mandatory powers. The observance of such a policy of colour distinction in the territory under its control shows that the League of Nations is the happy hunting-ground of European imperialists. It is since the German colonies of East Africa have passed into the hands of the British that new calamities are visiting the Indians residing there. The reason why some people take the mandatory system to mean devouring is that the masters fully safeguard the mandated territory by placing it safely in their stomachs.

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ALLAHABAD :
October 1, 1927.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 40 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 8, 1927.

Unity Conference.

MUSLIM papers hold Hindu representatives wholly responsible for the failure of the Unity Conference, and urge that the question of music before mosques and cow-sacrifice cannot be settled unless Muslims are assured of their due share in the Legislature and public services. Hindu papers contend that inter-communal unity cannot be established without the attainment of Swaraj. The *Aligarh Mail* deplores the failure of the Unity Conference and writes :—The main reason of the failure was that unity-mongers did not discuss the essentials of the Hindu-Muslim problem which are embedded in the question of a fair and proportionate distribution of posts and votes among the educated people of different communities. So long as that question is unsettled, so long the accomplishment of an abiding and fundamental unity between Hindus and Muslims will remain a mirage. The *Aj* says that the question of cow-slaughter and music before mosques can never be solved before the attainment of Swaraj. There can be no more satisfactory decisions than those arrived at by the Unity Conference of Delhi, but they are useless, inasmuch as the power which can enforce them does not care for them. The attitude of Muslims on the cow question shows that they recognize no need for a communal settlement. The *Medina* writes :—A perusal of the report issued by the Secretary of the Muslim section of the Conference has led us to the conclusion that Muslims made an honest move towards unity and put forward true principles, whereas the Hindus, in order to gain political rights, used diplomacy to the fullest extent, and, regarding peace as the voice of Muslims, spurned it wantonly. They did not allow political questions to be discussed, which in our opinion are the real causes of disturbances. Had our Hindu friends really wanted to put a stop to the riots and to establish true peace the political questions would have assuredly come first, and then the questions relating to cow and music would have been placed for decision. Moreover, the attitude which Hindu leaders adopted on the cow question was by no means peaceable. The *Hamdam* pays a tribute to the accommodating attitude of Mr. Srinivas Iyengar and regrets that the Unity Conference was wrecked owing to the failure to select a sufficiently large number of Hindu representatives of similar breadth of vision. The Maharaja of Alwar, it observes, put his finger on the right spot when he asserted that the tension was primarily political in its genesis, and it is a fact that no communal understanding would be lasting unless it is broadbased on a satisfactory solution of political differences. Mr. Muhammad Yusuf's proposal for a round table conference under the presidency of the Viceroy would be too humiliating for Indian national self-respect. It would be a shame if the leaders cannot arrive at a compromise by themselves and have to trust to the Viceroy's intervention for a final understanding. The Viceroy's co-operation would, however, be welcome, inasmuch as it would pave the way for future legislation, and in that light alone there can be no exception to a round table conference under the presidentship of the Viceroy.

Dasehra.

Hindu papers continue to protest vehemently against the restrictions imposed in connexion with the Dasehra procession at Allahabad, and some of them advocate civil disobedience for asserting the civic and religious rights of Hindus. In the course of a leading article, criticizing the Allahabad authorities for merely promoting conferences to arrive at a settlement in connexion with the Dasehra procession and not protecting the rights of Hindus, the *Leader* writes :—Conferences are not a substitute for impartiality. They are legitimate means of striving to bring about

agreed settlements. But failing success, authority is expected and ought always to be ready to enforce justice. But conferences, where officers constitute themselves the spokesmen of one party, or when they have not the will and the strength, or are not allowed to assert the supremacy of the law in order to protect loyal subjects in the exercise of lawful rights, are no better than a wearisome farce if not a mockery of authority. Of such conferences there has been no end at Allahabad during the last two years and more. In a subsequent issue, referring to the *hartal* observed at Allahabad on the Vijaya Dasmi, the paper writes :— A day of rejoicing has been converted into a day of mourning. This is a mighty tribute to the policy of the present Gov rnment of these Provinces and to the administrative efficiency and impartiality of their local officers. And not less is it proof of the impotence of the Hindus as a community to vindicate their time-honoured rights of citizenship. It is altogether humiliating for Hindus to be obliged to contrast what is with what has been and ought still to be. How true it is that to be weak is to be miserable. Referring to the abandonment of Ramlila celebrations at Allahabad, Etawah, Aligarh and elsewhere as a protest against the imposition of restrictions by the authorities, the *Sudarshan* says :—If even the Muslims had been ruling India at the present juncture they would have been overawed to see this non-violent *satyagraha*, but our justice-loving British Government, which goes on proclaiming its impartiality in religious matters from time to time, is violating our religious and civic rights by imposing restrictions on the playing of music before mosques with a view to please the Muslims. The abandonment of Ramlila cannot produce the desired effect on the Government, it rather saves it from the botheration of making arrangements for the celebration. Now the duty of the Hindu leaders is to devise some means to celebrate it. In the course of a signed editorial article in the *Abhyudaya* Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya congratulates the Central Ramlila Committee of Allahabad on its decision to abandon the Ramlila, and observes :— Now the question is what are we to do next ? What do the authorities, or for that matter the Muslims, lose by our abandoning Ramlila ? It is we who lose our festival and our children are deprived of rejoicings. Mr. Thompson, the District-Magistrate, is only a part of the machinery which carries out the decisions of the higher authorities. The reason why he does not want to give up his power to stop music is not that the Hindus do not possess every right to play music, but because if the Hindus exercise it the hooligans threaten to use *lathis*. From this it is clear that Mr. Thompson will repress those who are peaceful and do not want to create disturbances, but will bow down before those who take the law into their own hands and are prepared to kill and be killed in the defence of their true or imaginary rights The Hindus of Allahabad should take to heart this lesson which has been taught by Mr. Thompson and should realize that if they, too, cannot use force, if they, too, cannot violate and defy law, and if they, too, cannot risk their lives they cannot celebrate their Ramlila, and it is not impossible that in the near future a day may come when they will not be able to live even in their own homes. Now the Hindus will never be able to celebrate Ramlila if they do not have devotion for Rama and are not prepared to celebrate the *lila* at the risk of their lives and undergo all sorts of sufferings for its sake. This is the time for the trial of the Hindus. If we want to celebrate Ramlila we should not fear if our heads are broken and we have to go to jail and grind mills. We should celebrate Ramlila as usual in the way we like without caring for the magistrate's order and pass by the mosques playing music. We can achieve our object only by offering *satyagraha* in this way. There is no other way to celebrate Ramlila as usual.

Communal riots.

Hindu papers regard the disturbance at Dehra Dun as a fresh evidence of Muslim intolerance and aggressiveness which they allege has been aggravated by the weakness of Government. Muslim papers comment strongly on the accounts of "untold atrocities" perpetrated by Hindus on Muslims during the recent communal riot at Nagpur. The *Leader* writes :—As a result of Muslim truculence restrictions as to the length and the time of Ramlila processions have been imposed upon the Hindus at Dehra Dun The authorities have followed the policy of least resistance. A similar policy has been followed in a number of other places. In matters political it has been asserted that the Government can never yield to violence. But in matters communal a strangely supine policy has been pursued, which has rendered the maintenance of law and order an increasingly difficult problem and has had the effect of increasing Muslim truculence. The *Aj* says :—Disturbances now occur so frequently that they have become a part and parcel of

ordinary life. Law is on the side of the Hindus, but force is on that of the Muslims. The latter take the law into their hands, and the guardians of law and order, in order to maintain peace, prohibit Hindus from exercising what is their lawful right. In other words, might is having its own way over right. The authorities think that it is not advisable to court trouble by interfering with those who are ready to practise violence and that it is safe to prohibit Hindus from celebrating their festivals. But they do not reflect that such action only encourages the lawless. If Lord Irwin is anxious to put a stop to such riots he should ponder whether this is the way to remove dissensions and enhance the prestige of British rule. The *Surya* also comments to the same effect. Discussing the sufferings of the Muslims of Nagpur the *Medina* writes :—Nagpur is the beloved home of the *dandabaz* doctor, and it would have been altogether contrary to the nature and traditions of the Hindus of that place if they had not practised untold atrocities on the Muslims on the strength of their numbers. The account of happenings there sent by a correspondent in a state of utmost distraction is such that after reading it a dispirited and disappointed person is really compelled to say that if oppression continues in this fashion "it is better for Muslims that they should put an end to their own existence fighting or should totally annihilate the Hindus of Nagpur." Perhaps people may be surprised and troubled at these words of the correspondent. But the truth is that when innocent and helpless people are extremely oppressed they become obsessed with such ideas in a state of despondency. This sentence is in a way a true picture of the terrible distraction and indescribable oppression of the Muslims of Nagpur. Matters have come to such a pass that a man is stigmatised as a criminal simply because he is a Muslim. The British Government exists there only in name. Under the guise of law and order the administration is entirely in the hands of the Hindus. If any Hindu is wounded Muslims are arrested indiscriminately. But if hog's flesh is thrown by Hindus into a mosque no trace can be found of the culprit. In spite of section 144 being in force the police shuts its eyes to the *lathis* of Hindu processionists. Even in the matter of investigation discrimination is observed between Hindus and Muslims. Hindu vakils are present (during the investigation), and if any Muslim makes any complaint legal pretext is found for scores of questions, but if any Hindu prefers any complaint it is regarded as a proved crime. If there is any truth in these statements we wonder what sense there is in Lord Irwin sitting at Simla and talking of unity. If there is such high-handedness in the administration of the Hindu provinces, how is reconciliation possible? The *Hamdam* is sorry to find that the atmosphere is still seriously vitiated at Nagpur, and Hindus are not satisfied even though they have inflicted such heavy losses on Muslims. The Hindus continue to wound the feelings of Muslims. Though the Muslims have been so severely handled arrests have been stopped, and the Hindu accused have been released on bail and are now threatening the Muslim witnesses. The Muslims also complain that the police takes them from their homes under various pretexts, gets them identified by the Hindus and then arrests them.

The attack on Rajpal.

The Hindu press remains agitated in connexion with the attack on Rajpal and continues to press for an inquiry with a view to tracing the conspiracy behind the murders of Hindus. The *Surya* says that the attempt on the life of Rajpal, in spite of the fact that the police was aware that he had received letters containing threats of murder, that a Moulvi had issued a *fatwa* for his assassination, and that Maulana Muhammad Ali had openly declared that he would murder Rajpal if he republished the book, is a strong commentary on the slackness of the police, and such a slackness cannot become any civilized Government. The Government's duty in this connexion does not end merely with the conviction of Khuda Bux, who has acted only as a tool in the hands of the leaders of his community. Those who really deserve to be punished are the people who emit poison in their speeches and writings. The *Aj* considers the sentence inflicted on the assailant of Rajpal as fair and says that in view of repeated murders it will be only a bold man who can say that there is no organization behind them. In the present case only a tool has been punished, while the real offenders are still invisible. The authorities should investigate into the allegation of Rajpal that despite his decision not to republish the *Rangila Rasul*, the *Anjuman-Khuddam-Uddin* had issued a *fatwa* for his murder. If this allegation is true, then that body, too, is morally responsible for this crime. The *Abhyudaya* says that the attempted assassination of Rajpal must have pleased and brought some solace to the hearts of Maulana Muhammad Ali and other Mullahs like him who had in their speeches been expressing the desire to murder him (Rajpal) with their own hands. We

want to know whether those who advocated Rajpal's murder in public meetings are not responsible for the attempt on his life. When the authorities do not lend their ears to the cry of the Hindus that there is some conspiracy behind these murders, the Hindus should themselves make arrangements for their protection and devise means to put a stop to these assassinations. Taking into account all the circumstances of the case, especially the fact that no Muslim was an eye-witness, the *Medina* doubts whether Khuda Bux was the real assailant of Rajpal, and says :—The facts of the case show that if the attack was really made by this Muslim it must have been due to some personal quarrel and sudden provocation and could not have been actuated by any communal or religious sentiment. Even assuming—which is absurd—that this attack was prompted by the past black deed of Rajpal, it is the direct result of public feeling. The way in which Hindus have tormented the hearts of Muslims and have arrayed themselves in hostility against them is bound to cause uncontrollable provocation. So long as Hindu leaders do not restrain the tongues of their foul-mouthed co-religionists God alone can change such individual mentalities.

United Provinces Muslim League.

While Hindu papers strongly criticize the presidential address at the United Provinces Muslim League, Muslim papers highly commend it and say that the President's outspokenness was justified in view of the aggressiveness of the sangathanists. The *Leader* writes:—The perception of truth is difficult for those who are swayed by passion and prejudice which find expression in vilification and abuse. This is illustrated by the address which Raja Syed Ahmad Ali Khan Alvi delivered as President of the session of the Muslim League held at Meerut. His attacks on the Hindus and the Hindu Mahasabha show how his hopelessly communal outlook has led him to make a series of fantastic assertions which do violence to truth . . . In reply we have only to remark that it would be truer to say that the Muslims are in no serious mood for Swaraj, for, if they were, they would not antagonize the majority community in the way they have been doing. The President himself has by his provocative address, which contains absurd and untenable charges against the Hindus and which is so wholly lacking in the spirit of fairness, shown that he has no hesitation in antagonizing the majority community. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The Muslim attitude as evidenced and demonstrated in the presidential address of the United Provinces Muslim League and in the resolutions passed by that august body in its last sitting at Meerut, is an irrational and ill-conceived attitude antagonistic not only towards the Hindus but also to the nation and ultimately detrimental to the interests of the Muslim community itself. The ultra-communal and anti-national lead that the United Provinces Muslim League has chosen to give to the Muslims at this important and critical moment in the life of the nation proves the short-sightedness and bankruptcy of statesmanship amongst the Muslim leaders of this Province and has consequently done a disservice to the cause of Islam and to the future of the brave community. There should not be the least doubt now that the masses are blameless, and that they are mere pawns in the political game as played by the United Provinces Muslim League and other communal organizations. The *Hamdam* writes :—The address of the Raja Saheb of Salempur has faithfully portrayed the difficulties of Muslims. We favoured the Delhi scheme of joint electorates, but when responsible Hindu public bodies are not prepared to accept it in its entirety Muslims also must stand by separate representation. The Raja Saheb has ably advocated the Muslim cause in this connexion, and has conclusively proved that it is Hindu narrow-mindedness which has forced Muslims to demand separate representation for the protection of their interests and that *shuddhi* and *sangathan*, and not separate representation, are responsible for the existing communal tension. We admit the soundness of the Raja Saheb's argument and his conclusions therefrom, but cannot share his despondency regarding the consolidation of a united Indian nation as the present tension is based on unnatural causes which could not last long, and if Muslims were, as advised by the Raja Saheb, to organize themselves they could not only repair their weakness, but also combat the aggressive activities of narrow-minded Hindus and thus aid in the evolution of a common Indian nation. Muslims should keep up their spirit and should never be overawed by superior numbers. The *Haqiqat* says that the address faithfully reflects Muslim sentiment. We are aware, it goes on, that the Raja Saheb's views will not find favour in non-Muslim circles as they are outspoken and inspired by sincerity. Truth is always unpleasant, and sangathanist anger at his utterance would not be in the least surprising. It should prove an eye-opener as to the light in which leading Muslims view the communal

mentality of Hindus and as to how pre-occupied they are in protecting their special interests. The fires of communal distrust were first lighted by the protagonists of the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements who openly embarked on them in antagonism of Muslims. Extremist Hindus like Har Dayal even went so far as to declare the aim of these to be either the complete conversion or expulsion of Muslims. The result has been that communal tension has reached such bounds that no responsible Muslim leader can now refrain from giving vent to sentiments like those of the Raja Saheb for the due safeguarding of the interests of his community.

Political propaganda.

In the course of an article entitled "Government's Failure" calling attention to the "orgy of murder, bloodshed, arson, loot and incendiarism in the name of God and religion," and referring to the attack on Rajpal, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—Is it not a fact that Government has failed to give sufficient protection to the lives of innocent people – of workers in the cause of religious and social reform like Swami Shraddhanand who were victims of bigotry and fanaticism? The breakdown of law and order, the riots, the dastardly and murderous attacks on innocent people, the unemployment amongst the educated classes and their stagnation and starvation for want of work, the appalling illiteracy and the soul-killing poverty of the masses, the squalor and insanitation in the cities and villages, and the distrust and discontent of the people and their leaders among the classes as well as the masses all prove the failure of the Government. The *Aj* holds the establishment of an aeroplane base at Karachi, the stationing of a huge air force in the North-West Frontier, the visit of the British Air Minister to India, the extension of the wireless communications, the establishment of broadcasting stations in Bombay and Calcutta, the opening of military railways in the North-West Frontier Province, the sending of an expeditionary force beyond the Burmese Frontier under the ostensible object of suppressing slavery and the visit of the Commander-in-Chief to that frontier to be preparations in India of British imperialists for a great war and says that the real object of these preparations is being concealed by false propaganda in which our rulers are by far the greatest adepts as established by the last Great War. These preparations go to show that India has now become the centre of British imperialism. Any day troops may be despatched from India for coercing the inhabitants of any part of Asia. The *Anand* views with alarm the growth of awakening in Muslim countries like Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, and says that if the present deplorable mentality of Indian Muslims remains as it is they will also strive to realize the pleasant dream of establishing Muslim *raj* in India by supporting the Muslim powers. This situation will be very serious for the country, and the British Government and Hindus ought to make efforts to combat it from this very day. The Government ought to understand that even if it does not care for justice for pleasing the Muslims by suppressing the Hindus, the Muslims will go over to Muslim powers whenever the Government comes into conflict with them. The *Desh Bhagat* publishes another instalment of the article by Agnes Smedley in which allegations are made against British statesmen of complicity in the promotion of monarchist risings against the Russian Soviet. It is suggested that the British are financing aid by Tsarists to the Northern Chinese troops. England raises its hand in horror when the Soviet is compelled to hang spies, but nothing is said of the Jallianwala Bagh and Nanking massacres and the hanging of Dhingra like a dog and joy is expressed at the murder of the Russian Ambassador in Poland. It must be borne in mind that while Russia is acting solely in self-defence, England is always working against the life, property and freedom of others.

Muslim affairs.

The *Aziz-i-Hind* deplores the anti-Muslim policy of the *Leader* and says that while it objects to the number of Muslim judges in the Oudh Chief Court and Allahabad High Court, it deliberately ignores the paucity of Muslims on the benches of the High Courts of the neighbouring provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. Besides, Muslims are to be found in very small numbers in the Education, Medical, Engineering, Accounts departments, etc. There are two Hindu Secretaries in the United Provinces Government, but not a single Muslim Secretary. The *Najat* wonders why the Muslims of Lucknow are being deprived of a just and old right of theirs in regard to *Milad* in Aminabad Park when they do not object to Hindu religious gatherings there. The Hindu majority, it says, is abusing its power grossly, and especially at a time when the leaders are trying to find a way out of the communal tangle. The local leaders and the Commissioner should try to extinguish this spark, as it is feared that as matters stand at present it might in future lead to a conflagration. The *Hamdam* deplores the action of the Moradabad Sunnis in seeking official

intervention in regard to a blashphemous Shia publication and fears that this will open the way for a series of prosecutions of Shia and Sunni writers. It urges that it would be better if instead of resorting to law courts Shia and Sunni leaders were to meet together and agree to the destruction of objectionable Shia and Sunni books.

Reforms.

The *Aj* says that the report of the *Statesman's* London correspondent that no Indian would be appointed on the Statutory Commission shows that the British authorities do not at all care for Indian public opinion. This is a fine example of cooperation, and once more illustrates what becomes the attitude of the British authorities when Indians express their willingness for cooperation. Laying aside their communal dissensions Indians should ponder what their non-cooperation was about to achieve five years ago. Experience of the last five years establishes that Swaraj will be attained through our own efforts, and that those efforts will have to be made not in the Councils, but among the people. If the Councils are captured with a view to keep away the undesirables from them, if real work is done outside them, and if the people are prepared for civil disobedience once again we can assume control of affairs where we left it at Bardoli. What have we to do with the Statutory Commission? If our attitude towards the Commission is one of indifference the bureaucracy will be ready to come to an understanding with us. But if we look up to the Statutory Commission for our salvation we shall have only to weep in the end.

Music before mosques.

Referring to the memorial of the Hindus of Surat to the Governor in connexion with the order of the Superintendent of Police stopping the playing of music before mosques during the Ganpati days the *Leader* writes :—We would congratulate the memorialists when the Bombay Government overrules the local authorities and promises protection to their legitimate rights. An almost common grievance of the Hindus is being created throughout the country in this matter. The question which naturally suggests itself to them is whether they are not being penalized for their law-abiding, peaceful nature. Would the authorities show such scant regard for their rights if they apprehended trouble from them?

Tabligh Conference.

Commenting on Sir Abdur Rahim's presidential address at the Tabligh Conference held at Budaun, the *Leader* writes :—The president is not unaware of the intolerant and violent methods which have been pursued by a section of Muslims in their dealings with Hindus, which are not calculated either to enhance the prestige or increase the influence of Islam, but he had not a word of condemnation to utter against these. The spirit of humanity, brotherhood and tolerance which he claimed as the characteristics of Islam have been honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Anand* contends that the praise of Abdul Rashid's conduct in murdering Swami Shraddhanand has created a spirit of emulation among his co-religionists and developed in them a taste for blood and says that so long as this mentality is not changed, and demons in human form who think of avenging by blood exist, there can be no peace in the country. It is the duty of Lord Irwin to see that the mouths of all those Mullahs and Maulvis who incite people in the name of Islam are gagged so that illiterate masses may not be led away by them to commit murders.

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ALLAHABAD :
October 8, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
7 NOV 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 41 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 15, 1927.

United Provinces Muslim League.

The proceedings of the United Provinces Muslim League continue to evoke bitter communal recriminations. The *Aligarh Mail* writes :—The League session held at Meerut has been momentous in so far as it has reiterated the political demands of the community in plain terms. The deliberations of the League are a good guide to the United Provinces Muslims. Raja Syed Ahmad Ali Khan Alavi's presidential address was remarkable in its exposition of the working of mixed electorates which was unjust and harmful to the Muslims. The resolution on this subject is obviously a compromise between the two Muslim parties. Such as it is, the resolution contains a clear verdict in favour of separate electorates. And this is of the greatest significance in the whole proceedings of the League. The *Sainik* writes : — The proceedings of the League show how extensively the poison of Hindu-Muslim enmity has permeated, how illusive Muslim mentality has become, and how falsehood and knavery reign in the name of religion and politics. The presidential address was instinct with hatred of the Hindus and false charges against them. The *Anand* says that the presidential address of the Raja of Salimpur means that if the Hindus want the Muslims to stand by them in their struggle for *swaraj* they should send Arya Samaj across the black waters, drown Hindu *sangathan* and *shuddhi* into the Arabian Sea and stop music before mosques. What a good specimen of Muslim patriotism ! If the Muslims have no patriotism and have girded up their loins to coerce the Hindus, the latter should also declare that they do not want a *swaraj* which may destroy their identity. In another note it says that the Muslims are opposed to *swaraj* because they want Muslim raj. Referring to the charges of intolerance and aggressiveness made against the Hindus in the presidential address, the *Aj* says :— This is nothing short of painting black what is white. It is a downright falsehood to allege that Hindus ever attacked Muslims for the sake of religion, though it is true that Muslims always converted Hindus to Islam by means fair or foul. It is nothing but shameless effrontery to charge Hindus with fanaticism. If they had been intolerant and aggressive Muslims would have been submerged in their community like other foreign invaders. Indeed it is their tolerance which has proved fatal to them and has brought about the present critical political situation in the country. Whether the Arya Samajists are intolerant or their opponents can best be decided by the fact that though several of their preachers have been murdered by Muslims a similar charge can by no means be preferred against them. Many learned Maulvis have openly stated that it is no sin to play music before mosques, yet rivers of blood are made to flow on account of it and Hindus have to forego their religious celebrations. So long as leaders of the mentality of the Raja lead one community, it is idle to counsel moderation to the other community. There can be no unity. So long as the demon of communalism possesses such leaders neither Hindus nor Muslims can live in peace. The demands of Muslims grow in proportion to the increasing solicitude of Hindus for unity. This shows that the time has not yet arrived for an understanding. There can be a compromise when both the communities will be ready for it. To-day the Muslims are not prepared for it. This being the case, Hindus can only insist on absolute

justice being done. If population is to be the basis of representation, it should be enforced throughout the country, or if representation is to be based on the number of electors fixed on the basis of some given qualifications, this system should obtain throughout the country. *Al Khalil* says that the Raja Saheb of Salimpur has faithfully voiced Muslim sentiment and has made a comprehensive survey of the needs and difficulties of Muslims. He has frankly discussed the aggressive activities of the Hindus and has afforded proof of his deep knowledge of national conditions by his breadth of outlook. His address will no doubt raise a storm among sangathanists, but that does not detract from its value as a warning to Muslims to safeguard their rights. It is closely reasoned and has conclusively proved that the selfishness and narrow-mindedness of the Hindus have forced Muslims to demand separate representation and that recent aggressive Hindu activities and not separate representation should be blamed for the prevailing communal riots. Communal bitterness has now reached such extremes that no Muslim leader can now refrain from saying what the Raja Saheb has said for the protection of Muslim interests. It is a matter for gratification that the League has decided to stand by separate electorates until the Hindus accept the Muslim terms. The usurpation of the just rights of Muslims by Hindus and the recent birth of militant Hinduism have made it absolutely necessary for Muslims to organize themselves. The *Hamdam* takes exception to the *Leader's* remark that the League's attitude towards the question of separate electorates is not inspired by trust and broad-mindedness, and says that in view of the present deplorable conditions in the country and the policy of the *Leader* itself it is idle to talk of trust. The sole responsibility for the present situation lies on it and on its community. Muslims have shown sufficient large-heartedness and trustfulness in expressing their willingness to accept joint electorates and to work on joint lines, and the sangathanist stalwarts are to blame for the deplorable distrust that has been created in the country. Referring to the *Indian Daily Telegraph's* criticism of the proceedings of the Provincial Muslim League the *Haqiqat* says:—The leaders were unable to stem the tide of communalism at the League session because their patience and forbearance had been tried to the breaking-point by the attacks of the Hindus. They only did their duty in trying to combat the Hindu onslaught. It is idle to complain of Muslim narrow-mindedness now when the Hindus themselves first displayed it to the fullest extent and literally drove the Muslims to desperation.

Attacks on Hindus.

The attacks on Swami Satyanand and Manak Chand have accentuated the communal tension and intensified the agitation in the Hindu press for an inquiry into the "conspiracy behind the murders." Referring to the "murderous outrage" on Swami Satyanand the *Leader* writes:—A regular vendetta appears to have been started against Arya Samajists. It is hard to believe that the acts of murder or attempts to murder, which have followed one another in quick succession, are merely isolated cases of fanaticism. The authorities would not be justified in proceeding on the comfortable assumption that there is no organization behind such foul deeds, and we would urge once more a thorough inquiry by means of a reliable agency to find out whether there is any secret organization which inspires and directs these outrages. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The Government can no longer evade responsibility as guardians of law and order. If the repetition of such heinous crimes is to be avoided the Government must deal severely with the source of the mischief. There is method in this madness and fanaticism. Such attacks cannot be treated as isolated criminal cases. They must be traced to their source and then dealt with. Commenting on the attempts on the lives of Rajpal, Swami Satyanand and others and the assassination of Manak Chand, the *Anand* says that such a serious situation would not have arisen if the Government had strongly suppressed this brutal mentality in the very beginning and officials had prevented incendiary *Mullas* and *Maulvis* from emitting venom. There is always a limit to self-restraint and repeated attacks of Muslim hooligans on Hindu leaders are likely to create a spirit of retaliation and indignation among the Hindus. If the Government wants to save the country from anarchy, it is its duty to make full efforts to prevent these assaults. Commenting on the conviction of Rajpal's assailant, the *Arya Mitra* refers to Kwaja Hasan Nizami's prophecy in connexion with Swami Sarddhanand's murder and

Mr. Mohammad Ali's remark that if Rajpal republished his book he would murder him with his own hands and wondering whether such convictions can stop these assassinations says that they can never be stopped so long as irresponsible Muslim speakers who are really at the bottom of all the mischief are not gagged. Nothing is too much for the teaching which promises heaven to the murderers of *kafirs*. If the Government really wants to end these assassinations it ought to find out their root-cause and see whence this truculence is infused. The *Anand* refers to the presidential address of the Raja of Salimpur praising the peacefulness of the Muslims and throwing all the blame for the present communal tension on the Hindus, and remarks that it is really due to the Muslim hooligans being backed by such leaders that their truculence is increasing day by day. The attempt on the life of Swami Satyanand is a good specimen of Muslim tolerance and peacefulness, inasmuch as the Raja of Salimpur has nothing to say against them. The Government says that there exists no conspiracy to murder Hindu leaders, but the growth in the number of murders makes it clear that all this cannot be possible without any conspiracy. Will not the Government even now increase its efforts to protect the Hindus ? The *Aj* says that the attempt on the life of Swami Satyanand should open the eyes of Government to the audacity of murderers. Now there is no doubt that this is the result of the *fatwas* of fanatical *Mullas* and the writings of equally fanatical journalists. The question at issue is whether the Government is or is not able to remedy this state of affairs now. Rajpal wanted to take out a licence for a pistol, but it was refused. This being the case, the Government is all the more responsible for affording protection to citizens. Such crimes are steadily increasing in the Punjab and the United Provinces, and along with them also increases the responsibility of the Government.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Shahnai-Shariat* has an article in which the writer ridicules and attacks the "Gayatri Mantra" and the Vedas and says:—The *Medina* (Bijnor) reports that Pandit Bhagat Ram was sentenced for having intercourse against the order of nature with a cow. The Quran lays down that women have been created for the gratification of the senses and procreating offspring and animals have been created so that their meat might be eaten and their hides might be utilized and they might be used for riding or carrying loads and not that carnal intercourse might be effected with them. On the other hand, the teaching of the Vedas is that men may copulate with cows, just as the god Agni did in the beginning of the world and Mahatma Bhagat Ram did in the present times, and women may have intercourse with horses. In chapter 23 of the Yajur Veda the custodian of the horse asks the horse to have intercourse with his wife. From the time the Aryans came to India this teaching of the Vedic religion became very popular. Men began to copulate with cows and women began to secure gratification with horses against the order of nature. The Muslim kings declared this act to be a crime, and the British Government also has penalized it. But in spite of heavy punishment the reciters of the "Gayatri Mantra" do not refrain as yet. Those who propagate the Vedic faith should note how harmful the teachings of the Vedic religion are and how beneficial are those of Islam. In another article the same paper says that as the king of Dwarka was born pitch black during the dark fortnight he was called Krishna (black). As Krishna was of lewd tastes he initiated the system of dancing and swinging with women, and his followers dance in various ways and play dramas in the Thakurdwaras during *janmashtami*. On the chauth day people throw stones because on that day Krishna also killed Jamavant by throwing stones at him and secured possession of his exceedingly beautiful daughter. This ceremony was started this year in Cawnpore much before its time and developed into a bloody riot. It was really a visitation of the Divine wrath on Muslims for their sins and their indifference towards their faith. The *Medina* advises Muslims to act with restraint at the present juncture and to devote themselves to constructive work as Muslims have suffered most from the riots. It says:—Muslims are by nature peaceful and god-fearing. They are, therefore, incapable of committing any moral or social crime. The attitude of the Hindus, on the other hand, shows that they think that the secret of their political and religious triumph lies in

inter-communal strife. Hindus have made the creation of disturbances a part of their communal life. By means of these they want to infuse the spirit of "strength of arms" in their community, to strengthen the walls of *sangathan*, to remove their mutual differences and to array themselves solidly against other communities. To-day they want to subdue Muslims at any cost. They, therefore, want to provoke them. If Muslims allow themselves to be provoked one of the objects of the Hindus will be served. The Muslims should, therefore, act with forbearance and devote themselves to the development of trade and education in which Hindus excel at present. They should also take to physical culture and the art of fighting. As part of their *tabligh* programme they should improve the condition of the "untouchables" and secure for them a position of equality among men. Muslims should do their work without waiting for unity with Hindus, who do not care for the independence of their country. As the faith of Muslims is not safe under slavery they should have complete independence of the country as their goal.

Dasehra.

The *Aj* says that the Hindus could not celebrate Dasehra at Allahabad and several other places owing to the imposition of restrictions by authorities. So far it was said about British rule that everybody could discharge his religious obligations according to his faith; but now this is not true at least so far as this province is concerned. This is the beauty of the administration. One community commits violence or threatens to commit violence and the other community is deprived of its liberty. The community which the officials have spoiled by favouritism will one day frown at them also. Then they will realize the bitter consequences of this terrible policy. To-day the Hindus alone have to suffer, and we hope they will discharge their duty peacefully. How fine would it be if all Hindus were to take a vow not to celebrate their public festivals until they have won *swaraj*. The *Anand* writes:—In many places in the country the authorities have been so overawed by the Muslim hooligans that they have hurt Hindu religious sentiments by imposing restrictions on Hindu processions. We ask if it is the result of the peaceful attitude of the Hindus. Will it not lead the people to think that the Government respects the sentiments of only those who want to essert their superiority by creating disturbances and *loot mar*. The *Vir Sandesh* says that Hindus should not rest content with merely delivering speeches or passing resolutions in this connexion. They should practise individual or collective civil disobedience against such unjust orders and cheerfully suffer the consequences thereof.

Communal riots.

Muslim papers challenge the report of the Associated Press regarding the origin of the Dehra Dun riot and hold Hindus solely responsible for it. The *Medina* says:—In the absence of any special organization it is impossible for any human power to keep Muslims unaffected in the face of the intolerable provocation offered by Hindus. Take the case of the latest Dehra Dun disturbance. The Hindu procession which was several miles long began in the afternoon and continued up to the time of evening prayers. Music was played for full half an hour before the mosque. When the time of evening prayers approached Muslim officers with folded hands and in the name of God pacified the wrath of Muslims. When all the means of provocation proved ineffectual stones were thrown into the mosque. Now, say, what angel is there who will not be enraged after this? Still the Muslims should follow the path of forbearance which has been enjoined by their Prophet. The *Hamdam* complains that the reports supplied by the correspondents of the Associated Press and the *Leader* about the Dehra Dun riot were highly coloured and facts were distorted to place the Muslims in the wrong. The truth, it says, is that Dehra Dun has for the last few years become a centre of Arya activity, and that contrary to ancient custom extraordinary preparations were made last year in the *Ram Lila* procession and a demonstration of strength and enthusiasm was made in a most undesirable manner before mosques. This greatly provoked the Muslims, though nothing untoward happened owing to the efforts of the authorities and other leading men. The advances made by the Muslims for a compromise were all spurned by the Hindu leaders and a procession much bigger than usual was organized and a cartful of *lathis* and other weapons accompanied it. The

procession deliberately halted for a long time before the Dhamonwala mosque and stones were thrown into it from neighbouring Hindu houses which predominate in the locality. There are no Kabulis in this vicinity as reported by the correspondent of the *Leader*. It is not definitely known how the trouble started, but the fact that the houses of Hindus were so liberally stocked with brick-bats. and stones and the participation of Hindus from outside in the procession clearly show that preparations had been made beforehand for a disturbance. The arrest of Muslims in larger numbers is due to the fact that Muslims unduly exposed themselves by coming distractedly to their co-religionists who were besieged in the mosque and that the Hindus predominated in the police.

Muslim affairs.

Al Khalil says that the sangathanists seem to be bent on wounding Muslim susceptibilities and wrecking communal amity. A number of books have already been written which have lacerated Muslim feelings and one book of Rajpal had inflamed the whole of India. He has, however, now thought fit to bring out another book named *Balidan Chitravali* which contains imaginary pictures of atrocities practised by Muslim kings on the Sikh *gurus*. The revolting scenes portrayed in the book are meant to inflame the feelings of Sikhs and Hindus against Muslims and might lead to a breach of the peace. Government should, therefore, immediately forfeit this book. The *Sarpanch* invites attention to the sad plight of the Shias expelled from tribal territory and appeals to Indian Shias to help them adequately with funds. In another article the same paper warns Government against its policy of bringing the Shia territory in Tirah under its direct control by taking advantage of the present expulsion of the Shias from it. The Shia chiefs of this territory have, it says, rendered great services to Government and hold its written promise of protection and it would be very damaging to Britsh prestige if this promise is not redeemed. Government should, therefore, help these Shia chiefs to regain their territory. The loyal Shia community should not be alienated by any ill-advised action.

Reforms.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—If the British Government really desire to avert a fiasco, they must unhesitatingly give India a commission which in respect of its composition and terms of reference will fully satisfy all political parties since they are so emphatic and unanimous in this respect. Amidst the growing multiplicity of broken pledges, which clouds the record of British administration in India, it is such a commission alone that can possibly inspire some confidence in politically conscious India, about their desire to fulfil their pledges in the matter of granting full responsible government to India. But if they underestimate the depth of unanimous public opinion on this question and venture to flout it, they will once more generate that cyclone of 1921, and involuntarily prepare fresh ground for advocating the boycott of the commission and encouraging extremism for wresting freedom from the unwilling hands of an alien bureaucracy.

The Kakori case.

Newspapers greatly regret the rejection of the appeals for mercy of the four condemned prisoners in the Kakori case. The *Leader* says:—The heavens would not have fallen nor the cause of justice betrayed nor public security endangered if the death sentences had been commuted to those of transportation for life. There are cases in which justice if tempered with mercy appeals to public sentiments, and the case of these condemned men was one of such cases. The *Aj* wonders what the occasion for the exercise of the prerogative of mercy will be if it could not be used when the whole country with one voice appealed for it. One cannot help saying that Lord Irwin deliberately allowed a unique opportunity to slip by.

Publication of court summonses.

The *Aziz-i-Hind* complains that summonses are not, as they should be, printed in papers published in the locality in which the defendants reside and that Hindu officers rarely send such work to Muslim papers, and in the same way Muslim officers also patronize their friends and acquaintances. The Hindu officers have adopted such an extreme attitude in this connexion that they send work only to such biassed papers as the *Hindustan Times*, *Leader*, *Fratap*, etc., and do not patron-

ize even moderate Hindu papers. Summonses from Ballia and Gorakhpur are published in English papers of Lahore and Delhi to the exclusion of local papers.

Indian States.

The *Aziz-i-Hind* is sorry to find that even Raja Hari Kishan Kaul, the new Dewan of Bharatpur, had to resign his office owing to the Maharaja's fickle-mindedness and partiality for Daffadar (now Raja) Kishen. The Maharaja's puerile and high-handed acts, his extreme extravagances and his indifference even towards the Political Agent demand that the Government of India should appoint some capable strong political officer as Dewan there and should deprive the Maharaja of his powers. It is a pity that the self-same Government of India which was so quick to take action against Hyderabad is now silent even though the Maharaja of Bharatpur has got mosques demolished, has oppressed Muslims, has run heavily into debt and has even sent the family jewels which he received as heirloom to Calcutta for sale. His Excellency Lord Irwin should not spoil the young Maharaja by allowing him further indulgence.

Tabligh conference.

The *Aligarh Mail* commends the views of Sir Abdur Rahim to all the tablighists and says:—Sir Abdur Rahim has given them the right lead. It is, indeed, creditable to Sir Abdur Rahim that at a time when Hindu-Muslim tension is at its highest flow his address is not in the least tinged with anything which may be dubbed provocative and mischievous fanaticism by ill-disposed sangathanists.

The Hindu Marriage Bill.

The *Varanashram* condemns the action of Mr. Har Vilas Sharda in introducing the Hindu Marriage Bill on the ground that it invites interference of the Government in religious matters and exposes the weakness of the Hindu leaders in reforming their social customs.

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ALLAHABAD:

October 15, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
14 NOV. 1927
INDIA OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 42 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 22, 1927.

Attacks on Hindus.

The Hindu Press continues to emphasize the theory of the existence of a conspiracy behind the murders and attempted murders of Hindu workers, asserts that without unearthing this conspiracy there can be no improvement in the situation and urges Hindus not to depend on the Government but to concert measures themselves for their defence. Muslim papers refute this theory and strongly protest against the vilification of their entire community on the basis of a few isolated cases which they contend were of a personal nature. The *Aj* says that the similarity of the manner of attack and of defence in the court in the two attempts at murder at Lahore creates a suspicion that there was a close connexion between the two incidents. Indeed the Hindus of Lahore believe that the two deeds were inspired by the same source. The coincidence that an identical report of both the occurrences was published in all the Muslim papers of Lahore and the accused too repeated the same story in their statements in the court is not free from mystery and should be inquired into by experts. There is no doubt that the offenders have been dealt with justly and with promptitude by the police and the authorities, but their duty does not end there. They should trace the wire-pullers. They should find out their associates and their environments, with a view to ascertain whether they were influenced by the *fatwa* of Maulanas and the inflammatory writings of newspapers or not, and whether they were directed by an individual or a committee. Unless this is done there can be no improvement in the situation. The *Vartman* strongly condemns the remissness of the police and the Criminal Investigation Department in not tracing the conspiracy behind the murders of Hindus and says: This clearly shows that the Government is afraid of Muslims and is, therefore, anxious to fulfil all their demands whether just or unjust. Had not the Government become so timid and pro-Muslim we do not see any reason why these unbridled Muslim *goondas* could not be repressed. Muslims in the Punjab have come to think that the British Government is not for Muslims. If the Hindu community wants to live it should now open its eyes and stand on its own legs. It will be a mistake to place the slightest reliance on Government when its policy these days seems to be only to support the Muslims. The *Swadesh* takes the Government to task for not unearthing the conspiracy which it belives is at the bottom of the murders of Hindus and Arya Samaj workers. Such conduct on the part of the Government cannot but create various misgivings in the minds of Hindus. It is futile and foolish for the Hindus to rely absolutely on the Government in this matter. They should make an organized endeavour to protect themselves. The *Abhyudaya* writes: The Hindus should concentrate all their energies in organizing and strengthening themselves for the purpose of self-defence. Without doing this it would become impossible for them even to sit or move about. It will not do to depend merely on the Government or its police. Such frequent recurrence of murders is a strong commentary on the Government and its police and administration. It seems to us that the Government has lost its awe and prestige. The *Medina* vehemently protests against the allegations in the Hindu Press that the attacks on Hindus since the murder of Swami Shraddhanand are the outcome of an

organized Muslim conspiracy and says that the arguments which Hindu papers adduce in support of their contention are extremely absurd and dishonest. Proceeding it says:—It is the duty of Government to issue a statement regarding the true facts in its possession. If a conspiracy is really in existence, it should mete out condign punishment to the conspirators and if there is none it should restrain those Hindu papers which have for a long time been vilifying all Muslims and thus provoking dissensions. The Government should also pay attention to the fact that Hindu papers are now openly advising the Hindus to take some organized steps for assassinating Muslims. If as a result of this incitement Hindus do form such a conspiracy it will lead to an extremely terrible civil war and the Government itself will not be free from responsibility for it. Referring to the report that Government has deputed Criminal Investigation Department officers to inquire into the alleged Muslim conspiracy to murder Hindus, the *Hamdam* says that care should be taken that in the course of such an inquiry innocent persons are not falsely implicated. Impartial officers should exercise strict control over the inquiry which may not degenerate into a hunt for mare's-nest. *Al Khalil* fears that Lala Lajpat Rai's recent statements on the murderous attacks will kill the last lingering hope of unity. It says that Lalaji has most brazenly accused Muslim leaders though they have always worked for peace. They condemned the Shraddhanand murder and Multan riots but the Hindu leaders have been silent in spite of the murders of Mufti Mahbub Ali and the station master of Madhakar and the happenings at Nagpur, Bettiah, Palsipara, Bareilly and Cawnpore and the provocation caused by Rajpal's book. Any number of books like *Qurani Ghazlain*, *Deva Darpan*, *Balidan Chitravali*, *Vichitra Jiwan* and *Sairi Dozakh* have been circulated throughout the length and breadth of India without a timely word of protest by any Hindu leader. Rather their publishers have been lionized and Bareilly day and Rajpal day have been celebrated. Is it not galling to Muslims to see the revilers of their Prophet thus placed on pedestals? Even then Lala Lajpat Rai is not ashamed of accusing Muslims of encouraging violence. The *Krishna* is glad that the weakness and negligence which had of late affected the Arya Samaj will now be dispelled by God's grace. It says that the Arya Samaj has now become prepared to offer the blood of its best and most respected servants for the propagation of truth and the service of the community. It has produced a galaxy of martyrs within a short time. Aye, what Arya is there who is not prepared to offer his blood in the service of his nation, country and religion? Muslims might be thinking that the Arya Samaj would be overawed by the recent mean and murderous attacks. But they are sadly mistaken. The foundation of the Arya Samaj was laid on sacred blood. There was blood and blood in the very first milk that it sucked and that is why an Arya Samajist never wavers in shedding his blood for truth and religion. The murderous attacks of the last ten months have been all too less. We wish that there had been twice or thrice as many and then the Arya Samaj would have been able to stamp its truth and greatness successfully on the world. Anyway we cordially welcome these murders and attacks for in them lie not the death but the eternal life and victory of the Arya Samaj.

United Provinces Muslim League.

Most of the newspapers continue to indulge in bitter communal recriminations in connexion with the proceedings of the United Provinces Muslim League. The *Pratap* says that the views expressed by Raja Syed Ahmad Ali Khan Alvi in connexion with joint electorates were full of poison and those on the present Hindu-Muslim tension were in no way different from the strange but provocative outpourings of a cracked brain. Blinded by ignorance and selfishness the Muslim leaders have let loose their hounds and even then they hold the Hindus responsible for kindling this fire. It is the Muslims who commit assaults, back those who commit murders, encourage the mean offenders by calling them *ghazis* and even then complain that the *sangathan* movement and the Hindu *Maha Sabha* are kindling fire in the country. The resolutions passed by the League show its crookedness and hypocrisy. If the members of the League had acted with a bit of honesty they would have clearly seen that in fact those bad characters are at the bottom of the present trouble who get murders committed, foment litigation,

and carry out their designs by inciting the poor masses in the name of religion. The *Surya* takes the Raja of Salimpur to task for indicting the Hindu *Sabha* and the Arya Samaj for the outbreak of communal trouble and says: Can the president say how many Arya Samajists have lost their heads and assaulted the *tabligh* workers? Would the Muslims have remained peaceful if they had been assaulted in the same way as the Arya Samajists are being attacked to-day? There are even now a number of Hindu leaders who support even the unjust demands of the Muslims, but is there any Muslim who supports even the just demands of the Hindus? The *Abhyudaya* says that the proceedings of the League show how much the Muslims love truth, what their mentality is and to what extent they are swayed by communal prejudice. The *Mashriq* writes: It is a matter for gratification that the presidential address has foiled the efforts of those who wanted the Delhi compromise to be accepted and that the majority voted for separate representation. *Al Adl* says that the existence of the Hindu *Maha Sabha* made the revival of the Muslim League necessary for the defence of Muslim interests. The Meerut session was specially successful and its chief feature was that Muslims wholly accepted the principle of joint electorates under certain conditions. The *Zul Qarnain* remarks: Communal bitterness has now reached its height and the Raja Sahib has only voiced Muslim sentiment in demanding adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim rights. His advice about organization and self-defence should be taken to heart by his co-religionists. His diatribe against efforts for freedom and the formation of a united nationality should however be condemned as the present communal tension being unnatural in its genesis will disappear in course of time and the superior progress and organization of Muslims will force Hindus to seek their co-operation. The *Tamir* while commending the presidential address for its "comprehensive and masterly survey" of the present situation strongly criticizes the portion advocating separate representation and says:—The demand for separate representation for minorities is bound to extend to ridiculous limits as the number of minorities is legion in India and the only path for her salvation, not only political but also cultural, lies through joint electorates. All possible constitutional safeguards might be provided but it would, in the future, be not only dangerous but also fatal for the political importance of Muslims which they hold so dear to cut adrift from the majority for some danger supposed or real and to establish a separate political circle.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of a very lengthy article the *Chand* writes that though the Government claims to have established peace and order in the country, yet in this twentieth century the atmosphere of India is surcharged with anarchy as is evidenced by ever-increasing communal riots and murders and forcible abduction of Hindu women by Muslim *goondas*. Indeed British *raj* has become *goonda raj*. Whatever may be the policy which actuates the Government in not suppressing the *goondas*, it is clear that if it had been so minded the communal riots at Lahore, Bareilly, Multan, Dinapore and other places would not have occurred. Anarchy has prevailed on all sides under the powerful administration of the British Government and yet the Government looks on at all this like a passive spectator. The Government makes mountain of a mole-hill so far as Hindus are concerned but pays no attention to the atrocities of Muslim *goondas* and the venomous articles of the Muslim Press. As a result the Muslim *goondas* get encouraged and they begin to hold themselves to be the masters of Hindu women and children. But the Muslim community is not responsible for the rise and growth of this vitiated mentality. The question now arises whether the alien Government of India is at the bottom of the terrible unrest prevailing in the country, whether the steel claw of the British Government is working behind the disgrace of Indian womanhood and the country-wide disturbances or whether the prevailing anarchy is the result of the slack administration of the Government. There is no doubt that the apathy of the British Government has greatly fanned the communal hatred. The present tendency of the Government's policy is opposed to Hindu interests and to-day despite the existence of the Government Hindus are being ruled by

Muslims. The Government knows the refractory and quarrelsome nature and unjust actions of Muslims, yet it knowingly produces such a situation in the country so that both Hindus and Muslims may remain antagonistic to each other and depend upon it for protection against each other. It also knows that it is through this policy that Indians will have no opportunity to carry on their agitation for liberty. It is impossible that being deserted by the Government on the one hand, and being oppressed by the atrocities of *goondas* on the other, the Hindu community should not concert measures for self-defence. Will not the revolutionary fire break out among the Hindus? And who can say that in the flames of that fire the perpetrators of injustice and atrocities would not get consumed of themselves? It is on account of the weakness of Hindus that they are oppressed. The present anarchy owes its origin to their weakness and so long as they do not make themselves strong they are responsible for all the unrest in the country. If Hindus become ready to die for the protection of the honour of their women nobody can dare cast an evil eye towards them. It is not sin, but valour, courage and philanthropy to sacrifice one's life against atrocities and outrages on women and for the protection of their honour. The prevailing anarchy is but a prelude to a catastrophic revolution under which rivers of blood can flow in every part of the country, temples and mosques can be wiped out of existence and Hindus and Muslims can tear each other like hungry dogs. This contingency can never be averted unless the Hindu community purges itself of its weaknesses, organizes itself, takes upon itself the responsibility of protecting its women and the Hindu youths obtain their civic rights. After this the existing distorted Muslim mentality will disappear and so will do the policy of favouritism of the Government. Karam Vir Singh, formerly Mirza Manzoor Beg, an Arya preacher and joint secretary of the reception committee of the Nau-Arya Conference, Delhi, contributes an article to the *Arya Musafir* in which he says: India would not have been reduced to such a bad plight had the *Quran* not come to India. The atrocities perpetrated at present on Hindus at the hands of Muslims are mainly due to the fact that several verses of the *Quran* style the Aryas as perverted heathens and enemies of Islam and therefore the presence of these verses in the *Quran* is a permanent source of danger to the safety of the Aryas. The writer appeals to the Arya leaders, both men and women, to agitate and to request Government to get those verses expunged from the *Quran*, and exhorts the forthcoming Arya Congress at Delhi to pass a resolution to that effect.

Muslim affairs.

The *Hamdam* supports the action of the United Provinces Government in reserving the recent vacancy in the Police service for a Muslim and remarks: With zealous Hindus holding almost all high posts the doors of Government offices could be closed even to qualified Muslim candidates if a certain communal ratio was not insisted upon. If the Muslims were excluded from the services the interests not only of their community but those also of Government would be prejudiced specially in these days of communal tension. Emphasizing the importance and effect of propaganda the *Medina* deplores the absence of Muslim news agencies and says: In India there are three private news agencies and one Government Publicity Department. Reuter's Agency has probably not a single Muslim on its staff. In the Associated Press and Free Press news agencies too 99 per cent. of the staff consists of non-Muslims. Even if there are any representatives of Muslims in the Government department, it is useless for Muslims as its sole aim is the furtherance of the objects of Government. This means that the four news agencies have no concern with the interests of Muslims. The result is that Muslims have to suffer in every way in political, economic and commercial matters, but they had to suffer most during the riots. The Hindu Press and all the news agencies, 99 per cent. of whose reporters are non-Muslims, threw the entire responsibility for the disturbances on Muslims and prejudiced the authorities against them and created innumerable difficulties in their securing their just rights. Not only this, hundreds of innocent Muslims were made victims of law and ruined. To-day an impression has been created in the mind of every non-Muslim that Muslim demands are unjust. The fact, however, is that in the various recent riots it was the Hindus who

furnished causes of riots and got ready all the material for fight and made all preparations for disturbances. Does this not show that it is imperative for Muslims to have a news agency of their own with a large capital? We think that one of the means by which Muslims can defend themselves against the attacks made on them by Hindus and Government officials is that the Muslim Press should raise a unanimous voice against them and place the true facts before the country and demand justice.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* publishes an article by Dr. Randhir Singh, M.A., ph. D. (Berlin) who says that the British Government evinces a great deal of ambition on the strength of India's men and money and acting in concert with the Indian Government it is always busy devising means to keep India in perpetual bondage and with her help to maintain its domination over other countries. Our leaders should be always on their guard against such moves. Though the British always sing songs of world peace their real intention is something different as is apparent from the war preparations which they are making in Asia and specially in India. What is the duty of Indian leaders at such a juncture? If the British go to war against any Asiatic power or powers and seek the help of India Indians should never give any help in that sinful war. The clever British politicians may well swear by humanity, justice and rights but they can by no means conceal the bitter but obvious truth that they wage war simply to promote the interests of their capitalists. We should, therefore, make preparations even now to combat the coming catastrophy and offer *satyagrah* against the coming great war.

United Provinces Liberal Conference.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu's presidential address gives ample proof of his sincerity and courage, sympathy and patriotism. It is an unbiased and exhaustive statement of facts but it must be admitted that it is disappointing in respect of constructive suggestions. He has stated the truth, but not the whole truth. His speech is true to his creed but it does not lead the country very far. The *Zul Qarnain* says that Mr. Gurtu's observations should be noted by those Hindus who believe that Muslims have no right to live in India. He said just what was expected of him about separate representation but Muslims are not to blame if the *Maha Sabhaites* and liberals did not accept the conditions under which they were prepared to agree to joint electorates.

Communal riots.

Referring to the Dehra Dun riot the *Leader* says: As we commented somewhat adversely on the district magistrate's restrictive orders, not being in possession of all the relevant facts, we are glad to say that a perusal of the correspondence which took place between him and Mr. C. P. Singh shows that he acted like a thorough gentleman and evinced a spirit of impartiality, firmness and fairness which deserves appreciation. The *Aj* writes: Mr. C. P. Singh's statement shows that Mr. Mason's conduct was commendable throughout and that he never wanted to hurt the feelings of, or show partiality to, any community. This quality is a rare and invaluable commodity these days. It can also be inferred from this statement that the provincial Government have no definite policy in this connexion, that local authorities make decisions according to their discretion and inclination and that the higher authorities support their actions. It is surprising that the provincial Government should have no policy in connexion with the problem which has shaken the country to its very foundations otherwise how is it possible that while one district magistrate should recognize the right of citizens to take out processions with music on public roads at all hours of the day another district magistrate should deny it? Mr. C. P. Singh's statement has made it clear that Muslims alone were responsible for the Dehra Dun riot.

Unity Conference.

The *Leader* writes: It does not require any prophetic vision to foretell what the fate of the next unity conference convened by the president of the Congress will be. This conference, if it is held, will be much less representative than the Simla one and will probably be a much greater farce. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: The bogey of communal dissensions will be handy and can be trotted out when the Royal Commission records its impressions for preparing a report to be

submitted to the House of Commons. The persistence of a grave communal situation gives a positive indication of the fact that the Government are either incompetent to govern or guilty of criminal apathy. As it is they have miserably failed in putting a stop to the campaign of murders and murderous assaults. In view of these circumstances, the duty of exploring all possible avenues of reconciliation devolves upon the Indian National Congress which must do all it can to promote communal peace and good-will and build up a healthy nationalism.

Music before mosques.

The *Medina* commends the action of the district magistrates of Allahabad and Chhindwara in imposing restrictions regarding the playing of music before mosques during religious processions and thus averting bloodshed and says: If Lord Irwin and his Government want to prevent bloody riots during religious functions it is their duty to lay down that no music should be played before mosques, at least during prayer times. The displeasure of Hindus and the abandonment of idols in public libraries and other similar demonstrations of dissatisfaction are trifling compared with the sufferings and loss of life and property entailed by riots. The *Vartman* is jubilant over the "success" of the Patuakhali *satyagraha* and says: The success of the Patuakhali *satyagraha* means the success of the entire Hindu community. It is a triumph of justice over injustice, of righteousness over unrighteousness, of morality over immorality and of self-sacrifice over obstinacy. May this success inspire young men to sacrifice themselves at the altar of the service of their community.

The Kakori case.

Some newspapers have commented strongly on the rejection of the appeal of the condemned prisoners in the Kakori case. The *Sainik* regards the action of Lord Irwin and Sir William Marris as extremely callous and hard-hearted and says: In its pride of power the bureaucracy does not care in the least for the feelings of the public. If it had commuted the death sentences neither would the earth have cracked nor would the sky have tumbled down. If it derives satisfaction only by hanging these youths let it do so, but those who have hearts will always pray God to grant solace to the souls of those who are sacrificing themselves at the altar of liberty.

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ALLAHABAD:

October 22, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

MAILS BRANCH
21 NOV 1927

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 43 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 29, 1927.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Most of the newspapers remain absorbed in bitter accusations and counter-accusations in connexion with the various communal questions. Referring to the threatening letters received by Hindu leaders and workers such as Principal Diwan Chand and Professor Hira Lal Khanna of Cawnpore, Dr. Chauth Ram of Sindh and Dr. D. N. Savarkar of Bombay, the *Abhyudaya* says: In ordinary times much importance would not have been attached to these threats but we see that they are not empty and are actually carried out. In these circumstances it is necessary that they should be fully investigated and those who are found guilty should be severely dealt with, but the Government is not doing its duty in this connexion. If the Government does not take necessary steps the country will in a way be plunged into anarchy and the reign of law will be swept away. The *Arya Mittra* contains an article by Kunwar Chand Karan Sharda in the course of which he says: People of other religions have been scared out of their wits to see the steady success of the Arya Samaj and now they are making strenuous efforts to destroy it. What is the duty of brave Aryas in these circumstances? Arya Samajists should give up relying on the Government and condemning its pro-Muslim policy but should instead bring their community into the field of action by reforming their internal evils and removing caste restrictions. It is folly to fear the Muslims. They have neither political power nor wealth nor education. They are inferior to the Hindus in every respect except in organization. If the Hindus organize themselves, the Government will at once take off its spectacles of partiality. Instead of relying on Government and its law courts we should pray to God that we may give up our mild and compassionate disposition and acquire manly attributes for punishing evil and wicked assassins. Only then can these assassinations and atrocities come to an end. If we give way to fear all the work of *shuddhi* and *sangathan* for which Swami Dayanand, Swami Shraddhanand, and Pandit Lekh Ram sacrificed themselves will be stopped. In the course of a lengthy article in the paper, Babu Uma Shankar, M.L.C. quotes two verses of the *Quran* "inculcating the killing of non-believers" to show that there can be no peace in the country so long as the Muslims are under the influence of such teachings. He holds the failure of the unity conference, the outbreak of riots at various places and the murders of and assaults on Hindus to be the result of such poisonous literature and deplores that the Government which promptly enacted a law to allay the *Rangila Rasul* agitation did not do anything to proscribe such literature in spite of the fact that the united voice of crores of Hindus has drawn its attention to the necessity of doing so. He says that it is the duty of every thoughtful and justice-loving non-Muslim and of the Government to see that such poisonous literature is proscribed and its authors and publishers are prosecuted. He asks if the fact that hundreds of defence witnesses were produced to secure the release of Abdul Rashid, the murderer of Swami Shraddhanand, and the collection of thousands of rupees by subscription to defray the expenses of his appeal to the Privy Council do not show that the murder was the result of a conspiracy. The *Digdarshan* has an article by Pandit Neki Ram Sharma who writes: That Pandit Indra who petitioned the Government to show mercy to Swami Shraddha-

nand's assassin, Abdul Rashid, and who is eager to make friends with the Muslims even at a disadvantage can be made the victim of section 153A is possible only under the pro-Muslim Government. There is no law for the Muslim leaders who inculcate cowardly attacks on Hindu leaders and workers and Muslim papers which are full of venomous articles. All the laws and repressive bills are being tried on the poor Hindus who are dying for devotion to peace. Muslim conspiracy is working our destruction and the Government before whom we complain of this is using its weapon of law against us. God alone can help the Hindus in these circumstances. The only means of self-defence left with the Hindus is to sink their differences and organize themselves. Commenting on the recent Lahore outrages and the prosecution of Professor Indra, the *Shakti* says: These incidents have led people to believe that the Government has ceased to function and that it wants to suppress the Hindus, specially the Arya Samajists. The situation is very serious. The times are even worse than the régime of Aurangzeb. *Al Khalil* recalls its repeated warnings to Government that a section of the Hindus had started an organized and persistent conspiracy to provoke Muslims by maligning their Prophet and thus to disturb the peace of the country and says that following the recent demands for the proscription of the *Quran*, the *Tej* of October 20, has published a most painful and inflammatory article entitled "The dangerous aspect of Quranic teachings" in which the holy *Quran* and Islam have been alleged to inculcate murder and bloodshed and blasphemous attacks have also been levelled against the character of the Prophet and the *khalifas*. The companions of the Prophet and Islamic conquerors have been painted as blood-thirsty plunderers and devastators and the bloodshed that naturally attends invasions and the *fatwas* of M. Muhammad Ali and M. Abdul Bari have been attributed to Quranic teachings. Government should carefully peruse this vitriolic effort to insult the *Quran* and Islamic religious leaders and notabilities, to provoke Muslims and to promote hatred between the two communities. This article has made our own blood boil, not to say of the masses. Muslims should even in these extremes hold themselves in patience and remain peaceful. If Government does not take action even on this article there will be widespread unrest among Muslims and the mischief-makers will be further emboldened. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* deplores the unlawful methods pursued by *shuddhi* workers in the Gorakhpur district and says that the sad incidents of that locality show that the prestige of Government is non-existent there. The Raja Sahib of Tamkohi thinks that *shuddhi* work is above all law and violence and force should be freely used in it. Muslim *gaddis* are caught and forcibly deprived of their beards and made to burn their dead. Gorakhpur has revealed that *shuddhi* is terrorism in its naked horror. The *Najat* warns Hindus never to expect Muslims to have any consideration for the cow and says that no compromise in regard to the matter can prove lasting. Muslims, too, have no right to expect veneration for their mosques by Hindus and should not mind if the latter disturb their prayers by music. In the course of a leading article on the question of music before mosques, the *Medina* writes: The march of political events has made it clear that India is yet to remain in the chains of subjection for a long time to come. The responsibility for this lies mainly on the Hindus and not on the Muslims, for whereas the latter, in spite of having lived in India for a comparatively short time, have contributed a vast treasure of their civilization for her welfare, the former have been trying to turn the Muslims out of India. It would not have been difficult to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the two most important questions, namely music before mosques and cow sacrifice but for the fact that they are being made to serve political ends by being used as levers for Hindu organization, extorting political concessions from Government and causing loss of Muslim lives and property by means of riots.

Attacks on Hindus.

The Hindu press remains greatly excited over the murders and attempted murders of Hindus. Muslim papers emphatically refute the theory of organized conspiracy. Commenting on the assault on Swami Satyanand and the murder of Balwant Rao of Indore, the *Hindi Kesari* contends that behind these outrages there is a formidable and organized party, the sole object of which is to carry out the

threats offered by Muslim speakers and writers. It says: Can any one judge how much the head of that community has been turned which contains an adequate number of leaders who can sympathize even with the assassin of a revered personage like Swami Shraddhanand? The days are gone by when such offences could be prevented by awarding severe sentences. The same Government which resounds the heaven and earth with the cries of "conspiracy", "conspiracy" in case some "Jackson" is murdered does not scent conspiracy even when the helpless Hindus of the Punjab, Delhi, and the United Provinces are cowardly murdered. Viewing with satisfaction the report that an additional staff of the Criminal Investigation Department has been posted in Lahore to trace out the culprits connected with the recent assaults in that city, the *Surya* writes: The Government ought to show the same promptness and energy in unearthing the communal conspiracy as it does in respect of the political ones. Its duty does not end merely with punishing the accused howsoever severely but it is also necessary that it should punish those men who accentuate communal tension by their speeches and writings and inspire murders. Commenting on the articles written by Lala Lajpat Rai on the subject of Lahore murders and the assaults made on some "hotspurs" of the Hindu community, the *Medina* says that these incidents do not justify Lalaji's attacks on the teachings of Islam and the *Quran*. If Lalaji had but considered with an unbiased mind the articles and speeches of Bhai Parmanand alone among many fire-eating Hindu authors, speakers, journalists, and leaders, he would have realized that it is these men who are primarily responsible for stirring up class hatred which has led to these unhappy incidents. Referring to the hasti and severity with which the district magistrate of Lahore has himself punished the assailants of Rajpal and Swami Satyanand the *Hamdam* wonders why the Lahore journals have not drawn special attention to the strange procedure adopted and the special powers exercised by the district magistrate in deciding these cases. Mr. Ogilvie should not have made use of his special powers in passing such a heavy sentence and should not have hurried the proceedings in a manner which would fail to satisfy the public as to their being correct and impartial. If district magistrates can try cases of attempted murder and pass a sentence of fourteen years what need is left for sessions courts? Further, after receiving a Hindu deputation about the attack on Swami Satyanand, Mr. Ogilvie ought to have realized that justice demanded that he should transfer the case to some other court. On account of his failure to take this ordinary precaution his judgement would not command confidence.

Political Propaganda.

The *Aj* says that the condition of the country is as terrible just now as that which precedes a revolution. It has been worn out by dissensions between Hindus and Muslims, between Brahmans and non-Brahmans, between capitalists and labourers, between the rulers and the ruled, between sub-sections of castes, and between conservatives and liberals. Those who hold authority or are proud of being authorities have everywhere blocked the ways to reform. A revolution, an upheaval takes place when the way to reform is impeded. The position of the people in the country is as deplorable as that of child-widows among the Hindus. In other countries administration is carried on for public good but in India it is conducted for the good of others. The country is so distracted by the bureaucratic laws and the old shastras that there is no peace whatever among the people. When unrest exceeds all bounds in a country, then base human passions plunge it in a revolution. Whether we like it or not a revolution is staring us in the face. The efforts of the Viceroy and of the President of the Congress appear to be unable to avert this catastrophe. The future of the country can be bright, but just now it is all gloom on all sides. Shailendra Nath Ghosh writing to the paper deplores the apathy of Indian leaders towards Indian exiles in America and urges Indian public to come forward with monetary help in aid of their struggle in that country. He appeals for a sum of three lakhs of rupees to be remitted to "Indian Freedom Federation, 799, Broadway, New York." The *Shakti* commends the reply of the *Aman Afghan* to the *Pioneer's* remark that Afghanistan is an ally of the Bolsheviks and referring to the observation

of the Afghan journal that the British think that India would do what they desire, says: Indians would never do willingly what the British desire but in the event of a war the British will surely get some recruits by threatening and intimidating people but that, too, not so easily as they got in the last war. So long as India is not free and people do not feel that the country belongs to them, what does it matter to them whether the British remain in the country or the Russians come. They would defend India with heart and soul the very day it is proclaimed that it is theirs. If the British want to own India they will have to liberate it. The *Desh Bhagat* says that the communal warfare of the past four years has benefited neither community and that those who regard themselves as the leaders of the country should go into temporary retirement and allow the young men an opportunity to strive for the freedom of the motherland. This breathing time will enable the generals to ponder and offer fruitful advice. It is certain that if all the young men of India determine to put a stop to internecine strife it will come to an end. The old leaders and their programme have failed and there seems no reason why new blood should not be tried. Young men have always been in the forefront in successful struggles for freedom and as suggested by Sadhu Vaswani, the young men of the country should be organized. All schools and universities should be made centres of this movement and religion should be strictly tabooed. The example of the recent struggle for independence of Italy and Egypt strengthens our conviction that if all Indian young men were to determine to break the fetters of bondage of their motherland they could accomplish in the twinkling of an eye what the labour of years and centuries has not achieved. This would be a miracle which would win the admiration of the world for Indian youths joining this noble movement. Arise, young men, believe that this is your work alone, shun all worldly pleasures, and look to your distracted mother, whose hair is dishevelled and whose body is tightly bound with fetters of serfdom and who is looking up to you with wistful eyes. Behold your mother, the suffering mother is calling you. The *Shua* writes:—The Indian National Club, Kabul, is a commendable fruit of the efforts of Sir (sic) Mahendra Pratap and other exiled Indians residing there. The members comprise besides truly nationalistic Indians, born Afghans also. Undoubtedly the existence of such clubs can prove of great benefit to unfortunate India. Only recently at a meeting of this club grief was expressed at the present situation in India and extreme condemnation and contempt were voiced against those Muslim *goondas* who incite the Muslim masses and murder Hindus in a cowardly manner. Sympathy was also extended to the relatives of those injured and killed. The existence of such a club is a great blessing in these times. How sad it is that while Kabul Muslims condemn the Indian Muslim attitude and express their sympathy with the Hindus, Indian Muslims do not change their attitude and earn the opprobrium of their own co-religionists. Indian Muslims can, if they so choose, profit by the example of their co-religionists and the members of this club and enjoy the blessings of mutual toleration. Anyway it is a great shame for Indian Muslims that though their co-religionists and neighbours are reproaching them they are so blinded by false prejudice that they do not reform their attitude. The paper refers to the appeal for pecuniary help sent by "Raja" Mahendra Pratap to the press in India and says that the painful story of his poverty would melt even a heart of stone. The Raja is a true patriot and servant of the nation who embarked on a European tour during the war of 1914, probably with the intention of finding means to extricate his country from the meshes of serfdom and Government refused him re-entry into India without stating his offence. Besides the Raja Sahib hundreds of other Indians are passing their days in exile and poverty owing either to suspicion or the selfishness of traitors. It is the duty of the Congress to find out the exact number and condition of these exiles and strongly urge upon Government to permit their return.

Indian States.

The *Farishta* resents the action of the *Swarajya* in attributing communal motives to those who are agitating against the Bharatpur State and asserts that the salaries remain undisbursed for months and crimes go untraced and the maladministration affects

Hindus and Muslims equally. It is a pity that Sir Hari Kishen Kaul could not remain to reform the State but oppression and tyranny cannot triumph for long and the *Swarajya* will have to acknowledge its defeat.

Muslim Educational Conference.

The *Leader* writes : Hafiz Hidayat Husain's presidential address at the United Provinces Muslim Educational Conference at Farrukhabad was permeated by that narrow outlook which often characterizes utterances at communal gatherings. Throughout his address his viewpoint was always that of a communalist and never of an educationist. He discussed none of the real educational problems of far-reaching consequences confronting us to-day, but devoted his whole address to a formulation and presentation of the communal demands of Muslims in their educational aspect.

The Reforms.

The *Aj* says that Britain governs India for her own profit and that she would promote the interests of Indians only in case they do not clash with her own interests. This being the case, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's advice to carry on propaganda in England to counteract the effects of that of retired civilian governors against *swaraj* is superfluous. *Swaraj* can be won only through the principle of non-cooperation. If this is impossible, Indians should give up the dream of *swaraj* and should try to secure the Reforms which can be got through the favour of the officials. They should either take delight in slavery or act like true men. It is impossible to sail in two boats.

Cinematograph Committee.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* while approving of the personnel of the Indian Cinematograph Enquiry Committee and recognizing the great influence and the educative value of films and their formidable power over the mass mind says : Nationalist India does not share the belief of the Government or the Imperialists that the film industry has reached a stage in India when we are justified in launching an extensive enquiry into the matter and thus wasting the time and money of the country. It is sufficiently clear that there is no demand from the country for such an enquiry and it is wanted neither by the people nor their leaders. In these circumstances naturally a suspicion lurks in the mind of the people that those who have suddenly become enthusiastic in the matter have their axes to grind. The menace of the American film and the Empire films policy are at the root of the Film Enquiry Committee and desire for serving the interests of India is a mere hoax.

Communal riots.

Al Bashir says that the most primary duty of every Government in this world is to preserve the public peace and to protect the life and property of the subjects in every way. However, during the last five years the Government of India has not succeeded in discharging this duty as is apparent from the ever-increasing communal riots. Murder, rapine, plunder, and riots increase under a Government which is either impotent or unwilling to check them for political reasons. The Government of India cannot be said to be impotent, as it has fully demonstrated its strength in combating illegal activities of an anti-Government nature. The future historian will not refer kindly to the English Government when dwelling on the communal riots. What has even the strongest partisan of the Government got to say to this that even after 150 years of rule it has not succeeded in making Indians fit to lead the lives of good citizens ? Why is it that those very Hindus and Muslims who have lived so peacefully side by side for a thousand years have become so bitterly antagonized during the last six years ? What has Government got to say to this, that though the leaders of the Arya Samaj and Hindu Sabha have repeatedly delivered mischievous speeches which have generally been followed by riots, it has not taken action against Mr. Malaviya and Dr. Moonje for their defiance of section 144 ? So long as the real motive behind this indulgence is not disclosed, Government cannot be exonerated from responsibility for the riots.

Muslim affairs.

The *Medina* welcomes the establishment of the new Muslim association but thinks that there is no need for it to have as one of its objects the removal of the misunderstanding between the Government and the Indian Muslims. It says that there is no such misunderstanding. The only complaint that Muslims have against the

Government is that it never cares for their religious susceptibilities and can with a view to attaining imperial objects even go so far as to crush Muslim countries and leave the fate of their sacred places in undeserved hands. Referring to the appeal of the Delhi princes, the editor of the *Mashriq* writes that he has himself seen plays in which Roshanara has been shown as doting on Shivaji and Shambhaji. His Majesty's Government is to blame in allowing such libels to be circulated about his predecessors in India. Why are such imaginary stories invented to inflame feelings? Referring to the action of Mr. Harkare of Nasik in seeking the aid of the law to stop cow-slaughter on the ground that it violates the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation which urges religious neutrality the *Haqiqat* says that it is altogether impossible to restrain Muslims from cow-sacrifice by force of law.

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ALLAHABAD :

October 29, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 44 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 5, 1927.

Unity Conference.

THERE is considerable divergence of opinion regarding the resolutions passed by the Unity Conference convened by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar at Calcutta. Hindu papers generally doubt if they will be acceptable to their community, and some of them challenge the right of the Congress Committee to decide communal questions. The *Leader* approves the resolutions, but questions whether they will be generally followed. Continuing it says: Who is going to restrain the enthusiasts and fanatics if they deviate from civilized methods of conversion by persuasion and argument and to take them to task for doing so? Similarly, it is obvious that the problem relating to music before mosques cannot be solved by means of a formula which assumes the existence of a spirit of tolerance and reasonableness on either side which unfortunately has not been much in evidence in recent times. It is the sad lack of it which has brought things to the present pass. The resolution is lacking in sanction and is likely to leave matters very much where they are. In a subsequent issue the paper writes: While we expect general support to the resolution on conversion and re-conversion we are far from being sure if the resolution dealing with the questions of music before mosques and cow-sacrifice which have recently become inter-related will secure the same measure of agreement. The Muslim objection to Hindu processional music before mosques in an organized form, which has assumed an all-India character, is of recent origin and it has been made clear that it is a reply or a retaliation to the Hindu objection to cow-sacrifice. The resolution on the subject is likely to be interpreted by the Hindu communalists not as a compromise, but as a surrender, for it brushes aside all local customs against cow-sacrifice or slaughter. In this custom-ridden country traditional practices are sacrosanct in the eyes of the bulk of the people who dislike innovations. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* commends the resolutions and says: A thoroughly penetrating and effective propaganda will help considerably to popularize the resolutions. We hope the Hindus and Muslims will both rise to the occasion, inhale nationalism, and cure themselves of the communal mania in deference to the wishes of the great national doctor—the Congress—that alone can and will attend to their ills. The *Aj* cordially supports the resolution regarding proselytization and expresses the hope that a vigorous propaganda will be carried on to give effect to it. Proceeding it says that the best means of restoring communal unity is to formulate a comprehensive national programme acceptable to the largest number of people. The fundamental issue before them should be national construction, and not Hindu-Muslim unity. They should also realize that inter-communal unity is difficult of accomplishment under the alien Government. So long as *swaraj* is not established in the country no such thing is possible. *Swaraj*, therefore, should be the watchword of the people, and they should organize themselves for attaining it. In a subsequent issue the paper says that communal leaders will not support the resolutions of the Calcutta Unity Conference regarding music before mosques and cow-sacrifice, and that they cannot remove the communal dissensions prevailing throughout the country. The decisions of the Conference on these questions ignore the contentious issues, and hence cannot provide a satisfactory solution of the

problem. Portents are all against the success of these decisions. The boycott of the Conference by communal leaders does not augur well for the fruition of its efforts. The realities of the situation preclude a settlement unless such a goal is placed before communal leaders as will induce them to forget the dissensions or consider their removal as absolutely necessary for its attainment. The *Surya* deplores the action of the Congress Committee in holding a Unity Conference at Calcutta, and says that though Congressmen have made so many efforts to establish inter-communal amity by favouring the Muslims and pressing the Hindus, yet their efforts have always proved futile, and instead led to the widening of the gulf. In these circumstances the country will be greatly benefited if the Congressmen give up interfering in communal politics and retire from the field like Mahatma Gandhi. The paper approves of the Viceroy's action in inviting leaders for devising measures to establish Hindu-Muslim unity, and says that the leaders should not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity. The *Anand* says that the resolutions on unity passed by the Congress Committee have no value so long as open-hearted efforts are not made in that direction by communal leaders. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary for the Unity Conference to invite the opinions of those leaders before getting its decisions sanctioned by the Congress. It is deplorable that the unreasonable obstinacy exhibited by the Congress Committee in this matter will lower the prestige of the Congress and afford the opponents an opportunity to carry out their designs, and there will be only a handful of men who will support its resolutions. The *Haqiqat* writes:—The resolutions about the cow and music questions are fair to both communities. There is a fear, however, that those who kept aloof from the meeting will declare the proposals to be unworkable and one-sided, and will work against their general acceptance by the country. It is, therefore, necessary that the proposals should be ratified by the Madras Congress, where all parties will be represented, before the country is asked to act upon them.

Attacks on Hindus.

Referring to the rejection of Abdul Rashid's appeal by the Privy Council the *Aj* says:—Though we had previously recommended transportation for Abdul Rashid we cannot venture to do so now in view of the several outrages following so quickly one after another in the wake of Swami Shraddhanand's murder and the deplorable attitude evinced by Muslim papers in regard to them. It is more important to save innocent persons from falling victim to the secret dagger of assassins than to save a sinful murderer from the gallows. Abdul Rashid's crime was most atrocious, but the extenuating circumstance in his favour was that it was not committed for private ends, but was inspired by a false religious teaching. Fanaticism has now produced several Abdul Rashids, and it has become necessary for the preservation of society that the extreme penalty of the law should be inflicted on such offenders. Commenting on the passing of death sentences on the murderers of Swami Shraddhanand, Manak Chand, and Tek Chand the *Pratap* says:—The offence of these men is not so serious as of those who preach that the enemies of their religion deserve to be killed. Such men are also extremely dishonest inasmuch as they incite ignorant people to soil their hands with blood, but keep themselves at a safe distance from such acts. It is a strange perversion of religion that, in order to save Abdul Rashid, he should be made out a *ghazi* at one time and a lunatic at another. The *Haqiqat* says that the unfortunate Abdul Rashid was not a habitual criminal or notorious dacoit that he deserved death. The fact that he was shown to be insane during the inquiry impels every man to plead to Government for mercy for him. It is to be hoped that Government will consider this plea specially when even the followers of Swami Shraddhanand are not much opposed to the exercise of clemency in his case. Replying to Lala Lajpat Rai's charge against Muslims that they have, either through extreme sorrow and anger, or under the influence of Islamic teachings, embarked upon a campaign of murdering Hindus and thereby marred the prospects of Hindu-Muslim unity, the *Medina* says that the Hindus, having for a long time employed all their resources against Muslims, abused their ancestors, kings and prophets and insulted their religion and sacred book in the Press and on the platform, and having also oppressed Muslims by the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements and through their money-lenders it is no

wonder that Muslims have now lost all patience. In these circumstances it was only natural for them to have taken recourse to the might of their arms and they have done so although in a wrong and entirely improper manner.

Political Propaganda.

Emphasizing the need for the organization of peasantry the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The peasant presents a great possibility and can be a source of tremendous power to the national movement. He ought to have been the bed-rock and should constitute the man-power of the great movement. As a matter of fact, a national movement in which the peasant plays no part is a sham and chimera. During the days of the non-cooperation movement the value of the co-operation of the peasants was realized and an attempt was made in the direction of organizing a kisan movement. The leaders and the educated youth of the country should concentrate themselves on the education of the peasant. He is ground down, but is seething with discontent which contains the seed of disaster. It is a smouldering fire. The *Aj* deplores the evil tendency of Indians to look up to the "bureaucracy" in every matter. It is an obvious truth, says the paper, that *swaraj* cannot be got for begging and yet they pay no heed to it. *Swaraj* being their birth-right they should not beg for it, but should demand it with the sanction of the power of the people behind it. *Swaraj* is secured by strength, by the self-sacrifice of selfless heroes. The demand of Congressmen for *swaraj* in the Councils is nothing short of mendicancy unsupported as it is by the strength of the people. It is because of the lack of self-confidence and self-help that Indians have come to look up to the bureaucracy even for the solution of social and communal problems, to say nothing of national emancipation. This is the height of moral weakness. The leaders now only keep an eye on the movements of the Viceroy and other authorities and move heaven and earth in speculating upon their significance. They no longer demand *swaraj*, but go to the Councils with tears in their eyes to beg for one handful of reforms. The *Oudh Akhbar* reproduces the resolutions recently passed by the Indian National Club, Kabul, and appeals to Indians of all political parties and communities to put an end to the present baneful internecine strife. A conference of Hindu and Muslim business men should be called to bring about unity, but leaders and religious enthusiasts should be studiously excluded from it. Once unity is achieved the work of the emancipation of India should be pushed forward.

Viceroy's Invitations.

There has been considerable speculation in the Press as to the object of the Viceroy's invitations to prominent political leaders. Extremist papers are of opinion that the consultations can serve no useful purpose. The *Pratap* writes:—Some say that the Viceroy will confer on Hindu-Muslim disturbances, while others think that there will be some talk on the question of the Royal Commission. What need is there of talking on Hindu-Muslim relations? There has been a great talk over it already. Now there is need of some substantial work. We think that if the Government of India so desires much can be done in this connexion. Its system of administration can never allow different communities of the country to unite. The policy of divide and rule is in evidence everywhere. The Government of India's seal has been and continues to be impressed on communalism and the policy of division. Its policy is extremely mysterious in the matter of communal disturbances. If, therefore, His Excellency Lord Irwin wants to solve the problem he should place the heart and head of his Government under sound treatment. The question of the Royal Commission is altogether in his own hands. What advice will poor Mr. Gandhi offer in that connexion? Other leaders will surely say something, but we, the common folk, should not build any hopes on it, nor treat the British Parliament or its commissions as an arbiter of our destiny. If this Commission gives us something we should rest assured that it will leave us still worse.

Hindu-Muslim Relations.

The *Najat* complains that since 1921 the Aryas and Sangathanists have made it their business to fan the fire of communal discord and to secure Hindu domination over Muslims. The fact is that they still publish filthy literature and always urge that Hindus should remove the defect of physical inferiority from which they suffer as

compared with Muslims and should thus complete their dominance over their enemies. When disturbances result from such false propaganda the Hindus throw the whole blame on Muslims and pose as aggrieved persons. The Muslims suffered at Palasipara, Bettiah, Nagpur and Jubbulpore, but it is they again who are being given a bad name. All this betokens an organized and terrible conspiracy against Muslims in which even lying and deceit are resorted to. The Muslims should not descend to such black-heartedness, but they should adopt defensive measures and try to be self-contained. If Muslims were to acquire discrimination their defensive measures would surely affect the backbone of the enemy. Economic boycott is more effective than violent retaliation, and Muslims should patronise shop-keepers of their own religion. Hindus exalt into a hero any co-religionist who has been attacked by a Muslim and thus create feelings of vengeance among his co-religionists. This is bound to lead to the murder of Muslims. A number of lives will be sacrificed at the altar of the present propaganda of the Arya Sangathanist leaders in the name of self-defence and peace. Muslims have always condemned attacks on Hindus, but the Hindus have never reciprocated this attitude. Unity cannot come from one side. In fact, as the Muslims are weak and the Hindus strong unity between them is out of the question. The best course, therefore, for Muslims is to remove all their weaknesses.

Muslim Affairs.

The *Haqiqat* says that by the way in which the Agra University has overlooked Muslim interests it has really earned the title of the new Hindu University bestowed on it by the *Aziz-i-Hind*. Muslims are to be found only in name in the Senate and Executive Committee. In the governing body there is only one Muslim to thirty non-Muslims. When Mr. Kichlu was selected for this work our apprehensions had been roused as his anti-Muslim leanings are very notorious throughout the province. In the course of a leading article on Mustafa Kemal's famous speech the *Medina* deplores that the Kemalists are discarding religion for the sake of economic welfare and says that Kemal Pasha's charge that Indian Muslims do not understand religion should serve as a warning to them, for they have been in the habit of looking to Turkey and Afghanistan for their welfare and have thereby weakened themselves with the result that they are, on the one hand, being ruled by a nation which is sucking the life-blood of Muslim countries, and on the other falling a prey to the greed of their Hindu friends who had once been ruled by them for generations. If Indian Muslims can even now shake off all their weaknesses they can not only command respect themselves, but can also save the Turks from impiety and heresy. The *Haqiqat* says that besides the demolition of a mosque by the Raja of Shahpur about which Khwaja Hasan Nizami is agitating the *Muslim Outlook* reports that the Nadiad State has forbidden Muslims to slaughter goats. Excesses are still being perpetrated on Muslims in Indore and in the Puddukottah State, they have to pay a special tax if they want exemption from the work of taking the carriages of Hindus to temples on festival days. All these were sufficiently painful, but now comes the astounding news from Tamkohi estate that the beards of certain Muslims were forcibly shaved, their dead were cremated according to Hindu rites and they were restrained from performing the ceremony of *Nikah* (Muslim marriage sacrament) and such other terrible crimes are being committed. It is a great pity that Government does not turn its attention to the stoppage of such oppressions which are striking at the root of peace and order in the country.

Provincial Muslim Educational Conference.

Commenting on the presidential address of the Provincial Muslim Educational Conference the *Aligarh Mail* writes:—Hafiz Hidayat Husain's address is a mine of facts and figures relating to our educational condition which portray how the progress of our education is crippled by causes for which we are not to be blamed. . . What is then the moral which we draw from Hafiz Hidayat Husain's timely reminder of the hindrances that lie in the way of our educational advancement? The moral is plainly this that it is almost impossible for us to progress educationally to the fullest extent unless we Muslims are properly and separately represented on the district boards, the High School and Intermediate Examination Board, and the governing bodies of the Allahabad and Agra Universities. The clear demand,

therefore, of the Muslims of these provinces from the Government—and it must accede to it if it is just and benevolent—is that communal representation with communal electorates should be introduced in local bodies and educational institutions because common representation and joint electorates have made them a safe and holy preserve for the Hindus.

Indian States.

The *Hamdam* says that the recent murders, inordinate delays in payment of salaries, and the general dissatisfaction with the administration of the present ruler of Bharatpur necessitate the appointment of an independent commission of enquiry. The *Haqiqat* publishes a manifesto by Khwaja Hasan Nizami, in which he states that the Raja of Shahpur has demolished a mosque and refuses to rebuild it, but instead his Arya supporters have asked for Government action against him (Khwaja) on the ground that his agitation is likely to disturb the public peace. The Khwaja goes on to say that Muslims cannot be intimidated by such threats when their mosques are concerned and urges them to hold meetings and send messages of protest to the Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana.

Provincial Conference of Indian Christian Association.

The *Leader* writes:—At a time when the atmosphere is surcharged with the infectious germs of narrow communalism it is indeed heartening to notice the leaders of the Indian Christian community displaying a breadth of outlook and a sturdy spirit of nationalism which deserves to be emulated by other minority communities, particularly the Muslims. The speeches delivered by Mr. P. N. Dass, the chairman of the Provincial Conference of the Indian Christian Association held at Gorakhpur, and Mr. J. M. David, its president, will be read with high appreciation by every nationalist Indian. The president's attitude of self-reliance and self-confidence on the question of the appointment of Indian Christians to the public services is in strong contrast to that of those who fight shy of open competition and rely upon the special privileges and favours which only weaken those on whom they are conferred and are incompatible with public interest.

Hindu Marriage Bill.

The Press representing the orthodox section of Hindus unanimously opposes the Hindu Marriage Bill, while that representing the advanced section whole-heartedly supports it. The *Leader* writes:—Mr. Harbilas Sarda's Bill relating to child marriage is such a modest and cautious measure that it seems to be surprising that there should be any opposition to its enactment. If at all, the Bill only errs on the side of moderation and can by no stretch of language be called a radical measure of reform. The *Dharma Rakshak* exhorts the Hindus to urge the Viceroy to drop the Hindu Marriage Bill and condemns the action of Mr. Harbilas Sarda in fixing the minimum marriageable age-limit of girls at twelve on the ground that according to Hindu authorities girls should be married before puberty.

Reforms.

The *Desh Bhagat* warns Indians to expect little of the forthcoming Royal Commission on Reforms as an intensive anti-Indian propaganda is being waged in the British press in which Miss Mayo's book looms particularly large. Indian leaders should boycott the Commission and educate Indian public opinion regarding it.

Vegetable Ghee.

The *Agra Akhbar* attributes the spread of diseases of the respiratory and digestive systems to the introduction of vegetable ghee in India, and says that it has a highly deleterious effect on the health of Indians. It urges that its sale should be stopped immediately by the levy of prohibitive duties.

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ALLAHABAD:
November 5, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 45 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 12, 1927.

Reforms.

Indian newspapers vehemently protest against the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission and some of them, including Liberal papers, urge a complete boycott. The *Pioneer* heartily welcomes the appointment of the Commission, on the lines long advocated in its columns, and endorses the Viceroy's appeal for the creation of a friendly and trusting atmosphere, in which to discuss the problems with which it will be faced. The paper, however, regrets that in view of the vital importance of the issues at stake, the composition of the Commission is not one—with the exception of the chairman—to merit universal acceptance on the ground of the position of its members in British public life. The *Leader* writes:—"Let us state here and now, unequivocally and unreservedly, that we regard this long-looked for Statutory Commission as it is constituted, as being both an injury and an insult to India. It is a calculated affront to Indian opinion—to Indian intelligence as well as to Indian self-respect. We declare our want of confidence in the Commission. It is our considered opinion that our countrymen should have nothing to do with it. We will exhort them every time to ignore this Commission, not to go anywhere near it, and instead, to apply their moral energy to a strong and sustained agitation, of course principally in our own country, but also in theirs, for the early statutory recognition of India's indefeasible right to govern herself. If India is to regain her lost place among the nations she will owe that consummation not to Birkenheads and Irwins and Simons of the British race, but to their own active and manly and persistent patriotism, scornful of all petty considerations, marked by undeviating righteousness, and sanctified by the blessings of the Most High. Let our countrymen resolve in the crisis of their fate that they will lead dedicated lives in the service of the Motherland and they shall have the satisfaction of seeing their efforts crowned with success." Referring to the Viceroy's "apologia" the paper says:—The fact is that an outrageously unsatisfactory Commission has been set up, the conclusion has virtually been prejudged against Indians. India's hopes have been dashed to the ground in the most inconsiderate manner imaginable. In the face of this selfish and insolent fact what will Viceregal explanations avail? The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The veil is lifted. The fatal fact is unfolded. The way in which His Excellency the Viceroy puts a long and sweet preface to the bitter announcement is an index more of his shrewdness than of his sympathy with our aspirations. Indians will have little or no voice in determining the nature of the Reforms that are to shape the destiny of their country. Can India expect anything substantial from such a Commission? The Tory Government has committed a serious blunder. It has sown the wind and must be prepared to reap the whirlwind. There is not the least doubt now that the Commission will have to begin its work in an atmosphere charged with suspicion, distrust and discontent. It is of the utmost importance that an all-parties' conference should meet at a central place in the near future and present the demands of the nation to England irrespective of what the Parliamentary Commission may say or do. The *Aj* writes:—If Indians had power there would have been no need for them to demand their representation on the Commission. With the subsidence of the non-cooperation movement their newly-acquired

power is gone and now it is no good whining. If the humiliation to which they are being subjected to-day should serve them as an eye-opener and they should seek power within themselves even the evil would be productive of good. They will be well advised to leave the Commission alone and cultivate self-reliance. If they succeed in this there would be no need for the Commission itself and in keeping with the British character rights would come to them of themselves and afterwards Parliament would ratify them. They should acquire rights and the Parliament would acquiesce in them soon after. This is the only way to salvation and its sole means is non-violent non-cooperation. Had it been the object of the British authorities to benefit India, there would not have been so much bungling in connexion with the Commission. If they had been prepared to give further administrative rights they would not have been at so much pains to save the Commission from the contagion of Indian members. Their love of empire and their pride as masters have become so much exaggerated that the very idea of Indians participating in any attempt to determine the future government of their country has become intolerable to them. This is naked imperialism. Indeed British Imperialists want to deprive this country even of manly spirit and as they possess power they will do so. In fact might is right and the weak cannot deserve to obtain justice. The United Provinces Governor's recent disallowance of the adjourment motion in the local Council over the question of the prosecution of a sub-inspector shows that India is governed by brute force. Indians should first become men and then demand their rights. If they are to secure their rights they should give proof of manly spirit. No change can be brought about in the existing conditions unless the Councils and the Assembly are boycotted, and the leaders devote themselves to the task of preparing the people for civil disobedience. In a subsequent issue the paper says:—The Commission is a down-right insult to the self-respect of India. It remains to be seen what reply she gives to it. The *Leader* of Allahabad deserves to be congratulated for its sound advice in the matter. We wish that all political parties in the country would combine on this occasion and boycott the Commission and thereby make it plain to the imperialistic authorities that for India too there is a limit to putting up with insults and that she cannot go beyond it. The *Anand* says that as it is possible that the Muslims and landlords may not participate in the boycott of the Royal Commission people should not decide to boycott it until all are unanimous in doing so. The *Hamdam* writes:—India had no voice in the selection of the personnel of the Statutory Commission and Indians will be rigidly excluded from it. They are only wanted to accord their silent support to it and to proffer advice when required. They are to be treated as mere patients who are to describe the symptoms of their disease and trust to the doctor for arriving at a proper diagnosis and prescribing the right remedy. If they do not close their ranks and lodge an emphatic protest, the designs of London are bound to succeed. Not to say of Nationalists, even Liberals and Moderates cannot accept the composition of the Commission. If Indians have any regard for their national honour they should organize unanimous demonstrations of protest regardless of political or communal differences and should make it clear that decisions arrived at in defiance of public opinion can never prove acceptable. The *modus operandi* proposed for the Commission not only denies to Indians the right of self-determination, but further excludes from consultations such prominent Indian leaders as are outside the legislatures. It is also feared that the representatives of the legislatures will be pro-Government men elected by the votes of the official members supported by the reactionaries. Nationalist members have always been excluded by Government from committees and it is at present particularly emboldened by the political and communal feuds prevailing in the country. The *Haqiqat* says:—Howsoever divided Indians might be and howsoever Lord Irwin might argue Indians cannot sacrifice their national interests by accepting a purely Parliamentary Commission from which their representatives are rigidly excluded and whose sole business would be to promote British interests. It is unfortunate that Hindu-Muslim disturbances have disorganized the nation and it is no wonder that Government has therefore been emboldened to appoint a purely Parliamentary Commission. It was a foregone conclusion that the growing estrangement between Hindus and Muslims would gravely injure national interests and it is only the expected that has happened. The

more fratricidal strife will flourish in the country, the greater will be the loss to common national interests. It is simply ridiculous on the part of Messrs. Lajpat Rai and Malaviyaji to fly into a rage over the Commission after the discord-breeding resolutions of the Aryan Congress. We have just now only to bewail the composition of the Commission, but if this mutual breaking of heads continues the report of the Commission will be still more disappointing and we must be prepared beforehand for it. No one can forecast the future course of events, but it seems that after a protest people would prefer to make the most out of the Commission despite all its flaws. The Liberals at least will tend towards this way. As for the Congress it has been insisting on a boycott from before as in principle it does not relish subordination to Parliament in national matters and will not be prepared to forego its demand for a Round Table Conference and cooperate with the Commission. Anyway the pill is bitter and it will go down the throats of Indians with great difficulty.

Unity Conference.

The Muslim press warmly commends the Calcutta proposals, but fears lest they should be wrecked by the opposition of Sangathanists who, it thinks, are not anxious for peace. Hindu papers generally continue to oppose the resolutions as detrimental to Hindu interests. Welcoming the action of the All-India Congress Committee in accepting the resolutions of the Calcutta Unity Conference, the *Pratap* says that the resolutions passed in the Conference lay too much stress on the rights of various communities. They will enable the Muslims to sacrifice cows and the Hindus to play music before mosques in places where they have not been able to do so up till now. In the existing conditions it is not unlikely that such new demands may be made and new causes of friction arise. The *Abhyudaya* wonders how those who call themselves Hindus could admit the right of the Muslims to sacrifice cows in all places. It regards the resolution on cow-sacrifice as a triumph of the Muslims inasmuch as it has placed on equal footing the question of cow-sacrifice and the new-fangled demand for the stoppage of music before mosques and observes that unity can be lasting only when it is based on justice and not on the desire to please any particular community. Congressmen should remember that by applying section 144 and other sections the authorities have shown more zeal in stopping music before mosques than the Muslims themselves and that the mere passing of resolutions on the playing of music will not deter them from doing so. Moreover, the language of this resolution is vague while the right to allow Muslims to sacrifice cows within their houses will widen the scope for mischief. The *Garhwali* views with suspicion the decision of the Conference specially in view of its support by Maulana Muhammad Ali who up to this time had been advising his co-religionists to murder the *kafirs* and never to make friends with them. It says that the decision of the Conference on the question of cow-sacrifice and music before mosques cannot be acceptable to any Hindu or for that matter to any sensible and impartial individual as it is an encroachment on the rights of the Hindus in the name of communal unity. The *Gyan Shakti* says that though peace has been established in the country so far as conferences and resolutions are concerned real peace and *swaraj* are still far off from India. In their heart the Muslims do not want peace even now. The only way to establish peace is for the Government to make use of force to suppress the communal unrest. *Al Khalil* is glad that the Calcutta Conference has succeeded where the Simla Conference has failed. A national instead of a communal atmosphere pervaded the deliberations at Calcutta. The conversion resolution, if honestly acted upon, will surely eliminate discord. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar deserves to be congratulated on the cow and music resolutions also which are sure to be acceptable to the Hindu masses. The fact that the resolutions were passed unanimously shows that Mr. Malaviya, Dr. Moonje and Lala Lajpat Rai alone are standing in the way of reconciliation. They see in a compromise the waning of Hindu communal enthusiasm and the shattering of their sangathanist dreams and this is why they wrecked every unity conference and kept away from Calcutta. Had the Hindus at Calcutta no regard for the cow or were they unaware of the religious importance of music? No, the only difference is that this trio does not want peace while other Hindus are anxious for it. The settlement of these questions opens out bright prospects as there is now every likelihood of other questions also being

successfully tackled by the Congress. The *Hamdam* is sorry that following the refusal of Messrs. Malaviya, Moonje and Lajpat Rai to join the Calcutta Unity Conference, local Hindu Sabhas at various places have begun to pass resolutions protesting against its proposals declaring the Hindu Sabha to be more representative than the Congress. It says that the present mentality of the Hindu sangathanists will stand in the way of a reconciliation specially in the prevailing vitiated atmosphere. Muslims cannot be deprived of their rights so long as they are not wiped out as a community and such provocative propaganda can only mar the political progress of the country. The *Rahnuma* applauds the action of "the most respected political organization in the country, the Congress," in clearing the clouds of despondency that had settled over India after the failure of the Simla Unity Conference. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has shown himself to be a true and sincere patriot and deserved to be congratulated on his promptness in dealing with the unity question. The Conference had the sympathy of all Hindu and Muslim leaders barring Mr. Malaviya, Dr. Moonje and Lala Lajpat Rai who have their own axe to grind. Besides, as said by Mr. Goswami, there is a large body of Hindus which refuses to own allegiance to the Hindu Maha Sabha and the proposals passed are such as will win the approval of all Hindus and Muslims who have even an iota of reasonableness in them and will, if seriously acted upon, eliminate friction. The Congress should now turn its attention towards the composing of political differences also, so that an enduring peace may be ensured. The *Nizam-i-Alam* says that the proposals are in every way commendable and if honestly carried out will automatically end the existing tension and inaugurate an era of peace and goodwill. The *Aftab* writes:—The compromise is the best and most reasonable, imaginable and the gentlemen assembled at Calcutta deserve the gratitude of the country for their masterly handling of the vexed questions of music and cow. It is to be hoped that those leaders who did not join the Calcutta Conference will not pursue any subversive propaganda and thus nullify the present efforts for peace. Anyone who strikes a discordant note at this juncture will be regarded as an enemy not only of his community but also of the country. Government also should legislate on the lines of the Calcutta resolutions so as to ensure their uniform acceptance throughout the country. Cow-killing cannot be stopped and Hindus should not grudge their Muslim compatriots a little more freedom in the matter specially when they also are free to play music before mosques.

The Aryan Congress.

Muslim papers strongly resent the resolutions passed by the Aryan Congress and regard them as a challenge and a warning to the Muslim community. Referring to the resolution regarding the enrolment of volunteers and collection of defence fund and *satyagrah* in connexion with the restrictions placed on Arya Samaj religious processions by local authorities the *Leader* writes:—The resolution should convey a warning to those officials who have been paying scant regard to the legitimate rights of the Hindus and treating their protests with virtual contempt, and also to the Government which has been supporting the action of the officials concerned. The *Aj* is satisfied with the resolution of the Aryan Conference regarding civil disobedience not because it is wholly practicable but because it betokens manliness on the part of the Aryas. It says that if it is a question of fight they should fight like men. It is no good going to the authorities for the vindication of social and religious rights. The right is his who can protect it. Muslims gain their point because local authorities cannot dare interfere with their real or imaginary rights. If Hindus too become men and become ready to defend their rights, there is no reason why local authorities should oppose them everywhere. If both the sides become equally strong the authorities will be forced to accord equal treatment to all. By taking the decision regarding civil disobedience the Aryan Conference has declared war and also formed a committee to carry it on. There is, however, no doubt that it does not want to be aggressive. Its only object is self-defence. It is also clear that it has been forced by circumstances to adopt such a course. The *Anand* remarks:—Although we do not agree with certain decisions of the Conference yet we cannot help expressing our gratification at the ideal forbearance displayed by the Arya Samajists in the face of grave provocation. The Conference has exposed the hollowness of the charge of quarrelsomeness levelled against the Arya Samajists

by a few interested persons. It was justified in rejecting the agreement entered into with the Muslims by a handful of Swarajists without previous consultation with Hindu representative bodies. The demand of the Conference that the Government should make an earnest endeavour to unearth the conspiracy behind the murders of Hindu leaders and institute proceedings against Muslim firebrands is quite reasonable and it is the duty of the Government to realize its responsibility and take steps to allay the fears of the Arya Samajists. The *Hamdam* is surprised at the discord-breeding spirit of the resolutions passed by the Subjects Committee of the Aryan Congress and regrets that they will seriously prejudice the good results achieved by the Calcutta Unity Conference. It cannot conduce to an amicable atmosphere to level baseless and improper charges of conspiracy against Muslims or to lay the whole blame on their shoulders at a time when every party recognizes the supreme need of unity for Indian progress. None but those who are obsessed by a particularly biassed mentality will welcome these resolutions. It can only accentuate communal bitterness to question the representative character of the Calcutta Unity Conference. It is, however, to be hoped that Hindu mass opinion will evince an improved mentality in the open session of the Congress and will not prove a stumbling block in the path of national re-union. We all along thought that the Hindu Sabha would accept the Calcutta proposals and the Aryan Congress would at least desist from resisting them. The *Haqiqat* says that during the last two or three years a number of Hindu organizations have come into existence which although bearing different names have a common object which is to accentuate Hindu-Muslim differences in the name of Hindu *sangathan*. The speeches made at the meetings of these organizations are generally very offensive and inflammatory and their main object is always to rouse the feelings of Hindus against Muslims. The Delhi Congress also had the same object in view and it has succeeded in its object. The Muslims are not at all to be blamed if they take the resolutions passed at the Congress as an ultimatum to them. The resolutions are sufficiently offensive and provocative. In the face of these resolutions it is futile to talk of unity. The sangathanist Hindu leaders have shown their mentality by their attitude towards the Calcutta Unity Conference as well as by passing the resolutions at the Arya Congress. No more proof is needed of their anxiety for Hindu-Muslim unity.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Hindu Gazette* says that though the Hindus are aware how vigorously the Muslims are boycotting them they are unable to sever relations with them. This is why on getting opportunity the Muslims assault them. Most of them even abduct their daughters and daughters-in-law. In view of all this it is very dangerous to have dealings with Muslims. Every Hindu should completely sever his relations with them. *Al Khalil* writes:—In 1923 Mr. Malaviya had advised Hindu ladies to bear pistols and now in the year of grace 1927 Mr. Moonje is repeating the same lesson at Amraoti. This gentleman addressed a number of meetings in that town within a day. At one he counselled students to become physically strong and powerful so as to be able to defend the honour of their families and to protect their homes and country and to acquire martial spirit. To ladies his advice was that they should learn horsemanship and lathi-play and become fit to defend their lives and honour and should undergo systematic physical training. Addressing a common meeting on that self-same day he observed:—" Muslims kept aloof from the Congress in the beginning and joined it for self-interest when the Khilafat question arose. Muslims are opposed to unity. So long as the custom of pollution by touch persists among Hindus, unity is unattainable." Speaking at the Arya Samaj Mandir at Bombay on that very day Swami Vicharanand remarked that if one crore Hindu youths between the ages of 18 and 22 were to become prepared for defence, Muslim attacks would cease at once. Do Government, its tyrannical police and powerful officials realize what the aims and objects of these terrible teachings and exhortations are? Why are these lessons being inculcated? What is the purpose of these incitements and preparations for war? Are all these counsels and activities meant for opposing the Muslims? Or is there any conflict in prospect with the English or some other race in India? Can Government or any Hindu leader tell us whether any Muslim leader also had made such speeches on any occasion and exhorted his people for combat and

military preparedness in such unambiguous, clear and explicit language? Is there no law, no statute and no punishment for Mr. Moonje and Mr. Vicharanand? All this teaching is imparted in a manner as if a great war is in sight. "Become warlike. Learn lathi-play. Prepare one crore youths. Muslims do not want unity. Union is unattainable till the removal of untouchability." What is the spirit animating such observations. Are Moonje and others of his ilk really determined to wipe out Muslims and to foment civil war in India? Such are the activities, the ambitions and the extravagance of Hindus but still the blame is laid on the shoulders of Muslims and Lala Lajpat Rai goes about accusing the sons of unitarianism. We boldly proclaim that these are not speeches but an open declaration of war on behalf of the sangathanists. Every word of the above excerpts clearly indicates the aspirations, mischievous ambitions and conspiracies of the Hindus and they seem bent on ruining Muslims. Not only men but even students, youths and women are openly exhorted to be armed and prepared. Will Government let us know what has become of the Indian Penal Code, in what nook has its police hidden its head and what are its officials doing or whether they are still ignorant of these things? If such conditions persist for some time longer and these mischief-making, aggressive and discord-breeding Hindu leaders are not dealt with, then if not to-day surely to-morrow these self-same sangathanists will make rivers of blood flow on every patch of Indian soil. Civil war is bound to ensue and for this the Hindus are most fully prepared. It is the duty of Government to adopt preventive measures at the earliest moment and to set its legal machinery into motion, otherwise the least negligence will spread ruin in the country and India will be doomed. Those leaders also who have the good of the country at heart should turn their attention this way. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* writes:—The Arya Samajists may call the *Satyartha Prakash* their religious or revealed scripture, but so long as such literature is not suppressed it is difficult to improve the existing atmosphere in India. After Swami Dayanand's death there were interpolations in the book attacking Islam, Sikhism and Christianity and their harsh language was attributed to Dayanandji. A book to which offensive matter is added after the author's death, while the interpolator's identity is kept concealed, deserves either to be expurgated or to be proscribed. The life history of the Prophet of Islam shows how excellent his attitude was towards other faiths and the Quran nowhere enjoins the killing of unbelievers unless the enemies of the faith launch any attack. It was the moral excellence of Islam that attracted other races and they are living in peace and prosperity in Islamic countries. On the contrary the instructions contained in the *Satyartha Prakash* about treatment of enemies only need to be perused to have their nature laid bare. Neither is *Satyartha Prakash* a work sanctified by centuries nor does its author claim to be an inspired personage. It is a human book and its proscription can establish peace and order in the country.

Attacks on Hindus.

Muslim papers continue to protest against the charge of conspiracy levelled by the Hindu press in connexion with the attacks on Hindus. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* says:—Thousands of Muslims were massacred like goats and sheep in the Katarpur and Shahabad riots but it never occurred to any Muslim to conceive the idea of an organized conspiracy, but since Swami Shraddhanand's murder the Aryas always strike the tune of conspiracy. Whenever any Hindu happens to be injured or killed by a Muslim, Government is asked to unearth it. This outcry has led to an addition to the secret police at Lahore. While at this we must say that all these efforts by the police will prove fruitless and if no conspiracy is traced the entire cost of the police should be realized from the Arya Samaj so that this tune of conspiracy may cease. In another article the same paper writes:—Islam lays down that it is improper and highly sinful to kill people of other races so long as the Imam or the Muslim King does not command. The terrible sentences inflicted on Muslim assailants at Lahore have been viewed by Muslims with wonder and surprise. Some open-hearted leaders of the community have remarked in a suppressed tone that it is a sad mistake to countenance such attacks, Undoubtedly violence is against the teachings of Islam. Muslims should submit with patience to the excesses of the Arya Samaj. But why is no notice taken of this attitude of the Swarajist papers that put a religious complexion even on

assaults actuated by personal enmity? What injustice is this that ever since Swami Shraddhanand's murder Muslims are charged with a deep-laid conspiracy and this chimera is made to worry the police needlessly? If police inquiries fail to find a clue to a conspiracy and the murders are not proved to be due to religious provocation, will the Arya Samaj offer to pay a fine? *Al Khalil* writes:—We have more than once condemned murderous attacks and have said that they were the acts of individuals. We have also warned the Hindus not to attribute them to a widespread conspiracy and thus rouse feelings of vengeance among members of their community and lead to attacks by certain short-sighted and excitable Hindus on Muslims. This has actually happened and besides mass attacks reports are now to hand of individual attacks also. The painful and cowardly murder of M. Alim-ul-lah Khan, station master, took place first and he was killed while he was asleep in his room not with any other instrument but with a gun. This was followed by the murder of a Muslim woman in a train and as her ornaments were not rifled it was surely not the work of a thief. Now comes the news from Bihar of the murder of a famous merchant of the Muzaffarnagar district, Mr. Muhammad Ismail, and here again with a gun. It is noteworthy in connexion with these incidents that fire-arms were invariably used which put a serious complexion on the matter. It appears that these attacks were premeditated and the murderers used firearms to make them effective so that a single attack might prove fatal and the victim might not be able to utter a word. What a display of conspiracy, teaching and premeditation! How cleverly and successfully is the work being done! We appeal to Government to make special efforts to trace and punish the murderers. The police is not taking particular pains in the matter and if even the least negligence is shown there would be a regular campaign of murders throughout the length and breadth of the country and the poor Muslim subjects of His Majesty would be involved in new agonies. Bihar and the United Provinces are the self-same provinces which have witnessed Arrah and Katarpur and Government should not forget this fact.

The United Provinces Legislative Council.

Referring to the disallowance of the adjournment motion of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant in the last meeting of the provincial Council the *Aj* says:—The Governor has the right to deprive the Council of its liberty and the swarajists, too, have the right to leave it. Both the parties exercised their respective rights. But who triumphed? A sub-inspector who instituted a false case of defamation against a patriot is still under the protection of official favour. In order to save time the Governor even insulted the elected representatives of the tax-payers. What can such a Council do to protect the rights of the people? What is the use of entering into such Councils? Is it not more consistent with self-respect not to enter them at all, than leave them for a day on being insulted? The very existence of the Council is futile if it cannot protect the people from the oppression of the police and make it the true custodian of peace. The paper remarks that as the Government commands majority in the local Council the very useful resolution of Mr. Sampurnanand regarding the transferred subjects was rejected. This means, says the paper, that though there are transferred subjects by way of show officials carry things all their own way there too, and that though the Council is responsible for these subjects the bureaucracy will continue to make itself comfortable in them. The *Pratap* says that the proposed legislation in connexion with the sale of Naik girls can do no particular good so long as education is not spread among the Naik community. It might do some good to the Naik girls, but at the same time may react on the girls of other communities who may be sold instead. The intention of the law can, therefore, never be fulfilled so long as it is not amended so as to prevent all girls under eighteen from taking to prostitution.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD:
November 12, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

military preparedness in such unambiguous, clear and explicit language? Is there no law, no statute and no punishment for Mr. Moonje and Mr. Vicharanand? All this teaching is imparted in a manner as if a great war is in sight. "Become warlike. Learn lathi-play. Prepare one crore youths. Muslims do not want unity. Union is unattainable till the removal of untouchability." What is the spirit animating such observations. Are Moonje and others of his ilk really determined to wipe out Muslims and to foment civil war in India? Such are the activities, the ambitions and the extravagance of Hindus but still the blame is laid on the shoulders of Muslims and Lala Lajpat Rai goes about accusing the sons of unitarianism. We boldly proclaim that these are not speeches but an open declaration of war on behalf of the sangathanists. Every word of the above excerpts clearly indicates the aspirations, mischievous ambitions and conspiracies of the Hindus and they seem bent on ruining Muslims. Not only men but even students, youths and women are openly exhorted to be armed and prepared. Will Government let us know what has become of the Indian Penal Code, in what nook has its police hidden its head and what are its officials doing or whether they are still ignorant of these things? If such conditions persist for some time longer and these mischief-making, aggressive and discord-breeding Hindu leaders are not dealt with, then if not to-day surely to-morrow these self-same sangathanists will make rivers of blood flow on every patch of Indian soil. Civil war is bound to ensue and for this the Hindus are most fully prepared. It is the duty of Government to adopt preventive measures at the earliest moment and to set its legal machinery into motion, otherwise the least negligence will spread ruin in the country and India will be doomed. Those leaders also who have the good of the country at heart should turn their attention this way. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* writes:—The Arya Samajists may call the *Satyartha Prakash* their religious or revealed scripture, but so long as such literature is not suppressed it is difficult to improve the existing atmosphere in India. After Swami Dayanand's death there were interpolations in the book attacking Islam, Sikhism and Christianity and their harsh language was attributed to Dayanandji. A book to which offensive matter is added after the author's death, while the interpolator's identity is kept concealed, deserves either to be expurgated or to be proscribed. The life history of the Prophet of Islam shows how excellent his attitude was towards other faiths and the Quran nowhere enjoins the killing of unbelievers unless the enemies of the faith launch any attack. It was the moral excellence of Islam that attracted other races and they are living in peace and prosperity in Islamic countries. On the contrary the instructions contained in the *Satyartha Prakash* about treatment of enemies only need to be perused to have their nature laid bare. Neither is *Satyartha Prakash* a work sanctified by centuries nor does its author claim to be an inspired personage. It is a human book and its proscription can establish peace and order in the country.

Attacks on Hindus.

Muslim papers continue to protest against the charge of conspiracy levelled by the Hindu press in connexion with the attacks on Hindus. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* says:—Thousands of Muslims were massacred like goats and sheep in the Katarpur and Shahabad riots but it never occurred to any Muslim to conceive the idea of an organized conspiracy, but since Swami Shraddhanand's murder the Aryas always strike the tune of conspiracy. Whenever any Hindu happens to be injured or killed by a Muslim, Government is asked to unearth it. This outcry has led to an addition to the secret police at Lahore. While at this we must say that all these efforts by the police will prove fruitless and if no conspiracy is traced the entire cost of the police should be realized from the Arya Samaj so that this tune of conspiracy may cease. In another article the same paper writes:—Islam lays down that it is improper and highly sinful to kill people of other races so long as the Imam or the Muslim King does not command. The terrible sentences inflicted on Muslim assailants at Lahore have been viewed by Muslims with wonder and surprise. Some open-hearted leaders of the community have remarked in a suppressed tone that it is a sad mistake to countenance such attacks, Undoubtedly violence is against the teachings of Islam. Muslims should submit with patience to the excesses of the Arya Samaj. But why is no notice taken of this attitude of the Swarajist papers that put a religious complexion even on

assaults actuated by personal enmity? What injustice is this that ever since Swami Shraddhanand's murder Muslims are charged with a deep-laid conspiracy and this chimera is made to worry the police needlessly? If police inquiries fail to find a clue to a conspiracy and the murders are not proved to be due to religious provocation, will the Arya Samaj offer to pay a fine? *Al Khalil* writes:—We have more than once condemned murderous attacks and have said that they were the acts of individuals. We have also warned the Hindus not to attribute them to a widespread conspiracy and thus rouse feelings of vengeance among members of their community and lead to attacks by certain short-sighted and excitable Hindus on Muslims. This has actually happened and besides mass attacks reports are now to hand of individual attacks also. The painful and cowardly murder of M. Alim-ul-lah Khan, station master, took place first and he was killed while he was asleep in his room not with any other instrument but with a gun. This was followed by the murder of a Muslim woman in a train and as her ornaments were not rifled it was surely not the work of a thief. Now comes the news from Bihar of the murder of a famous merchant of the Muzaffarnagar district, Mr. Muhammad Ismail, and here again with a gun. It is noteworthy in connexion with these incidents that fire-arms were invariably used which put a serious complexion on the matter. It appears that these attacks were premeditated and the murderers used firearms to make them effective so that a single attack might prove fatal and the victim might not be able to utter a word. What a display of conspiracy, teaching and premeditation! How cleverly and successfully is the work being done! We appeal to Government to make special efforts to trace and punish the murderers. The police is not taking particular pains in the matter and if even the least negligence is shown there would be a regular campaign of murders throughout the length and breadth of the country and the poor Muslim subjects of His Majesty would be involved in new agonies. Bihar and the United Provinces are the self-same provinces which have witnessed Arrah and Katarpur and Government should not forget this fact.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 46 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 19, 1927.

Reforms.

The personnel of the Statutory Commission is the chief topic of comment. Hindu papers in general regard the exclusion of Indians as a national insult and advocate a boycott of the Commission. Muslim papers are sharply divided, but most of them are opposed to the proposed boycott and some even approve of the non-inclusion of Indians in view of the communal tension and the "anti-Muslim attitude of Hindu politicians." The *Leader*, which is most assiduous and persistent in the advocacy of boycott, writes:—Stale platitude and sickening cant—that was Mr. Baldwin's lengthy reference to India in his Guildhall speech. The most patient and charitable of men might well turn away with disgust from the amount of unctuous rectitude of which this genius of a Premier right honourably delivered himself. If India wants the introduction of full responsible government in the provinces and of responsibility in the whole sphere of internal civil administration in the Central Government, it is possible, according to no less authoritative an officer than the Prime Minister of Britain, for the Commission and Parliament to bring about a reversion to the ante-Montagu period. And who can say that any day under such a government as now holds sway, the possibility may not become a dread probability? The prospect is dreary, the position is intolerable. In the circumstances the most sensible thing that it is open to Indian patriots to do is to decide to leave this farcical Commission severely alone and to concentrate upon an agitation in the whole country bigger, more determined, more purposeful than any that the British Government have had to confront since 70 years ago India passed under the direct government of the Crown. The paper vehemently criticizes Sir John Simon's letter to the president of the Spen Valley Liberal Association and writes:—Sir John Simon's letter is a most disappointing production and does no credit to his intelligence or knowledge of affairs. He has merely done what Lord Rosebery declined to do—he has burnt a candle in the pale shrine of platitude. He will find, when he comes on his unwelcome mission, that Indians who are of consequence will have nothing to do with his team, will not "co-operate" with it as they cannot in honour do so, will show that they do not trust it and have no use for it. He and his team will find an India sullen and resentful because she has been grossly insulted. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—We welcome this Parliamentary Commission as a boon particularly in view of the fact that it gives us all a violent shake and opens our eyes as to which way lies our national emancipation, and promises to ensure unassailable unity among all political parties. Let India seize this opportunity and give His Majesty's Government a bit of her mind. Nothing can establish more definitely than this Parliamentary Commission that *swaraj* does not lie in the gift of an alien nation but has got to be evolved by India herself. We hope, Indian leaders will come out of their grooves, confer together and frame a programme of national reconstruction to revitalize the country.

The *Aligarh Mail* says:—We have got the Commission that we communal fools and quarrelling lunatics, Hindus and Muslims, deserve. If we were a united people, we could have reasonably claimed seats on the Commission. Now that we are only a congeries of warring communities, we cannot but be tried on the charge that we are unfit for self-government because we are neither homogeneous nor possess a democratic sense in our behaviour with each other. The British Government is holding our trial. We must stand in the dock and as communalist criminals give our evidence before the judges of the Commission.

The *Aj* writes :—The insult offered to India in the appointment of an exclusively British Commission makes our blood boil and lacerates our heart. The arguments advanced by the Viceroy for the exclusion of Indians do not make him out to be an ingenuous and pious man as he was reported to be. The authorities have only the right of force in imposing such a commission on the country. Indians must boycott the Commission inasmuch as the right of self-determination has been denied to them. The spirit exhibited by prominent Liberal leaders in this connexion is highly welcome. Inscrutable are the ways of God. Those who were not induced to espouse non-cooperation even by the fearful Jallianwala Bagh tragedy have been converted into non-cooperators because of the failure of Government to include one or two Indians in the Commission. God has again given us an opportunity for unity and for the service of the country with renewed enthusiasm. An all-party Congress should submit its scheme of *swaraj* to the Commission declaring that nothing less than that scheme would satisfy Indians and that they would use every legitimate and peaceful means to get it accepted. The *Anand* remarks :—By excluding Indians from the Commission the British Government has thrown out a challenge to the whole of India, insulted Indian nationalism and demonstrated its disregard for Indian public opinion. It is surprising that Lord Irwin who should have fought to the finish the Indian cause is sprinking salt over the wound by singing to the tune of the British Government. There can be only one self-respecting answer to the challenge thrown out by the Conservative Government and that is "boycott of the Commission." The *Sainik* says :—We belong to that school of political thought which would have nothing to do with the Commission even if all its members, including the chairman, were Indians, because we do not consider ourselves to be so degraded as to submit to a test of our capacity by a foreign agency. We are not prepared to leave the arbitration of our destinies in the hands of British Parliament. *Swaraj* is our birthright and the question of our fitness or unfitness does not arise at all. We are not prepared to submit to a test of our capability but if it is necessary to hold a test let there be a test of both British officials and Indians by an impartial commission composed of members of the Chinese nationalist party and of the Soviet Government. If the British Government cannot accept such a Commission then we too cannot agree to the client being the judge. The *Pratap* is doubtful regarding the success of the proposal for the boycott of the Commission and says :—We are inclined to think that this talk of boycott will disappear if a couple of Indians are included in the Commission. We are not prepared to concede that any public good will accrue from the inclusion of a few Indians. We hold India and not the British Parliament or the Statutory Commission to be the arbiter of the destinies of the Indian nation. The *Abhyudaya* writes :—By excluding Indians from the Commission the British Cabinet has grossly insulted us and if Indians have any sense of dignity and self-respect they should boycott the Commission just as the Milner Commission was boycotted by the Egyptians. If we have any manliness in us we should not submit to this national insult. If Congressmen have any wisdom left in them and if they understand politics they can bring all the political parties into their own fold and can re-infuse life into every province, district, city and town. The *Shakti* observes:—Indians should boycott this Commission even as the wily Conservative Government has excluded them from it. It is high time that Indians should carry on a vigorous agitation after the manner of the Irish and the Egyptians. The *Hitaishi* remarks :—If Indians have an iota of self-respect in them they will blacken the face of this Commission and show to the arrogant Imperialists that the blood of the brave Aryans still courses in their veins and that they will never submit to the insult hurled at them. The *Medina* says that the Viceroy's appeal in connexion with the Commission contains enough material not only to foment inter-communal but also inter-caste animosity. The first resolution of the coming Congress should be to enlist one lakh of volunteers and collect ten lakhs of rupees to make the boycott of this useless Commission a success. The *Hamdam* says that none but Anglo Indians and a few full-blooded *ji huzoors* can welcome the Commission or expect any good to India from it. Nothing better could be expected from the party in power in England at present or from the Government of India which has always been to the fore in taking advantage of communal and political dissensions to disregard public opinion. If shameless Indians take lesson even now and sink their differences this Commission will prove a blessing in disguise. It should be noted that simply commissions can never advance a nation and its progress depends solely on its determination and sacrifice.

A united front is now needed and it is absolutely necessary that the leaders should bring their heads together and decide upon a common course. We welcome Mr. Jinnah's proposed conference and if it materializes and the Moderates and Liberals remain faithful in this war till the end and do not, according to their party traditions, retrace their steps a welcome change in the present decision can be confidently expected. In a subsequent issue the paper publishes a letter from Sheikh Qudrat Ullah, a worker among the depressed classes, in which the writer says that it is absurd to talk of the boycott of the Commission. Those advocating a boycott are ignorant of the real public feeling. At least 20 crores of the Indian population would accord an enthusiastic welcome to the Commission, and arrangements are also being made for presenting several addresses. In view of the present situation in the country it was quite just not to include Indians in the Commission. Seven crores of the depressed classes and at least five crores of Muslims are sure to join in welcoming the Commission. The *Haqiqat* writes:—A purely Parliamentary Commission and that also with a Conservative majority can in no way satisfy Indians with its inquiry as it can hardly appreciate Indian national sentiments and aspirations regarding freedom. The association of committees of Indian members of the various legislatures will in no way alter the real nature of the Commission and Indians cannot be expected to accord it even a half-hearted welcome. No self-respecting party in India can tolerate this insult. In a subsequent issue, however, the paper advises Muslims to await developments before committing themselves to any opinion regarding the Commission and says:—It will be time enough for them to act when the Hindus have decided upon their course of action. In view of the Viceroy's appeal for cooperation Muslims should not take any hasty steps until opinion has crystallised among all parties. May be the Hindu sabhaites and cooperators may hold aloof from Mr. Jinnah's conference and pursue a separate course though the supreme need of the moment is a solid front. Anyway a considerable group among Muslims is in view of happenings during the last few years disinclined to welcome a further instalment of reforms. The display of sangathanist spirit by the Hindus has made this party very diffident and there is very little feeling among Muslims against the Commission. The *Haq* remarks that although the personnel of the Commission may be regarded as disappointing, yet in view of the existing state of the country this could not be helped. The British Parliament had no other alternative. Even if some Indians had been included the prospects of the success of the Commission in the present state of communalism, would not have been improved and the differences must have remained the same. Not the British Parliament but the present condition of the country is responsible for its constitution and therefore instead of blaming Parliament we must blame ourselves. There is still time for us to improve the situation and to take all possible advantage of the Commission lest its recommendations should be all the more disappointing for us. The *Punch Raj* heartily welcomes the Commission and says that the so-called leaders advocate its boycott only in order to get a fresh opportunity, after the failure of non-cooperation, to mislead the country and to stir up an agitation. Who can say that an Indian would have served on the Commission with an unbiassed mind and satisfied all sections in his country? It would be disastrous to Indians to fall into the snares of a few Labour M.P's and to boycott the Commission. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that the attitude of the Hindus towards Muslims after the failure of non-cooperation needs no comment. The Hindu leaders did not confine their anti-Muslim activities to economic and political matters alone but some of them went even so far as to proceed to England to prejudice Parliament and high officials against Muslims. The chief object of their propaganda in England was to get Pandit Malaviya and Messrs. Lajpat Rai and Moti Lal included in the Commission. It was quite possible that along with these Hindu leaders a Muslim also may have been appointed on the Commission but it is equally clear that with such a personnel the Muslim member would have been absolutely helpless and the Hindus would have done what they liked. The British Government has shown great foresight in excluding Indians from the Commission and as a matter of fact it is in the best interests of Muslims. All the Muslim leaders should hold a joint conference and should come to a definite decision at once. It would be extremely injurious to Muslims to boycott the Commission.

The Aryan Congress.

Hindu papers generally seek to justify the resolutions passed by the Aryan Congress. A number of Muslim papers regard the resolutions as a declaration of war on their community. The *Vartman* warmly commends the action of the Aryan Congress in

passing the resolution regarding the adoption of civil disobedience and makes an impassioned appeal to young men to enlist as volunteers. It says :—The need for such a resolution is imperative at a time when no value is attached to the rights of Hindus and when any one can twist their necks. The Aryan Congress has sounded the bugle of war. Those who feel for the community, those who are mad for dying for their religion, those who are pained at the fall of the entire Hindu community should come forward. The *Swadesh* writes :—The resolutions passed by the Aryan Congress give evidence of the spiritedness of the Arya Samaj. The *satyagrah* resolution which betokens its irrepressible enthusiasm and unflinching determination is specially commendable. It will be a proud day for the country when, weighing our strength fully and standing on our own legs, we shall be able to assert our rights. The *Hitaishi* approves of the *satyagrah* resolution and says that it is not only the duty of the Arya Samaj but also of the entire Hindu community to act on this resolution and make it a success. The *Haqiqat* says that while the resentment of Aryas at the murder of their co-religionists is quite natural the provocative resolutions passed at the Aryan Congress to stop it will only accentuate the prevailing tension and might lead to retaliatory murder of Muslim leaders by fanatical Hindus. The bigoted Arya leaders have spat such fire in the Congress that its flames already threaten to destroy the peace of Delhi. The Aryan hotspurs might resort only to peaceful passive resistance or like the Bengalis might throw bombs at the officials but so far as the Hindu-Muslim quarrel is concerned we must say plainly that they cannot intimidate Muslims by such warlike demonstrations just in the same way as no sensible Muslim can hope to subdue the Hindu community by killing Arya leaders. The *Medina* writes :—This Congress was an ebullition of the Arya Samajist cauldron which had been simmering for such a long time and was a reflection of the mentality which by its mischievousness has turned into hell the heavenly country of India. The sentiments of hostility to Islam and Muslims have burst out, the veils of hypocrisy and animosity have been lifted and the secret intentions of the Hindu community have been revealed. The resolution on the enlistment of volunteers was like a declaration of war on the Muslims and we want to know what the line of action of the Muslim leaders will now be? *Al Khalil* says that the Aryan Congress left no stone unturned to stir up hatred against the Muslims and Government. Messrs. Malaviya, Moonje and Lajpat Rai will surely bring about a civil war in India one day. They are friends neither of the country nor of Government. They are obsessed only by solicitude for their leadership and for Hindu *raj*. The Congress wants *swaraj* and the Maha Sabha Hindu *raj*. The *Rahnuma* says that the proposals for the arrest of Muslim *ulema* and the proscription of the tenth chapter of the *Quran* were most provocative. So long as this mentality persists among sangathanists riots would not cease. The *Sarfaraz* holds that the resolutions passed by the Congress will further vitiate the communal atmosphere in India. Pointed references to the Malabar and Multan incidents, the demand for the arrest of Muslim *ulema* and the proscription of the *Quran* and threats to take the law into their own hands can only lead to strife and discord.

The Garhmukteshwar riot.

Muslim papers bitterly complain of "atrocities and barbarities" perpetrated by Hindus at Garhmukteshwar. The *Anand* attributes the riot to the indignation roused among the Hindus by the action of the Muslims in making indecent gestures to Hindu women and insulting them by indulging in naked dance and says that foreigners should be banned from joining such Hindu bathing fairs in which women predominate and the practice of staring at women and making indecent gestures towards them should be stopped forthwith. It regrets that the laxity of the officials encourages the *goondas* to indulge in such practices and expresses the hope that the Garhmukteshwar incident will make the Government officials more alert in the discharge of their duties. *Al Khalil*, which has written five strong articles on the subject, says :—What a horrible demonstration of tyranny and barbarity it was that even the presence of the Governor and the district officers produced no effect on it. Should we now take it that all relations between the Government and the governed have ceased to exist, and that the British Government has been humiliated before the might of *sangathan*? Would the authorities still hesitate to regard this sort of high-handedness and criminal audacity as an insult to Government? Would the authorities even in the light of these incidents still fail to realize the danger with which they are faced? The sangathanist teachings and the exhortations of the sangathanist leaders have so emboldened the Hindus that now they do not care a straw for the

Government. We hold that the occurrence of such an incident in the presence of the Governor is an open insult to Government. We now only wait to see what measures are being adopted after the Governor has himself witnessed an exhibition of the Hindu mentality. Would he still lend his ears to the whispers of Hindu officials? Would he still believe in the false stories of the high-handedness of Muslims and the helplessness of the Hindus? We warn the Government that it is now high time for it to open its eyes lest this fire should some day reduce the Government House itself to ashes along with the Muslims. The paper also gives a lengthy list of the losses which the local shop-keepers have suffered and request Government to collect such information about outsiders by means of a notification. The same paper publishes a telegram from the Joint Secretary, Muslim League, Moradabad, saying that the Muslim victims of the Garhmukteshwar fair who have reached Moradabad give a very sad account of the barbarities to which they were subjected by the sangathanists. They say that there was free and unrestricted looting. The Arya Samajists and Seva Samiti volunteers encouraged the Hindus to attack Muslim shopkeepers. They have given the names of several Hindu wrestlers who took active part in the disturbance and also complain against certain police officials who refused to take down the reports made by the victims. The *Hamdam* repeats the Muslim version of the origin and course of the riot and says:—Lakhs of Hindus showed their valour and *goondaism* because they found the Muslim traders in a minority. The fact that Hindi handbills were distributed to incite the concourse shows that the trouble was fomented by Hindu stalwarts from outside who had come prepared to take advantage of the small numbers of the Muslim shop-keepers. It has now really become a commonplace of sangathanist propaganda to promote ill-will and hatred by investing tales of insults to Hindu women. Government should take effective measures and compensate the Muslim traders for their losses. Deploring the repeated Hindu-Muslim conflicts the *Haqiqat* writes:—A pandit had once predicted that soon there would be another Mahabharat (great war) in India and Muslims would have to leave the country. If all this is really the effect of this prophecy Muslims should be prepared to abandon India and to hand over Aryavart to their compatriots. The *Najat*, *Rahnuma* and *Haq* also bitterly complain of Hindu atrocities.

The Delhi riot.

Hindu papers call attention to the "Muslim mentality as displayed by wide sympathy with Abdul Rashid" culminating in the riot at Delhi and strongly criticize the local authorities for not taking adequate measures to safeguard the lives and property of innocent citizens and promptly to deal with any emergency that might arise. The *Leader* writes:—That such widespread sympathy should have been shown for one who had paid the extreme penalty of the law for a dastardly and cold-blooded murder of an old and highly respected leader who was lying on his sick-bed was bad enough. But that it should have taken the form of an anti-Hindu outbreak must give rise to feelings and suggest questions which cannot conduce to communal good-will. The *Aj* remarks that the riot is an ordinary sample of the deplorable straits to which even the Government can be reduced by religious fanaticism getting out of control and an illustration of the dictum that the mob which is accustomed to take the law into its hands does not rest content with perpetrating atrocities on the followers of other creeds but will surely one day defy constituted authority as well. If this should not open the eyes of the authorities and if they should not resolutely determine to put down such lawless people it cannot but have undesirable consequences not only for non-Muslims but also for the Government. This is but the logical conclusion of the policy of placing restrictions on the observance of the religious and social functions of the peaceful for fear of violence on the part of the lawless. The *Vartman* says:—By trying their utmost to save Abdul Rashid a very large section of the Muslims of India has evinced its bigotry and meanness. The Government should understand the mentality of Muslims in the light of the latest Delhi incident and change its attitude for its present policy is slowly kindling among the Hindus a fire of hatred against it. No one can say when this fire may burst into flames. It should, therefore, take timely measures to extinguish the fire.

Political propaganda.

The *Hindu Mitra* writes:—The constant reiteration of the view that *swaraj* cannot be attained without Hindu-Muslim unity tends only to perpetuate our slave mentality. The very idea that 22 crores of Hindus should remain drowned in subjection because of the unwillingness of a few crores of Muslims to co-operate with

them is simply terrible. Every country had to fight against the traitors among its own people before it could become free. Ireland would never have won her freedom had she not fought against Ulster. The *Swadesh* publishes an article by a writer who signs himself as *Rakt-ranjit* (blood-stained). It describes how the tutelary deity of the Chittor House, Goddess Mahakali, appeared in a vision before Rana Lakhan Singh when he was hard pressed by the invading forces of Sultan Ala-ud-din and told him that she was hungry and that her appetite for blood could be satiated only by the sacrifice of himself and ten of his eleven sons. Proceeding the writer says:—A similar situation has arisen to-day in a new form. The mother standing before the youths of India declares: "I am hungry" O Indian youths, the mother in her terrible form demands offerings in the shape of the self-immolation of ardent, generous, valiant and self-reliant heroes. She demands the oblation of the blood of her devoted votaries. She demands the heads of learned, powerful and selfless workers. She demands the skeletons of youthful ascetics freed from the bonds of love and hatred, fear and worldly attachments. Are the readers sincerely prepared to offer such a sacrifice?

Muslim affairs.

The *Haqiqat* says that the Finance Member's reply to Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan in the local Legislative Council about his ignorance of the existence of any unrest among Lucknow Muslims about the *milad* at Aminabad Park shows that Government is either totally indifferent towards the sentiments of its subjects or becomes attentive only when agitation reaches troublesome limits. Lucknow Muslims are grossly dissatisfied with the action of the sangathanist Hindu majority in the board which has forbidden *milad* which has been peacefully held for the last so many years. The *Hamdam* says that Muslims are prepared to explore every avenue of constitutional agitation until the Aminabad Park *milad* wrong is righted. Hindus have got a *mandir* and a *shivala* in the park though in the settlement map and *khasra* of 1908 when this land was acquired there is no mention of a temple. It is said that the foundation of a temple was laid at night at the place where the clock tower now stands and under a compromise the site was transferred to its present venue. It thus appears that the Hindus have no right to the land over which the temple is built. On the other hand the Muslims have been offering their prayers on the ground long before the park was laid out. *Milad* was regularly permitted in the park, the need for applying for permission arising only because a *shamiana* had to be pitched. Who can say now that the Muslims are unjustified in their expression of dissatisfaction and that they are not being treated most intolerantly?

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Aligarh Mail* strongly protests against the "forcible *shuddhi*" of *Gaddis* in the Tamkohi State, Gorakhpur district, and regards it as a wicked machination to create bad blood between the two great communities of the land. It adds:—When Muslims are being bullied by *shuddhists* the *toblighists* must muster strong and flood Tamkohi with their preachings on Islam so that the conversion of *Gaddis* to Hinduism may prove a hard job for the mischievous *shuddhists*.

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ALLAHABAD:
November 19, 1927.

21 DEC 1927

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 47 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 26, 1927.

Reforms.

HINDU papers continue to protest vehemently against the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission and generally advocate a complete boycott. Muslim Press opinion is now crystallizing predominantly in favour of the Commission, and some of the papers which in the beginning supported boycott are now emphasizing the need for caution. They recall the "anti-Muslim attitude of Hindu politicians, especially *sangathanists*," and many of them welcome the exclusion of Indians. They argue that had Indians been included most of them would have been Hindus who would have done their best to prejudice the European members against Muslims, especially with regard to their demand for the retention of separate electorates. The *Leader*, which is advocating the boycott of the Commission in almost every issue, writes:—The opportunity offered by the supreme unwisdom of Mr. Baldwin's Government ought not to be missed. Let us bury our dissensions and try to banish the spirit of strife based on distrust and strive in a spirit of broad-minded and tolerant nationalism to put our house in order and to formulate a united national demand. The boycott of the Commission is a negative act. It should be followed by a constructive effort. Supporting the proposal for the boycott of the Commission the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—The tactics employed by British imperial propagandists to create a division in our ranks with a view to popularize the Simon Commission and ensure some support for it are so subtle that we must guard against all possibility of a split. Faint-hearted folk and waverers, whose number we are glad is negligible, should not at this psychological moment commit the mistake of falling a victim to the unscrupulous attempts of the Conservative reactionaries and their allies. The country has finally decided to boycott the Commission, and it is to be hoped no Indian will go back upon that decision. The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—We are again face to face with the grave danger of our sentiments being played upon by astute Hindu diplomats, who have always, though cleverly enough not avowedly, placed the interests of their community before those of the country and other communities. Appeals for boycotting the Commission will be made to us in the name of the Motherland though for the benefit of the appellants. We maintain that communal representation through communal electorates is the jugular vein of the body-politic of Muslims. Had Indians been included in the Commission the Hindus would have carried their machinations to cut that vein to the very sanctum of the Commission. Those machinations are now impossible. The Commission is an impartial tribunal to judge and decide the case. We regard the Commission to be an Allah-send to Muslims. If they fight out their case ably they are sure to win it. Our considered advice to them, therefore, is:—Don't boycott the Commission.

The *Pratap* remarks:—The Commission has proved a blessing, inasmuch as it has brought on one common platform Moderates like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Chintamani, and Dr. Annie Besant on the one hand, and staunch non-cooperators like Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Babu Bhagwan Das, and Dr. Ansari on the other. There is a consensus of opinion in favour of the boycott of the Commission, and, if the boycott movement is inaugurated, the Statutory Commission is doomed to meet the same miserable fate as had befallen the Milner Commission in Egypt and the Prince of Wales' visit during non-cooperation days. If the

opposition gains strength there is little doubt that the British Government, as is its wont, will retrace its steps and make certain concessions to placate Indian opinion. The *Aj* endorses Pandit Motilal Nehru's views regarding the Royal Commission and says that the best interests of the country will be served if the Commission does not include any Indian members and Indians themselves determine the form of the future constitution of their country independently. They have to perform a two-fold duty: the one being to formulate their scheme of national constitution and strive whole-heartedly to attain it, and the other to paralyze the existing irresponsible Government by means of non-violent but steadfast non-cooperation. The *Anand* says that it is the duty of the Muslims to be guided by the wholesome advice of their leaders like Sir Ali Imam, Sir Abdur Rahim, Maulana Muhammad Ali, and Mr. Jinnah and to boycott the Statutory Commission so that the world may know that the Indian people are united in their protest against the affront offered to them. The British Government has stepped forward to crush Indian nationalism and is resorting to a new manœuvre to perpetuate India's slavery. Those who are talking of co-operating with the Commission are taking a suicidal step and are murdering the interests of the country. The *Swadesh* writes:—The appointment of the Royal Commission has to-day opened the eyes of even those who expected a white heart within the white form of the white bureacracy. The Viceroy has tried hard to justify the non-inclusion of Indians therein, but these hypocritical sentiments can no longer deceive Indians and only offer a most grievous insult to their self-respect. The best reply to this insult will be for Indians to boycott the Commission and publish their own scheme of a national constitution. In case it is rejected an agitation should be set on foot throughout the country. This opportunity of putting out communalism by the spirit of national awakening should by no means be allowed to slip by. The *Shakti* recalls the attitude of Egyptians towards the Milner Commission and says:—We should adopt measures accelerating the severance of relations between India and Britain. The good of India consists in such a course of action. If the white diplomats of Britain want to live in India they should live as servants, but if they are fond of ruling us they should go back to their homes bag and baggage. Let us follow the policy of "Tit for tat." The *Hindu Mitra* denounces the personnel of the Commission and says that Mahatma Gandhi alone can return an effective answer to the challenge thrown out by the British Government. It is high time that the non-cooperation movement was revived and Mahatma Gandhi urged to take up the leadership. The *Samaya* remarks:—The unanimity among Indian leaders over the question of the boycott of the Commission facilitates the inauguration of a mass movement aimed not only at an effective boycott of the Commission, but also at compelling the Government to concede the national demands. The *Abhyudaya* warns the Hindus against the advice of Raja Narendra Nath that they should co-operate with the Statutory Commission in provinces where they are in a minority, and says that the interests of the country demand that the Commission should be boycotted notwithstanding Muslim co-operation with it. It adds: We would emphatically urge a boycott of the Commission even if Muslims by their co-operation with it were to gain advantages over the Hindus because we would bid good-bye even to a world-wide Empire if it were to be had by submitting to national insults and indignities. We can tolerate the existing state of affairs for some time more, but we cannot recognize others as the arbiters of our destinies. The *Vartman* regards the opponents of the proposal for the boycott of the Commission as traitors to their country and warns them of the fate that has befallen such men in all ages and countries. The *Desh Bhagat* regards the Commission as merely a device to fulfil statutory obligations and to hoodwink the world and says:—Lord Irwin's reference to communal tension shows that these internal troubles were fomented as a political set-off to smooth the path of the Commission. Any co-operation on the part of Indians with such a camouflaged Commission will only enable the ruling class to plant on an unsuspecting world the fiction that its recommendations were in consonance with Indian opinion. Indians should get to work by effecting a complete boycott of the Commission and by pushing forward the constructive programme. It is only when the constructive programme is completed that Englishmen will realize the strength of India, and they will then of their own accord extend the hand of peace just as they had done in China.

The *Hamdam* hopes that the Madras Congress will ratify the Calcutta decisions and restore harmony between the two communities and thus enable them to present a united front against the Commission. If the Madras Congress fails in

this the Muslim minority will have to reconsider its position in regard to the question of boycott. The position of Muslims is very delicate. They are in a minority and therefore they should act with care and caution. They should await the decision of their political bodies and should abide by it. In a subsequent article the paper says that in thrusting an unpopular Commission on Indians Government has only committed another blunder of the magnitude of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre for which it shall have to face difficulties similar to those of the days of non-cooperation. As a result of *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements nationalism has almost died in India. Now the Commission will awaken Indians, and a new era of national life will be inaugurated. Mr. Masudul Hasan, Bar-at-law, ex-member of the local Legislative Council, contributes a lengthy article to the paper in which he says that the boycott of the Commission will not be a wise step in any respect. There will never be a complete boycott, and a partial boycott will only lower their position in the eyes of the British nation. The *Haqiqat* publishes an article by Qazi Maqbul Husain in which he sees no good in the inclusion of representatives of divergent Indian races, creeds, and parties in the Commission and regrets that some self-styled Muslim leaders have tried to play a second fiddle to the Hindu intelligentsia. The Muslim Congressmen are the despair of their community as they have always wrecked its interests by their ignorance and selfishness. Government is to blame for lending its ears to their counsels. We on our part have faith in the members of the Commission and would rather entrust our cause into their hands than to our leaders. Referring to the proposed boycott of the Commission the *Medina* writes :—After suppressing the non-cooperation movement, aggravating the Hindu-Muslim tension and crushing the Swarajists, the Liberals and the Moderates have no right to object to the personnel and scope of the Commission. All this has been brought about by them. In our opinion if they let the matter stand, as it is, bring about some compromise between Hindus and Muslims and start non-cooperation, and the whole of India combines in inaugurating a revolutionary movement, this Commission will be withdrawn to-morrow, and Mr. Baldwin will come down to India personally and take part in a round-table conference. The talk of boycott is childish. *Al Khalil* says :—It is desirable that Muslim leaders and organizations should avoid expressing any opinion about the Commission in their individual capacity. We have had enough experience of the attitude of the *sanagathanist* leaders, and, in view of their attitude, Hindu-Muslim unity is an impossibility now. Sinking their personal differences the Muslim leaders should meet together to come to a united and considered decision about the Commission. The *Najat* writes :—Whatever is being said and done about the Commission at present is only tentative. For the present God has inflicted His curse on India in the shape of Messrs. Malaviya, Moonje and Lajpat Rai, and so we should wait till this curse of God is revoked, and then, by reviving our old efforts, we would render Government helpless and then, of course, it will not be necessary for us to demand anything of Government. The *Aziz-i-Hind* writes :—The British Government is to be congratulated on the exclusion of Indians from the Commission. We are having an experience of the first instalment of the Reforms and we see how the Hindu majority is trampling upon the rights of the Muslims. In view of the present condition of the country the question of a further instalment is really premature. The masses which have suffered under the Reforms earnestly wish that no further instalment may be given. In a subsequent article the paper earnestly requests Indians to take advantage of the opportunity and to represent the true state of affairs before the Commission. It advises Muslims to keep themselves aloof from the foolish movement for the boycott of the Commission because it would be suicidal to them. The paper expects that if the Government remains firm those very leaders who are preaching a boycott will one day bow their heads before the Commission. Under the head-line "The Tactics of Our Countrymen" the *Mashriq* publishes a lengthy article by Syed Fazl-ur Rahman Ahmadi, who says that Muslims should give up the idea of *swaroj* as it savours of heresy. *Swaraj* is not likely to lead to the progress of Indian Muslims. *Swaraj* may mean anything to other communities of India, but it means nothing but an insult and disgrace to Muslims. Muslims should not alienate themselves from the English because they are the people of the Book, are in power, and are ready to grant to Muslims their political rights. The idea of *swaraj* should be abandoned for good as it would sound the death-knell of Muslim nationality in India.

The Aryan Congress.

Muslim feeling against the resolutions of the Aryan Congress remains unabated. The *Medina* writes :—The session of the Aryan Congress was, on the whole, strongly directed

against that civilization of Turkey and Arabia which for one thousand years continually enriched the semi-barbarous, semi-nude, and illiterate people of India with culture and made them men, but benefiting by the vicissitudes of fortune this ungrateful and thankless nation, although it makes a show of Western culture, lays the foundation of hostility against the best civilization of the East and starts a cultural war against Indian Muslims. There was no speaker who did not mention the name of Muslims ten times and prove that the Arya Samajists and their victims, the Malaviyites, had no enemy to face except the Muslims. Now we want to ask Indian Muslims how long are they going to thirst for peace and unity, how long will they loll in lethargy, how long will they remain divided, and when will their time for action come? Is not this flood of paganism and heresy which is sweeping the soil of unfortunate India, this storm of opposition and this tempest of enmity and hate which is raging over the country sufficient to arouse our forces of resistance? Are we going to witness it as passive spectators and put up with these tribulations like dying men? Brethren, how should we meet this declaration of war, how should we combat this growing animosity of the *jati* (lit. community; here refers to Hindus, especially Arya Samajists)? They do not want peace or unity. They do not care for co-operation. They are indifferent to India's freedom, they hate *swaraj*, and are inimical to the peace of the country. But for a few Congressmen and patriots who is there in the *jati* whose arrows of hate and enmity are not directed against the Muslims? The only means to combat this is for the Muslims to sink their differences and convene a conference for chalking out a common programme. The *Najat* says that the Aryan Congress concentrated itself on devising means to injure Muslims. It would have been better if the Congress had made a general declaration of war against Muslims and thus roused them from their lethargy. Muslims should instead of adopting counter-measures against the Aryas confine themselves to constructive work. When they become self-contained they can meet any power. Writing in a similar strain *Al Khalil* says:—If Government and the leaders of the country are not awakened even now the situation will take a serious turn and every inch of the land will be enveloped by the flames of civil war. The *Hind-i-Jadid* says that the history of India cannot furnish another parallel to the poisonous speeches delivered and provocative resolutions passed against Muslims at the Arya Congress. The *Krishna* welcomes the formation of a council of war by the Aryas in connexion with the order of the District Magistrate of Delhi cancelling their procession and says that the operations of this war council should extend to other cities where the authorities disregard the Queen's Proclamation about religious freedom. This war council should not confine itself to the issue of directions about civil disobedience but should also organize an army of Aryas under its ægis in which every Arya between the ages of 18 and 25 should be compelled to enlist and learn military drill. There should be an *Akhara* attached to every Arya Samaj, and every effort should be made to improve the physical condition and to develop the strength of Aryas. Then, and then alone, can the Aryan Congress be said to be successful.

The Garhmukteshwar riot.

Muslim papers continue to call attention in impassioned language to the atrocities and babarities "perpetrated" by Hindus at Garhmukteshwar. The *Pratap* condemns the action of the Hindus of Garmukteshwar in perpetrating excesses upon the Muslims and says that these excesses have been more than outweighed by those committed by the Muslims on the Hindus at Delhi. At both the places the authorities made no satisfactory arrangements. It is significant that simultaneously with the plundering of shops in one quarter of the Garmukteshwar fair His Excellency Sir William Marris was proceeding on an elephant in the other quarter. What a nice management on which His Excellency as well as the police deserve to be congratulated! The *Medina* says that a perusal of the account of the cowardice and tyranny evinced by the Hindus at Garhmukteshwar shows that this community has at once started acting on the advice given to it by the Aryan Congress. The attack of a mob of five or six lakhs on one thousand or twelve hundred helpless Muslims is the meanest act in human history and a matter of shame for the Hindu community. By creating this disturbance the cunning Hindu community has secured a great economic advantage, inasmuch as it has purged the *mêla* of Muslim shop-keepers. The Government and its police have also given evidence of their shameless want of foresight in the matter. On the one hand, the advent of the Commission has been announced; while on the other, the Government has become bankrupt in administrative efficiency. The *Najat*

says that the accounts of the Garhmukteshwar disturbance appearing in the Press clearly indicate that *sangathanists* are now determined to extirpate Muslims from India by force and in the pride of their power they despise even the Government. It is now an open secret that for the present there is no protection for the life and property of Muslims in India. If the Government is unmindful of its authority and prestige at least the Muslims would never bear to lose their honour and self-respect. It is simply impossible for Muslims to suffer the *sangathanists'* atrocities and to remain quiet. The last resort of subjects in every country are courts; but here in India they are the place where the glory of *sangathan* is seen most. There was an organized Hindu conspiracy behind the *loot* and rapine which was a challenge to Government also. It is the herald of anarchy and lawlessness in the country. Wisdom demands that the trouble should be nipped in the bud. The *Haq* writes :—The blood-curdling reports of Muslim losses expose the bandit mentality of the attackers. The negligence of the police and its failure to gain control over the trouble are still more surprising. We appeal to the United Provinces Government to appoint an impartial official commission to inquire into this deplorable disturbance and then to compensate the Muslims for their losses and to punish the responsible mischief-making class adequately.

The Delhi riot.

Referring to the disturbance at Delhi that followed the execution of Abdul Rashid the *Abhyudaya* remarks:—That the dead body of Abdul Rashid was taken in procession round the city, despite the definite orders of the authorities to the contrary, shows what degradation has overtaken the Government officials. The congretation of 50,000 Muslims behind the jail gates proves that at least these Muslims sympathized with Abul Rashid, who in their opinion did not commit any sin. We urge the Hindu Sabha of Delhi and the Aryan League to persuade those who were injured in the Delhi disturbance and their relatives to sue the Secretary of State for India and the authorities concerned for damages and thereby expose the helplessness and the laxity of administration. The *Anand* remarks:—Do not the excesses perpetrated by the Muslims upon the Hindus of Delhi on the occasion of the execution of Abdul Rashid justify the conviction of Hindus that there was a conspiracy behind the murder of Swami Shraddhanand, of which Abdul Rashid was but one member? The fact that the Delhi authorities did not adopt adequate measures to avert the disturbance and acted rather imprudently in removing Abdul Rashid's dead body from the jail when the crowd which had assembled outside the jail gate was determined to take it out in procession makes it clear that the authorities deliberately allowed the Hindus to be beaten and did not protect their lives and property. The demand of the Hindus that the losses suffered by them may be repaired by imposing a tax on the Muslims is very reasonable, and it is the duty of the Delhi authorities to take necessary action. The *Arya Mitra* condemns the action of the Delhi Muslims in taking out Abdul Rashid's dead body in procession and remarks:—Does not the Muslim mentality which delights in honouring assassins inculcate feelings of cruelty into Islam? Will not the honour done to Abdul Rashid encourage others to commit similar crimes in the name of religion? The *Desh Bhagat* says that the authorities knowingly furnish opportunities for rioting and use their police and military after the disturbance has taken place in order to proclaim their neutrality. If the authorities had not hanged Abdul Rashid at Delhi or had not allowed the crowd to proceed from the city towards the jail and had promulgated section 144 from the very beginning and started arrests the riot would never have taken place. But the authorities at Delhi have fallen into the habit of provoking riots and then looking at the fun. They attach no value to Hindu or Muslim lives or property. It would, therefore, be not at all surprising if such incidents occurred every day not only at Delhi, but all over India.

Muslim affairs.

The *Rohilkhand Gazette* writes:—Advocates of Hindu *raj* and supporters of *sangathan* are secretly designing not only to achieve mutual unity, but also to purge all departments of Muslims. In the first place, so far as possible Muslims should be given no posts, and even if they are given any posts they should be temporary. In departments in which Muslims are subordinate to Hindu officers they are harassed and the time is not far off when self-respecting Muslims will prefer to tender their resignations and by this artifice vacancies will be created for Hindus. It is the duty of high European officials to see that Muslims are not

denied their rights in Government departments and to listen patiently to their just grievances.

The *Hamdam* deplores the communal spirit of the Hindu majority in the Lucknow Municipal Board, and urges Government to interfere before the matter takes a more serious turn. The Hindus already possess two temples in the Aminabad Park, but the Muslims are not allowed to hold their *milad* in it. The resolution banning religious gatherings in the Park was passed at a meeting of the board after the Muslim members had walked out as a protest. Really the board has, by its aggressive bigotry, forfeited its right to administer the civic affairs of peoples of various creeds.

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ALLAHABAD:

November 26, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 48 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 3, 1927.

Reforms.

EXCEPT the *Hamdam*, *Medina*, *Najat*, and a few other papers the entire Muslim press is now definitely opposed to the boycott of the Statutory Commission, and even these journals do not propose to join the boycott campaign unless a reasonable compromise regarding Muslim rights is effected. The majority of Urdu papers edited by Hindus is also supporting the Commission. Commenting on the Lords debate on the composition of the Commission the *Leader* writes:—We reject the advice of all the four noble lords—of the "Liberal" Marquis, the Tory Earl, the two-party Viscount, and the Labour Baron. Their advocacy of the Commission —the unsatisfactory and insulting Commission—has left us unmoved. We are unconvinced, unconverted, unrepentant. Our duty is to have nothing to do with this Commission and to agitate strongly for its effective boycott. In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—Almost irreparable will be the actual injury caused by this wholesale national exclusion—this imperial boycott of the King's Indian subjects for whose benefit (indeed, in compliance with whose wishes!) the Commission is alleged to have been constituted. To this is added the intolerable insult of the ill-conceived lay sermons of men who have done India harm but pose as her friends, to the best of men of India to behave like good boys. Our reply is that we think we understand ourselves and our country's needs, we have no use for the gratuitous advice of these noblemen for whose Indian careers we can feel no admiration and in whose pathetic protestations of abounding good-will we cannot possibly place even fractional confidence. Commenting on Lord Birkenhead's speech the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes:—It was an interminable, tortuous and pompous utterance but unconvincing. One is lost in the mazes of it. It was like a labyrinth. It was unimaginative and unsympathetic verbiage. It must fall flat on Nationalist India. The very idea of a Commission coming to report if India is fit for self-government is repulsive. Nationalist India demands self-government as her birth-right. She is of opinion that *swaraj* is essential to the future progress and to her very existence. The cumbrous, pompous, and hollow method Lord Birkenhead suggests for associating Indians with the Commission shows that he is only trifling with the matter. But this clever device cannot deceive the Indian people and their representatives. The very nature of the proposals and the procedure is likely to create suspicion. It appears to be a hoax. It does not appeal to the Indian people and their representatives. India stands for self-determination. India demands a round table conference.

The *Aj* says that the debate in Parliament on the Royal Commission reveals the fact that, so far as India is concerned, the Conservatives and Labour are at one in keeping her down. This also shows that the British are a living nation. Is it not possible that Indians, too, should show similar unity and forget their party differences as they have to face an autocratic foreign Government? It is desirable to counter the contemptible move involving insult to India by the exclusion of Indians from the Commission, but we do not consider it proper to make this the *raison d'être* of our boycott of the Commission. Our reason for such a course of action is more comprehensive, and in one word

consists in the denial of the right of self-determination to us. The opinion of the Commission consisting of exclusively foreign members will not be worth even the paper and ink used in recording it. We are not criminals, and so we refuse to go before the "jury" of Simon Seven. The *Anand* exhorts Indian leaders to follow the example of the Australians in framing a constitution for their country and agitating for its acceptance. In another issue the paper says:—We cannot shut our eyes to the dreary prospect of a section of the Hindus co-operating with the Statutory Commission if the Muslims decide upon giving evidence before it. The wonder is that the Punjab Muslims, who form a majority in their province and have therefore nothing to fear from the Hindus, should have, of all others, set the ball rolling. The contagion is likely to spread to other provinces also. It is the duty of the Hindu and Muslim leaders to go round the country and dissuade their respective communities from cooperating with the Commission, explaining to them the disaster that would otherwise follow. The *Pratap* apprehends that the agitation for the boycott of the Commission may prove ephemeral as the majority of the organizers of the boycott movement are only concerned with the inclusion of Indians on the Commission and may dissociate themselves from the movement if a couple of Indians are included on the Commission. It condemns such a mentality and says that Indians should not recognize the right of Parliament to become the arbiter of their distinies. Let the leaders of different shades of political opinion who have at present joined a common platform draw up a constitution for India and declare that they will not rest on their oars, nor will they allow the rulers to have an easy time unless that constitution which represents the irreducible minimum is granted to India. One Vinay Krishna Parashar, writing to the paper, says:—The slogan of boycott which has been raised is incompatible with the spirit of true self-respect, and the success of the boycott movement is also problematic. A declaration of complete independence outside the British Empire as our goal can be the only effective answer to the obduracy and annoyance of the British Government. The *Hindu Mitra* regrets that Muslim organizations are generally opposed to the boycott of the Commission, and remarks:—Their attitude gives us an insight into the Muslim mentality. The mentality which weighed with Mir Jafar in inviting the British to this country persists even after a lapse of two centuries. During the Bengal partition agitation this mentality manifested itself in a most terrible and mischievous form. Signs are not wanting to show that this time the Hindus will have to carry on the boycott of the Commission single-handed. Hindu-Muslim unity in the present circumstances is an utter impossibility, and Hindus should stand on their own legs as long as the Muslim mentality does not undergo a complete change. The *Abhyudaya* welcomes the proposal to observe a universal *hartal* on the day the Commission lands in India, and suggests that simultaneously with the Commission holding its sitting in a particular city a public meeting should be held to record distrust of the Commission. The *Aftab* attributes the boycott propaganda to disgruntled politicians and says that their eyes will be opened when the Commission gets into direct touch with the man in the street, the peasant, and the worker. It is impossible to find representative Indians owing to the prevailing political and communal factions, and Government is right in deciding to consult the parties concerned instead of those who choose to pose as their advocates. Raja Brij Narain Rai of Padrauna, Gorakhpur, writing in the *Oudh Akhbar* says:—The Commission contains the best brains, and we must expect a generous gesture from it. The Viceroy's sympathy is patent, and we have his assurance that fully representative committees from the various Legislatures will have opportunities of recording their views. Surely no Indian leaders could, with the numerous contending factions in existence in the country claim to be more representative than the elected members of the Legislatures. The Commission should be heartily welcomed and Indian grievances frankly laid before it.

The *Haqiqat* writes:—Owing to the communal tension prevailing in the country, the movement for the boycott of the Commission does not appear to be gaining in strength. We are not opposed to boycott; we also hold that India has been insulted, but at the same time we are certain that Indian nature lacks in that patience and perseverance which is essential to the success of a boycott.

What then is the use of launching an agitation for a boycott and then climbing down and agreeing to co-operate after some minor concessions have been made? Khan Bahadur Nawab Ahmad Husain Khan, O.B.E., Taluqdar of Paryawan (district Partabgarh), writing in the paper, condemns the agitation in favour of the boycott of the Statutory Commission. He supports the exclusion of Indians from the Commission, because he thinks that a mixed Commission would not enjoy the confidence of any community. In conclusion, the Nawab advises his co-religionists to work for the withdrawal of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms which during the last seven years have not in any way benefited the country but have produced never-ending quarrels between Hindus and Muslims and led to frequent riots. The *Hamdam* writes :—We are glad that even some members of that docile body of people, the ministers, are thinking of resigning their offices and joining the boycott. It is, however, extremely painful to note that they were divided on communal lines even when discussing this question at their conference. This makes it clear that political and communal differences should be immediately composed. It is then, and then alone, that a successful boycott can be organized and settled decisions can be upset. In a subsequent issue commenting on Mr. Malaviya's views on the Commission, the paper says:— Unless Pandit Malaviya, in consultation with other leaders, comes to a definite decision his tall talk can do no good. The situation demands that he and his colleagues should broaden their hearts and be more tolerant. They should realize that a joint scheme of constitution is possible only when the Muslim minority is satisfied and a compromise between the two great communities is effected. Otherwise Pandit Malaviya's suggestion for the boycott of British goods and non-payment of taxes is only a mockery of the activities of the patriots. The *Medina* writes :—Those who are opposed to the boycott of the Commission are self-seeking or deluded. First of all, it is necessary for us to understand the mentality of the party which is going to decide the fate of India. This party consists of satanical Conservatives who are in power in Britain and in whose list of capitalistic ambitions the first place is occupied by India, which by reason of her natural wealth and fertility has been the victim of the greed and ambition of various nations, and which even now is not only feeding, to her detriment, six crores of Britishers, but is also making a number of white nations rich. Can the object of this party ever be to free a country on which, it thinks, depends the existence and greatness of its own land? . . . Gold will shower from the ploughs and the horns of the dying oxen of the naked and starving peasants of India and will be spent and legislatures, gifts of reforms, and the rewards of the Statutory Commission will lull 30 crores of people into a sweet sleep. One Dr. Mazhar-ul Haq of Bombay, writing in the paper, takes Maulanas Mukhtar Ahmad and Anis Ahmad severely to task for advising the Muslims to benefit by the Royal Commission and quotes verses from the *Quran* to show that it is against the tenets of Islam to seek the help of anyone except God. He says that Islam openly teaches that Muslims should recognize no government except that of God. Freedom is the birth-right of every Muslim child. To-day this birth-right is being taken away from us by means of the Royal Commission, which is being sent against our will. God says in clear words: "O Muslims, do not make friends with the Jews and Christians. They are friends of one another. He who makes friends with them is surely one of them." The only way now left to sensible Muslims is that side by side with the boycott of the Commission they should also boycott these *maulanas* who, at the instance of their secular gods, are trying to lead us astray from the path laid down by the sacred *Quran*. The *Sada-i-Muslim* says that the treatment which the Muslims have received at the hands of the Hindu majority during the last eight years of Reform needs no comment. In all the elected bodies, whether legislative or local, Muslims could never carry a single resolution in the interest of their community. Leaving the Government grants not a single pie out of the boards' own income is spent on the education of Muslims. The apathy shown by the district boards towards the education of Muslims in rural areas clearly shows that it is now futile to expect anything from the Hindus. It is really for the good of the Muslims that no Indian has been included in the Commission. Any Hindu included in the Commission would have been only a standard-bearer of the Hindu Mahasabha and *sangathan* and would have done the greatest possible harm to Muslims. The Muslims can

have no grievance against the Commission nor should they boycott it. They should formulate their demands and should lay them before the Commission. *Al Barid* writes:—The majority of Hindus will never boycott the Commission, and a few of their leaders who are advocating boycott simply want to befool and ensnare Muslims. The Muslims should co-operate with the Commission and should come to a united decision to this effect at once. The *Rahnuma* observes:—In these days of communalism no Indian on the Commission could ever satisfy both the communities. The capacity which Indians have exhibited in the management of local bodies is very disappointing and disgraceful. The manner in which the majority has been crippling the minority is a good index of its future attitude. The Mahasabha and the Aryan Congress are still busy in fanning the fire of communalism. In these circumstances the Muslims will be well advised not to follow the National Congress blindly. The *Mashriq* finds fault with Government for granting reforms to India, inhabited by so many communities diametrically opposed to each other and having statesmen and leaders like Messrs. Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, Moonje, and Hardayal who cannot understand matters and act with caution. The country is addicted to serfdom and will remain subject for ever. There are Muslims, too, who are not free from blame, but they are the same who have been hankering after friendship with the Hindus for many years in the past. Whatever the decision of the Congress and League may be the Muslim public is for the maintenance and protection of its separate political rights. The best thing would be to allot an equal number of seats to Muslims in every elected body, but in case this is found impossible the Delhi decision of the Congress in regard to Muslim rights should be accepted.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Muslim papers strongly resent the remarks in the Hindu press against Abdul Rashid and say that they are intolerable, especially after his execution. The *Medina* writes:—If in abusing Abdul Rashid the object of Hindu papers is to hurt the feelings of the Muslims we are sorry that they are paving the path for a serious disturbance. The Hindus ought to think that the Muslims also have pens in their hands, tongues in their mouths, and own newspapers. If some Muslim who is unable to control himself retaliates by using the same words about the late Swami Shraddhanand who will be responsible? The Muslims have been listening to all this abuse for full two weeks. See that their cup of forbearance does not overflow. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* complains that the Arya Samaj is broadcasting small tracts in villages in which the heads of Islam have been filthily abused. These doggerels are loudly recited, and it is feared that self-respecting Muslims might not be able to tolerate this insult and the rustics might get enraged and riots might spread to rural areas also. These booklets are named "*Islam ka ticket*," "*Allah Mian ki untni*," "*Asli Quran*," "*Drama Tabligh*", "*Vedic Dharma tapancha*", etc. Government should stop the circulation of such literature. In another article the same paper regrets that present-day education and culture have completely encompassed the ruin of Muslims. Those races which used always to bow their heads before Islam have no respect left for it and make false imputations against its religious heads. Our compatriots have started a vigorous propaganda against us. The *shuddhi* movement is meant to gain political advantage for the Hindus by augmenting their numbers. To achieve this object violent methods are being resorted to in some Hindu states and zamindaris. The *sangathan* movement has made the Hindus fearless of the law. The training in the use of arms is not meant for self-defence, but as has been proved by certain recent riots all this is meant to oppose Muslims, to lower the prestige of Government, and to establish Hindu *raj*. The poison is permeating the body politic everywhere. Muslims are being repeatedly defeated in the councils, and efforts are being made to establish a Hindu majority in the provinces. The lesson of communal and religious partiality is being taught to officers of their community in the law courts. They engage lawyers of their own community to argue their cases in the courts of law. Nay, this principle is kept in view in every department of life. Hindu merchants are advised to rob Muslim customers by charging double prices for their wares. Information is collected as to the number of vacancies in various Government departments and whether the appointing officers are Hindus or Muslims. It is a pity that even in these circumstances certain Muslim

leaders are not giving the right lead to their community. Referring to the failure of the Punjab Government to discover any Muslim conspiracy behind the recent murders of Hindus even after the most diligent efforts the *Hamdam* demands that that Government should now investigate the strong Muslim suspicion that Arya Samajist conspiracy was mainly at the bottom of all the communal disturbances. Even an impartial paper like the *Times of India* had drawn attention to the matter, but no step has been taken in this direction so far. Do not the Garhmukteswar and other riots of a similar nature show that there is some organized conspiracy at their back and that the Arya Samaj, which wants to shift its responsibility to other shoulders, has a considerable hand in it.

The Aryan Congress.

Muslim papers continue to protest vehemently against the resolutions passed by the Aryan Congress, specially that relating to the enlistment of volunteers for civil disobedience. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* writes:—The All-India Aryan Congress has passed resolutions asking for ten thousand volunteers pledged to death, a defence fund of fifty thousand rupees, and *satyagrah* with local option. The real object of the enlistment of this horde of volunteers is to put down the Muslims everywhere and to overwhelm them under Mahasabhiate forces and so to crush and ruin them that they may not be able to progress under British rule. *Satyagrah*, which has been responsible for so much disorder in the past, is to be revived. It is necessary for the defence of the religion of Islam in India that Muslims should not keep Islamic kingdoms ignorant of the designs of the enemies of the faith. Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia, etc., are not meant for this alone that we should sacrifice our lives and property in their difficulties while they should not help us in our sufferings. If owing to the intrigues of these ten thousand volunteers a single riot occurs, and if the existing administration betrays the least trace of pro-Hindu bias, we should take the help of that feeling of brotherhood which is prevailing throughout the world. When the *sangathanists* can enlist ten thousand volunteers there seems no reason why Muslims should not organize the *Ali Ghol*. So, through the kindness of the Arya Samaj, the fires of communalism do not appear to be dying out; rather relations are becoming more and more strained every day. In another article the paper writes:—The neo-Aryans held a conference last week at Delhi. These renegades showed their greed and avarice in their funny speeches. Shanti Swarup said that when they remained steadfastly true to the Arya faith hundreds of Aryas would become prepared to inter-dine and inter-marry with them. This is a popular device to ensnare sensuous people. If the propagation of the Vedic faith depends on inter-dining and inter-marriage (lit. bread and daughter: *roti beti*) it should have nothing to do with spirituality. India is a famine-stricken country. There are thousands of starving people to be found in the streets and these slaves of their stomachs would gladly enter the *samaj* and become prepared to inter-dine. As regards the alliance of daughters (*beti ka beohar*) it is a play-thing for those afflicted by love. Sycophantic rajas used to send their daughters to the harems of Muslim emperors in the past, and now these people sacrifice their hearts and religion for the worship of beauty. They can select ladies of thrilling (lightning) beauty from Samajist seraglios. Again the fountain-head of *niyog* is rippling to slake their thirst. From the speech of Shanti Swarup it appears that the Arya Samaj is a materialistic and political body and bread and daughter are regarded as spiritual attractions.

United Provinces Political Conference.

Hindu papers generally commend Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's address as president of the session of the United Provinces Political Conference held at Aligarh. The *Leader* writes:—The presidential address ably and eloquently expressed the views and feelings of a considerable section of Indian politicians who can now hopefully look forward to another upheavel of popular feeling for which they must feel deeply indebted to the good offices of Lord Birkenhead and other reactionaries whose counsel has prevailed, and which will inspire new life into the movement for *swaraj*. The president dealt with the questions of music before mosques, cow-slaughter, conversions, and *sangathan* and *tanzim* in a commendable spirit which was informed with breadth of outlook and practical commonsense. The *Aj* endorses the views of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant on the question of the boycott of the Royal Commission and says that if the leaders act with wisdom on

this occasion in pursuit of the boycott movement there is every likelihood of those forces being re-awakened which make for the uplift of fallen people. The leaders of all the political parties should meet on the Congress platform to show to the world that Indians with one voice are ready to oppose the national insult offered to them There is no doubt that the general and local strikes suggested by Panditji will result in no direct gain, but they will surely inspire self-respect among the people and also the desire to attain *swaraj*. The leaders should not only not go before the Commission themselves, but they should at the same time prepare the people for the attainment of their national rights through every legitimate and peaceful means. The *Anand* remarks :—The speech delivered by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant is important in many respects. It truly represents the public opinion in these provinces regarding the Statutory Commission.

Political propaganda.

A number of Hindu papers commend the appeal of the Hindu Mahasabha for the observance of the *Geeta* day on December 5. In the course of its editorial article the *Gyan Shakti* remarks :—The *Geeta* holds a very high place among the scriptures. The present condition of India is attributable to her not acting in conformity with the teachings of the *Geeta*. We are sick of hearing from the lips of coward Hindus that "*Ahimsa* is the greatest religion." Years of suffering and slavery have made the Hindus oblivious of this teaching in the *Geeta:* —"If thou art killed, thou shalt enter heaven and if thou winnest thou shalt enjoy secular sovereignty. Therefore, O! Arjuna, get up and prepare thyself for battle." At that time there was no Iyengar, Das or Nehru in the Hindu community, and there was no such peace-loving organization as the Congress, otherwise Lord Krishna would never have given such an advice. There were very few impotent, cowardly and weak persons then. Only Arjuna seemed to have an inclination towards *Ahimsa* but Lord Krishna removed his misgivings so convincingly that the idea of *Ahimsa* could not even be entertained till the time of Buddha. Had not the sermon of the *Geeta* been preached to Arjuna at that time he, too, would have become a C. R. Dass. The Vedic gospel that God does not reside in the heart of a coward is too true. This is why cowardliness has been so strongly condemned in the *Geeta*. What a nice teaching it is: "O! Arjuna, do not cultivate impotency. It does not behove persons like thee to do so. Give up faint-heartedness and stand up." These teachings should be exhibited as mottoes in the Congress and Hindu Sabha pandals. It is also necessary that December 5, 1927, should be observed as *Geeta* day throughout the country, so that the people may bestow particular attention on the *Geeta*. In the course of an impassioned article, calling upon labourers to rise against the oppressions of capitalists, the *Vartman* says :—These men who commit dacoities in the name of trade have devastated towns and villages. These selfish men have converted into a terrible hell this world which was like heaven. To serve their ends these greedy persons have left no stone unturned to annihilate other men. Crores of labourers of this country are starving, but capitalists are passing their days in luxury. Labourers: You have tolerated a good deal. Rise up now. Recall the atrocities perpetrated by these capitalists and wake up to establish your own government. Show to the world that you know full well how to die for your rights. The Russian Communists expect that your emancipation will lead to the salvation of the world. India depends on you for her liberty.

The Delhi riot.

The *Sudharak* questions the propriety of the action of the Muslim community in lavishing money on the defence of Abdul Rashid, and says that a religion which sanctions the designation of mean cowardly assassins as martyrs can lay no claim to culture and civilization, at least in the present era. It refers to the disturbance that followed the execution of Abdul Rashid, in which one Hindu was killed and about 50 or 60 of them were wounded, and remarks:—Can even now the truth be disputed that the Muslims are ever ready to countenance the meanest act committed in the name of religion? Can any Muslim leader still proudly assert that Islam recognizes the religious freedom of every individual? A religion which can adore mean assassins like Abdul Rashid is either a travesty of religion or incomprehensible to its followers. Muslim barbarity has now

been exposed to the world in its utter nakedness. The *Abhyudaya* refers to the tribute paid by Maulana Zafar Ali to Abdul Rashid and to his description of the assassin as a *ghazi* and says that that is a means of exciting the Muslims and producing other Abdul Rashids. The Punjab Government is very prompt in launching prosecutions. Let us see what action it takes against Maulana Zafar Ali. It may be that it is only the Hindus who at present suffer as a result of the process of exciting the ignorant Muslim fanatics, but it should be remembered that this will one day recoil on the heads of *mullahs*, *maulanas*, and *maulvis* also.

Garhmukhteshwar riot.

The *Aligarh Mail* writes:—Bania shrewdness has given to the Muslims the nickname of "bullies." But at Gramukhteshwar it was the Hindus who were actually bullies. According to the inquiry of Maulana Muhammad Ali Irfan, secretary of the Jamiat-i-Hind and a member of the staff of the *Hamdard* of Delhi, there is a Gurukul at Garhmukteshwar of which some members during their mischievous lectures on Indian history defamed past Muslim rulers and asked the Hindus not to have any dealings with Muslims. Provocative speeches against Muslims were delivered by *sangathanists* even in the *mêla*. The result was that an organized loot and brigandage was practised by Hindu rowdies. It is rumoured that many corpses of Muslims were thrown in the river. And it is a fact that many Muslims are untraceable. From all accounts of the Hindu atrocities at Garhmukteshwar it is evident that for some time the Muslims there were plunged into a holocaust of lawlessness. The United Provinces Government must institute a sifting inquiry into the whole episode in order to find out how far the police at Garhmukteshwar failed in saving Muslim life and property.

Muslim affairs.

The *Rohilkhand Gazette* protests against the practice obtaining in the Punjab Education department of recording the race of Muslim students as Arya, and says that this cognomen is now used to denote the followers of the Dayanandi faith. Muslim students cannot brook this insult that future Indian history should be falsified by styling them as Aryas. If the next census operations are placed in the hands of Arya Samajist officials they would enter the race of all Indian Muslims as Arya.

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ALLAHABAD:

December 3, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

12 JAN 19

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 49 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 10, 1927.

Reforms.

THE Press remains absorbed in the discussion of the constitution of the Statutory Commission. There is considerable speculation as to the outcome of the propaganda for the boycott of the Commission. Extremist papers, while welcoming the attitude of the Liberals, doubt if they will adhere to it to the end. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* quotes from the speeches and writings of some Indian leaders on the personnel of the Commission and writes:—Thus every Indian qualified to speak upon the implications of this move of the Conservative Cabinet has emphatically declared that he will have absolutely nothing to do with the Simon show. It is, of course, not very difficult to conscript a few political nonentities before the Commission to be able to declare the incompleteness of the boycott. It will not be an exaggeration to say in this connexion that the nefarious activities of the bureaucratic die-hards are in full swing. Be it as it may, if we, in the words of Mr. Jinnah, stuck to our own guns, we would come through the fire as a united and greater people than we have been in the past. The *Aligarh Mail* severely criticizes those Muslim leaders who are supporting the boycott of the Statutory Commission and says that they belong to that "small minority of educated Muslims who, for personal interests or idiosyncrasies, are playing to the tune of those Hindu diplomats who are out to boycott the Reforms Commission in defence of their communal interests which they are cleverly advertising to be the interests of the country." Proceeding, it writes:—We daresay that the rank-and-file of educated Muslims in every part of the country are solidly, stubbornly, and deadly opposed to the Hindu strategy of boycotting the Reforms Commission. We challenge the band of Muslim boycotters to take a referendum from the generality of educated Muslims on the subject and then talk of Muslim opinion on it being on their own side. With the only exception of organizations controlled by the Khilafatists who have lost all the insignificant hold they possessed during the Khilafat movement on educated Muslims all Muslim associations are becoming articulate and by means of resolutions are unequivocally announcing their opposition to the boycott movement.

The *Swadesh* warns Indians against being taken in by the Viceroy's speech on the Royal Commission, and says that though the Government contends that there would be anarchy in the country if it left it and that there was unrest and anarchy in it when it assumed control of its government from the hands of the East India Company, yet it conveniently forgets that this very Company was responsible for the rebellion of 1857. Surely the Government is very solicitous for peace in India, as it is also in Egypt, China, Africa, and all other places where the whites have to bear the burden of the maintenance of peace. Now-a-days there are Hindu-Muslim dissensions in the country. Riots occur almost every day. Secret murders also take place. Thefts and dacoities, too, are committed. Yet the Government, which professes to preserve order, sees only evidences of peace on all sides. If this is peace, what else is unrest? We prefer our old era of "unrest" to this peace. Queen Victoria's Proclamation was a characteristically occidental move to pacify the people. This was made quite clear by Lord Curzon in 1904, and since then such moves have been repeatedly practised.

Indians should be on their guard against them. Neither threats nor cajolery should deflect them from their course. Not only should the Royal Commission be boycotted, but a thundering agitation will have to be set afoot for the attainment of their rights. Atrocities will be perpetrated on them. They will have to undergo sufferings. Are the youths prepared to risk their life for the honour of the country, for liberty, and for giving a crushing reply to their opponents? Commenting on the debate on the Statutory Commission in Parliament the *Pratap* remarks:—The debate has made it abundantly clear that to Indians the British Labour party is as bad as the Conservative or the Liberal parties. All of them pursue the same policy in order to perpetuate our slavery. The ground adduced by Lord Birkenhead for the exclusion of Indians from the Commission is as hollow as it is hypocritical. He asserted that India was in the throes of anarchy when the British entered this country, and that it was they who delivered her, little knowing that his ancestors interfered with the political affairs of this country and eventually established themselves firmly by dint of knavery, artifice, fraud, and dishonesty. If Lord Birkenhead turns his eyes to the doings of those dead British traders who laid the foundation of British rule in India he will discover that the black deeds of Hastings, Dalhousie, or Canning find no parallel in the history of dishonesty in the world. If Lord Birkenhead thinks that his ancestors came to India to remove anarchy and restore tranquillity then it will have to be said that he is ignorant of even the A B C of Indian history. In the course of the debate Mr. Baldwin dogmatically asserted that when God desires any difficult task to be fulfilled He entrusts it to the British. It is, indeed, true that the task of plundering and of keeping in subjection a country with a hoary civilization is very difficult. But if Mr. Baldwin thinks that this task has been entrusted to him by God he is mistaken. The task of perpetuating the slavery of India has been entrusted to Baldwin and Britishers of his ilk by Satan, the ruler of Hell, who is dragging them towards destruction by leading them to think that they are heaven-born commanders. If to-day Britain regards this Satanic prompting as a divine injunction then all that we can say is that her intellect has become perverse, and perversity drags individuals, societies, and institutions towards destruction. The *Aj* says that Lord Birkenhead has made it clear that all the members of the Royal Commission will make the inquiry on pre-determined principles and lines. This shows that so far as India is concerned all the political parties of England have one and the same imperialistic and militarist outlook. If we do not realize this even now we, and not the British authorities, are to blame for it. The paper adds:—The fulminations of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald against the few Labour members who supported the Indian claim in connexion with the Royal Commission should open the eyes of Indians as to the help they can expect at the hands of the Labour party. In view of even Mr. Lansbury's *volte-face* Indians will only prove themselves to be fools if they hope for any real sympathy from any of the political parties of Britain in their struggle for liberty. The *Shankar* doubts the sincerity of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's advice regarding the revival of non-cooperation and non-payment of taxes and interprets it as an empty threat. The *Abhyudaya* endorses the view of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that the only manly course left open to Indians is non-cooperation and non-payment of taxes and says:—If the Indian nation follows the path chalked out by Malaviyaji there is no doubt that we shall have established *swaraj* by the year 1930 or for the matter of that, within 10 days. The *Hindi Kesari* is sceptical about the future of the boycott movement in view of the discordant elements constituting the boycotters. The *Anand* commends the decision of the Central Provinces ministers to boycott the Statutory Commission and says that in all those legislatures where public opinion favours boycott it should be incumbent upon the ministers to non-cooperate with the Commission. But if they choose to slight public opinion they will bring an indelible blot on themselves, and their future career will be blasted.

In the course of an article discussing the question of the boycott of the Statutory Commission the *Medina* writes:—We have briefly referred to the schemes which the Conservative Ministry has adopted for the perpetual subjection of India, and from these everyone can draw the conclusion that owing to commercial, imperial, capitalistic, and military considerations Great

Britain can never leave India. The Commission is constituted of a few individuals, and is a small specimen of the imperialistic designs of Conservatives. But even if the whole Parliament comes with a host of angelic men from England and Scotland they will do only that for India which the growth of imperialism demands and on the accomplishment of which their very life depends. To hope for anything else is to live in a fool's paradise. Commenting on Lord Birkenhead's speech in the House of Lords on the Statutory Commission the same paper says:—Every responsible and irresponsible Englishman will continue to talk like this so long as Indians remain engaged in internecine strife. If India were strong and united to-day a very good reply could have been given to these mad effusions. And this reply would have been the same as America gave to England in the last century. At that time also the British Premier claimed for Britain the right of ruling over America. But Washington and his self-sacrificing volunteers gave such a silencing and logical reply that Britain had no other alternative but to bow her head and the British flag was for ever removed from the American soil. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* writes:—Sensible Muslims are bewildered by the diversity of opinion regarding the Royal Commission. They have always been ardent devotees of freedom and can never forsake what they can easily get. It is a different matter that just as Hindus take *swaraj* to mean Hindu *raj* Muslims also desire Muslim self-government. Responsible persons have so far said nothing in support of the Commission. We are not aware of the political complexion of those Bombay Muslims who opposed a boycott and wanted a presentation of the Muslim demands before the Commission in the interests of the community. In another article the same paper says that Muslims are now bitterly rueing their participation in the *swaraj* agitation. They can benefit neither from constitutional reforms nor from *swaraj* nor can Gandhi's bogus programme take them any nearer to their ideal. Their only sheet-anchor is Muslim self-government. *Swaraj* can never safeguard the honour of their Prophet nor stop the circulation of blasphemous literature. It is not for *swaraj* to protect Muslim rights and freedom. They now want the Muslim self-government which was outlined by Sir Syed. Government had promised that when Muslims become fit for administration they would get their rights, and their empire would be restored to them. Muslims are now not behind any other race in progress. How is it, then, that others are now made partners in their powers and Government does not redeem its promise. The *Desh Bhagat* writes:—Government is afraid that if there is a complete boycott of the Simon Commission it would not be able to show its face to the world and would perforce have to concede the demands of Indian nationalists. If India were somehow to adopt complete non-cooperation with the British Government the edifice of Britain would surely topple down. It is because of this that Lord Irwin is trying to get up a party in India which would oppose the boycott. Loyalists, title-holders, jagirdars, and those who subsist on the crumbs of Government are being pressed into service for the purpose. The Shafi-Ghaznavi combination is co-operating with the Nawab-Raja party of the United Provinces to get the Muslim League to support the Commission. Some sycophantic Hindus will also chime in. But the clarion call of the Congress and the Khilafat Committee will not go unheard and nationalist Hindus and Muslims will ultimately win the day.

Political propaganda.

Exhorting the people to celebrate the Gita day and to act up to its teachings the *Vartman* writes:—The Gita is the key to independence. Even to-day, remembering the command "fight without compunction," we can enter the battle-field in order to put an end to our subjection. Even to-day, bearing in mind the passage "Happy the Kshattriyas, O! Arjun, who obtain such a fight," we can engage in a battle for the liberation of India. Remembering the passage "Weapons cleave him not, nor fire burneth him," we can cheerfully bear all the inhuman sufferings of jail in our efforts to free our Mother. Acting on the advice of the Gita we ought to resolve that we shall rest only when we have attained independence through organization. The inebriate imperialists should know that it is a hard task to keep in perpetual subjection the land of birth of Lord Krishna. In the course of an article, exhorting all the political parties to unite in the forthcoming Congress and to fix complete independence as their goal, the paper

says :—The insult offered to Indians by their exclusion from the Royal Commission is due to their being a subject race. Such insults will not end even if we succeed in completely boycotting the Commission, for our rulers will then resort to other methods so that we may for ever forget the idea of equality and independence and dance to their tune like monkeys in the hands of a juggler. We ought, therefore, to ponder as to how we can throw off the yoke of slavery which is the root-cause of this insult. We should at the same time make up our minds that our object is not to secure rights for Indians in the Commission and partial reforms in the present system of government. We want to subvert the very system of Government which does not regard us as men, which is not prepared to recognize our birth-rights, which has rendered us so helpless, and as a result of which we are insulted in this manner both at home and abroad. We should all meet at the forthcoming Congress and resolve that our ultimate aim is complete independence and that nothing less will satisfy us. A correspondent, writing to the *Pratap* under the pseudonym "Yash" invokes the Hindu gods to bring about a cataclysm preceding reconstruction and says :— O! Brahma, begin thy dance of destruction. There is no room for hesitation on the score of an upheaval in the universe. Dance heartily and in utter self-abandonment to the accompaniment of the music of the boundless ocean of blood. Let not thy wishes remain unfulfilled! The correspondent concludes by praying the gods to accelerate this cataclysm and to make him the target of all the tribulations and sufferings that must follow in its wake.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Arya Mitra* reproduces from the *Tej* of Delhi a few objectionable extracts from the local Muslim press and describes them as "instances of meanness practised by the Muslim press under the very nose of the Government at Delhi." It remarks :— It passes our comprehension why the C. I. D. sleeps over the publication of such filthy matter? Why is no legal action taken against editors who are guilty of such offence? Are not such indecent statements sufficient to provoke the Hindus? We regret that the Muslim press at the headquarters of the Government of India is transgressing the bounds of law, etiquette, and civilization and yet no action is taken against it. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* says that Swami Dayanand was a true spiritualist and nationalist and never wanted Hindu-Muslim discord. The *bhajans* of his time do not breathe hate and the offending chapters of the *Satyartha Prakash* are subsequent accretions. He could never have anticipated that spiritualism would be thus strangled after his death and the Stri Samaj would be established within the Arya Samaj, so that the scenes of the infamous clubs and hotels of Europe and America might be re-enacted here and their mysteries laid bare in the law courts. All sensible Indians should boycott the Arya Samaj for its discord-breeding activities and for its sacrificing political and spiritual rectitude for the sake of sensuous gratifications.

United Provinces Political Conference.

The *Aligarh Mail* writes :—The United Provinces Political Conference which was held here the other day was, for all practical purposes, a Hindu show and should better be called the United Provinces Hindus' Conference. Attendance in it was throughout very miserably poor. As to the achievements of the conference, they were against Muslim interests. The president of the conference himself poured out the venom of his communalist heart against the Muslims when in the course of his presidential address he held communal electorates to be the main-spring of communal dissensions. The *Abhyudaya* remarks :—Although we do not agree in its entirety with everything contained in the presidential address we must admit that it was opportune and nationalistic. We, however, fail to understand how the Pandit supported the resolution of the Calcutta Unity Conference regarding cow-slaughter. No patriot can disagree with the views of the president on the Statutory Commission.

Muslim affairs.

The *Rohilkhand Gazette* writes :—The *Jamiat-ul-Islam* has ascertained, after full and further inquiry, that the Muslim *gaddis* of Tamkohi and Salimgarh estates were compelled to keep top-knots, to shave their beards and to burn their dead and force and violence were used in making them forsake the Islamic faith. They

were induced to adopt *niyog* instead of *nikah*. Referring to the proscription by the local Government of the *Argham-ul-Kufra* which was written in reply to the *Radd-ul-Rafza*, the *Sarfaraz* enquires why the latter book has not been similarly dealt with when it has been acknowledged by even the entire Sunni press to be offensive to Shias. The *Haqiqat* appeals for support for Mr. Faiz Muhammad's resolution in the Punjab Council for more Punjabi Muslim Judges in the Lahore High Court, and says that the grievance of Punjabi Muslims that there are very few Muslim Judges in their High Court and these also are not Punjabis is quite legitimate.

Indian States.

Referring to the appointment of the Commission to inquire into the affairs of the Bharatpur State the *Swadesh* says that it is hard to comprehend the policy which the Government has been following for some years past in regard to the Indian States. The Viceroy visits the Indian States and assures their Chiefs that their relations with the Government will become more cordial. If the object of interference in the Indian States is to reform them then there are various means to achieve this end. The British Government first allows these Chiefs to follow their sweet will and does not at all take notice of their licentiousness and atrocities. When they get emboldened by such practices the Government, in the name of its love of justice, wields such a weapon against them that they are reduced to a very sad plight. The Maharaja of Bharatpur has been grievously insulted by the appointment of this Commission. The *Haqiqat* is glad to find that the Government of India has, in accordance with the wishes of the Ruling Chiefs, at last appointed a committee to determine its future relations with Indian States. This committee should go further into the character of Chiefs and their relations with their subjects and the general progress of the latter. It is a fact that conditions in certain States have of recent years been simply indescribable. Debauchery, extravagance, indifference towards the welfare of the subjects, and prolonged absence from their States characterize the careers of most rulers and a sifting inquiry is needed to mend matters.

The Aryan Congress.

Al Khalil complains that Asghari Begum (now Shanti Devi) surpassed even Messrs. Malaviya and Moonje in provocativeness in her speech at the neo-Aryan Conference at Delhi. She went even so far as to call the Muslims *badmashes* and incited the Hindus to trace the conspiracy at the back of the murders of their leaders as Government favoured Muslims for their extra-territorial patriotism. She also exhorted her audience to develop strength to deal with *badmashes* with *dandas* (sticks). As these words have emanated from the lips of a woman who has been converted from Islam they will naturally generate enthusiasm, and might, it is feared, heighten those mischievous feelings which at present animate Aryas against Muslims and lead to undesirable consequences. In these circumstances Government would be well advised to anticipate the evil effects of such speeches and to adopt remedial measures.

The Revenue Bill.

Referring to the inability of the Government to enter into a compromise with the zamindars over the Revenue Bill the *Aj* remarks :—We congratulate the zamindars on their firm stand. It is no mean achievement that they are gradually developing that courage which is indispensable to opposition. The hope that zamindars, if they exercise introspection, will one day or another ally themselves with patriots is our only consolation although there is no probability of our hope fructifying in the near future. Something is better than nothing and hence selfish opposition is preferable to sycophancy.

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ALLAHABAD :
December 10, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

10 JUL 1928

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 50 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 17, 1927.

Reforms.

A number of extremist Hindu papers while supporting the proposed boycott of the Statutory Commission also advocate a revival of the non-cooperation movement. They claim the right of self-determination and refuse to recognize the competence of the British Government to inquire into and pronounce on the fitness of Indians for further instalments of reforms. The Muslim press continues to complain bitterly of the attitude of Hindus towards the minorities and even those papers, like the *Hamdam* and the *Medina*, which at first earnestly supported the boycott of the Commission, now make their support conditional on a pact which would ensure the protection of Muslim rights. Referring to the proceedings of the meeting held at Allahabad to protest against the exclusion of Indians from the Commission the *Leader* writes :– Our countrymen have grown sick of the hypocritical protestations of men who in plain words want to retain the power which they have so far monopolized for as much longer as may be possible. They are not serious in their professions of leading India on to dominion status in the near future. They are following a policy marked by selfishness and by the arrogance of conscious might. It is this which our countrymen have to realize and fight. If they deserve a future worth having they will seize the opportunity now presented to them by the British Government to demonstrate that they cannot be trifled with, that they have a national will uncompromisingly resolute not to allow their Motherland to be injured, insulted and humiliated. It is to this will that sincere, feeling and forcible expression was given by every single speaker who took part in the Mayo Hall demonstration of Sunday. Commending Mr. Jinnah's statement regarding the attitude of Muslims towards the Commission the paper writes :—The observations of Mr. Jinnah meant for narrow-minded and timorous Muslim communalists are applicable to every section of any other community which favours cooperation with the Commission and deserve to be noted by them. They should appeal to all those who are not actuated by personal interests and to whom the support of the powers that be is not an article of faith. The duty of the vast majority of Hindus and Muslims is clear, and it is to uphold the honour of the Motherland by bringing about as effective a boycott of the alien Commission as possible. In an article published in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* Hardayal Nag writes :—The Royal Commission is coming to further consolidate British rule in India on a permanent basis. It will not be possible to boycott the Commission more fully than Milner Commission was boycotted in Egypt. Independence of Egypt that followed is not worth an hour's purchase. If India is to be freed from foreign domination the warfare that went on in 1920-21 must be resumed.

The *Aj* commends the friendly attitude of Colonel Wedgwood towards India as evinced in his letter about the Statutory Commission to Lala Lajpat Rai and says :—If our leaders preach to the masses the lesson of self-reliance, the day will not be far off when the Government will be as anxious for our cooperation as it was in the non-cooperation days. It is a pity that by abandoning non-cooperation we weakened ourselves and impaired our position. The country cannot gain anything by cooperating with the present Government.

It is impossible to utilize the present reforms without sacrificing self-respect, and as we have not been given an opportunity to work the reforms in an independent spirit, we refuse to make use of them in future as well. We agree with Colonel Wedgwood's views regarding the boycott of the Commission. We however support boycott not because Indians have been excluded from the Commission, but because through this Commission the British authorities are depriving us of our birth-right of making or marring our own future. The *Sainik* says that during the non-cooperation days the Government at once investigated all complaints against its officers and punished them most heavily if they were found guilty, but now as a result of the disorganization and dissessions in the country the bureaucracy is demonstrating a naked dance of its reprehensible policy. It is charged with showing open and sinful partiality to Muslim goondas and murderers, but it mocks its accusers. At such a juncture God has perverted the intelligence of the rulers and has led them to appoint a purely white Commission to report on the fitness of this ancient land. The cry of boycott is being heard from all quarters. The Commission will certainly be boycotted until the bureaucracy is brought to its knees. Popular demonstrations of boycott will completely blacken the face of the white Commission. But this is not enough. Efforts should again be made to enrol one crore members for the Congress, to make collections for the Tilak *Swaraj* fund and to reorganize the Congress. We should utilize this golden opportunity so to strengthen the Congress that we may be able to carry on incessant propaganda, agitation and constructive work. Then there will be no need for a Commission and we shall be able to take *Swaraj* whenever we like. The *Surya* emphasizes the need of drafting a constitution for India and then carrying on a vigorous agitation both in India and in England for its acceptance by Parliament. It says that there is no other effective means of protesting against the insult offered to India by the appointment of a non-Indian and exclusively Parliamentary Commission. The *Abhyudaya* writes:—The only self-respecting course open to us is to organize an effective boycott of the Statutory Commission under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and if by the year 1930 Government fails to grant us our human rights we should revive the non-violent non-cooperation movement in a more terrible form. In the course of an article commending the movement for the boycott of the Commission the *Gramvasi* writes:—Boycott alone will not be a sufficient answer to Britain's affront and insult to India. If Indians have the wisdom to profit by past experience, they should have recourse to non-cooperation which is the only infallible means by which British administration can be rendered impossible in India. Orations and wrangles will serve no useful purpose. What is now required is that we should give up all hopes from Britain and rely on our own strength and firmly resolve to attain *Swaraj* by means of non-cooperation. India's salvation lies in non-cooperation alone. The *Sudarshan* strongly criticizes Lord Birkenhead's remarks in the House of Lords regarding Parliament's responsibility towards India and says:—To force one's rule on the people of another country, to destroy all its commercial resources and then to dump one's own goods on it by placing its citizens under the grip of steel claws in the shape of laws, to enrich one's country by appointing one's countrymen to high offices after condemning the inhabitants of the subject country as unfit, to assume the entire control of the army by disarming the people through distrust—if all this is responsibility of Parliament, then what act is that which can be regarded as irresponsible? If such a speech can be characterized as the expression of a simple mind, as has been done by the British political parties, then there can be no hypocritical speech in this world. The *Kisan* opines that the agriculturists being a backward community are not in a position to boycott the Statutory Commission. It asks educated agriculturists to send to the "*Kisan* Office", Rae Bareli, a statement of disabilities of the peasants in their respective tahsils so that there may be facility in preparing their case for the consideration of the Commission. The *Hamdam* considers that it is necessary to frame a constitution removing all mutual suspicions before the proposed boycott of the Statutory Commission can succeed. It is ominous in these circumstances, it says, that some Hindu leaders want to postpone the composing of communal differences. This view is inspired by cunning and selfishness and is only an

artifice to perpetuate Hindu supremacy. Instead of taking advantage of the temporary ebullition of enthusiasm created by the boycott agitation, a calm and dispassionate view should be taken of matters and a pact must be reached which might finally end all injustice by the majority and protest by the minority. Failing such a compromise the boycott would not at all succeed and the minorities at least would surely not join in it. Will the Hindus not be generous enough to treat their Muslim compatriots as the Irish Catholics treated their Protestant co-nationals or the Egyptian Muslims their Coptic comrades? The intolerance of the Hindu majority will prove the undoing of the political future of India. In another article the same paper expresses grief that opinion in England is not at all disconcerted by the boycott agitation in India and is confident that this froth will soon settle down. It exhorts Indians to decide upon their attitude after the fullest deliberation and to show firmness in refusing to succumb to Sir John Simon's seductions. *Al Khalil* is sorry that in spite of their bitter experience of injustices and intolerance in the past most Muslim leaders are thoughtlessly joining the movement for boycotting the Simon Commission without realizing that they are thereby seriously prejudicing the interests of their community. Muslims can never forego their just rights and must insist on a fair pact. They must be assured of their own position before they participate in India's struggle for freedom. If the Muslim leaders want to join the boycott at all costs and would not have a previous understanding, they should say so in plain words. If we cannot get our rights from our own countrymen, how can we secure them from foreigners.

Indian states.

The affairs of Indian states have received considerable attention in the Press this week. Referring to the Viceregal announcement regarding the appointment of a small expert committee to report upon the relationship between the paramount power and the Indian states the *Pratap* remarks:—Our rulers derive the maximum advantage from the knowledge that the Indian states have proved to be great obstacles in the way of the nation's struggle for freedom and that they may prove very useful in perpetuating British rule in India. It is therefore very probable that as a result of the recommendations of the Indian States Inquiry Committee the control of the Indian states may pass from the hands of the Government of India to those of the Imperial Government. Such a step will not only appease the Indian Chiefs, but will also make them puppets in the hands of the British Government so that they may prove helpful at times of crisis. We wish to warn the Indian Chiefs that they will be deceived if they do not keep pace with the times. They can maintain their existence only if they have the sympathies of their subjects, otherwise no power in the world can save them. The *Haqiqat* is sorry that despite the Princes Protection Bill the regimé of Lord Reading marked a startling and undesirable departure in British policy towards the states. The treatment meted out to Nabha, Indore, Hyderabad, Khairpur, etc., needs no repetition. The dark clouds of an inquiry commission were already hovering over the Maharaja of Bharatpur, but news is to hand now of a similar threat to the Maharaja of Jhabua. Efforts to secure the services of an administrator from Government have so far been unsuccessful, and it is feared that either the Maharaja of Jhabua will abdicate like the Maharaja of Bharatpur in a week or two or will accept a commission. The *Oudh Akhbar* recalls Lord Dalhousie's regimé in connexion with the present "severe attitude" of Government towards Indian states and goes on to say:—A large number of chiefs who had helped in establishing British rule in India have been dethroned on the most trifling pretexts. We consider it as extremely unwise to earn the ill-will of the chiefs by such unjustified interference. The Indian ruling chiefs are no doubt weak, but the blood of brave men courses through their veins and their high descent will not tolerate for long the insulting treatment to which it is at present being subjected. In view of these circumstances we are glad to see the Maharaja of Bharatpur taking up Government's challenge and accepting a commission of inquiry. The *Aziz-i-Hind* says that very disquieting news is being heard about Jhabua, but hopes that as the wound caused by the Indore affairs is still too fresh nothing will be done to victimize a second state in Central India and thus to unsettle the public mind. The *Haq* warns ruling chiefs that

they should expect no change in the policy initiated by Lord Reading and should not only give up their personal extravagance and luxurious living, but also reform their administration and adopt a sympathetic policy towards their subjects if they want to save themselves from the disgrace and loss caused by the appointment of commissions.

Political propaganda.

A correspondent writing in the *Aj* under the pseudonym "A Nationalist" advises the Congress leaders to exploit the growing economic distress of the rural population and the unemployment prevailing among the educated and the semi-educated classes by making them realize their latent potential energies and by harnessing this man-power for political purposes. The *Chand* deplores the indifference of the Congress and the Hindu Maha sabha towards the organization of the sadhus and contends that an organized party of sadhus can create an awakening in the country such as hundreds of non-cooperation movements cannot. It is also of opinion that the services of the Sadhus can be profitably utilized in the spreading of education among the villagers which is indispensable for India's regeneration. The *Desh Bhagat* states that the Russian Government has during its independence celebrations made special concessions for the poorer classes. In other countries money is lavishly distributed on such occasions; there are feasts, the poor workers and peasants are forced to work and their money is heartlessly wasted; but in Russia the number of hours of work has been reduced, houses will be provided for workers and peasants, land revenue will be remitted, land will be provided for poorer people, pensions will be granted to old and indigent persons, people wounded in the war will be given insurance policies and capital punishment will be abolished. Celebrations have been held hundreds of times both in Britain and India and in the states, but no one has ever thought of doing anything for the good of workers, peasants and other poor people. Rather whips are always rained on these people in such celebrations. Such is the difference between the British and the Russian Governments for which the people of the world heartily love Bolshevik Government.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Gyanshakti* says:—It is a fact that it is the Hindus themselves who are laying an axe at the root of the Hindu community. Even now there are some Hindu Congressmen who ignore realities and think that *Swaraj* can be attained by flattering the Muslims. Of what use will that *Swaraj* be which demands for its price the annihilation of the Hindu community? *Swaraj* cannot rightly be had so long as the Hindu community is divided into sub-sections and so long as Hindu Congressmen hold subservience to Muslims as the only means of the attainment of *Swaraj*. Hindu organization and the reformation of the Hindu community are indispensable for the establishment of *Swaraj*. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* contends that Swami Shraddhanand's murder was committed on patriotic and not on communal grounds, inasmuch as it was generally believed that he was in the pay of the Criminal Investigation Department and had undertaken to keep the Hindus and Muslims constantly at loggerheads. When the late Qazi Abdur Rashid returned from Kabul he could not bear to see this and on account of being a non-cooperater murdered him. The *Parivartan* complains that M. Zafar Ali Khan has published an article in the *Zamindar* of November 17, in which he has defended the wicked act of Abdur Rashid and has said that this Muslim had rendered a remarkable service to the dignity of mankind and to religion. Inciting to murder and violence the Maulana has said that Muslims have the right to treat the revilers of their religion as they choose if the Indian Penal Code is helpless to deal with the danger. This is open incitement to murder and violence and we are surprised that Government has taken no notice of this so far. M. Zafar Ali Khan has clearly violated the law in this article and it is imperative that this breaker and enemy of peace should be suitably punished.

The Congress.

The *Vartman* says that instead of placing before the British Government any scheme of reforms the Congress should prepare a constitution for an absolutely independent India. For this an expert sub-committee should be formed which should consult both

Indian and foreign politicians. Then we should explain to the thirty-one crores of Indians the real nature of *Swaraj* and prepare them for the sacrifices necessary for attaining it. On the basis of that constitution we should inaugurate our *Swaraj* campaign. Then it will not be possible to delude the public and we shall be able to sacrifice ourselves unitedly for winning our rights. The *Medina* fervently appeals to Muslims to join the next session of the Congress in large numbers and says :—We would ask those who oppose the participation of Muslims in the Congress whether they can point to even a single resolution which was really detrimental to the interests of Muslims or to any action which would prove that it has been remiss in the protection of the rights of any community. The Congress has always been anxious not to give any minority community cause to apprehend that its interests are not safe in the hands of this national body. Earl Winterton claims that the British Government alone is the custodian of the rights of minorities. We are, however, of opinion that it is only the Congress which can discharge and is discharging the duty of protecting the rights of minorities. At present as an inevitable result of the poisonous atmosphere of subjection the Congress appears to be paralyzed, but the time will soon come when it will become a powerful body and its decisions will have the force of royal mandates for the country. It is, however, essential that before such a time comes Muslims should have their rights clearly defined by the Congress and have a sacred national pact effected by it. This is only possible if they sincerely and earnestly take part in the Congress.

The Cinematograph Committee.

In the course of two leading articles the *Aj* gives a short history of the trade policy of Britain with special reference to India and says:—As a result of this policy Indian industries have been ruined. India has been sucked and Britain has flourished. Now the British Government has adopted the policy of Imperial preference which is calculated indirectly to help British industries at the expense of India. Two provoking examples are furnished by the duty imposed on steel imported into India from foreign countries other than Britain and the appointment of the Cinematograph Committee. The avowed object of this committee is to stimulate Indian film industry and to protect Indian morals from undesirable foreign films. The real object, however, is to stimulate British film industry by imposing high tariff on American films. All talk of helping Indian cinema industry is false; it is a camouflage. Indians should be forewarned and should try to protect their interests. Otherwise sometimes in the name of saving their money and sometimes in the name of protecting their morals they will be ruined in the interests of British industries. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges that there should be no cinema shows in India until Indian films are produced with Indian capital and under Indian guidance as the present shows are not popular among Indians owing to their catering only for European play-goers. Indian films are undoubtedly shown off and on, but their number is infinitesimal. Care should also be taken to see that the films are not of a low moral standard and do not contain attacks insulting to anybody, community or faith. It must be insisted that foreign cinema companies are not needed and shows had better wait till Indian cinemas are organized.

The Kakori dacoity case.

A number of papers express deep sympathy with the condemned prisoners in the Kakori dacoity case and strongly criticize the Government for not commuting their death sentences. The *Oudh Akhbar* writes:—The indifference of Government, its pride of power, its breaches of promise and its opposition to the Indian demand for freedom have so disheartened and disappointed some Indian young men that utterly defying the law they begin to plan short cuts to freedom in signal disregard of the safety of their own lives and eventually reap the bitter harvest as in the Kakori case. In the end we cannot refrain from characterizing the decision of Government in rejecting the appeal of our four young men as heartless even though it may be based on justice. If the death sentence of these four accused had been commuted to transportation for life Government would have been able to make a gesture of generosity without any actual sacrifice and the grant of a fresh lease of life to these four prisoners would certainly not have weakened or shaken the foundation of the empire.

The King of Afghanistan.

The newspapers accord a warm welcome to His Majesty the King of Afghanistan and pay a tribute to his patriotic and progressive tendencies. Referring to the reception of His Majesty at Bombay the *Leader* writes :- The high and the mighty in this land may well envy the right royal reception accorded to His Majesty and may draw a useful lesson from the same. If they wish to win the hearts of the people they should be as true servants of India as His Majesty has been of Afghanistan.

The Aryan Congress.

The *Chand* commends the *satyagrah* resolution passed at the Delhi session of the Aryan Conference and says that *satyagrah* is the only weapon which can save the Hindu community from annihilation when the Muslims and the Government are arrayed against it. It exhorts the Arya Samajists to take a leaf out of the book of the Akalis and sacrifice even their lives for the sake of their religion if they want to emerge victorious from their struggle.

Sale of vegetable oil.

There have b en frequent suggestions in the Press for the restriction of the import of vegetable *ghee* and oil on the ground that they are detrimental to public health. The *Oudh Akhbar* complains of the scarcity of milch cattle and the consequent dearness of *ghee* and the deleterious and enervating effects of imported vegetable oil and appeals to the Indian municipalities to follow the example set by Lahore by levying a prohibitive duty on the imported vegetable product so that it may disappear from the market.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

Government Reporter,
Civil Secretariat.

ALLAHABAD :
December 17, 1927.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

NOTICE.

THERE will be no issue of the "Note on the Press" for the week ending December 31, 1927, on account of the Christmas vacations.

SATYANAND JOSHI,

December 24, 1927. *Government Reporter.*

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 51 of 1927.**

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 24, 1927.

Reforms.

WITH some exceptions Hindu papers continue with unabated vigour the campaign for the boycott of the Statutory Commission. The *Aj* says that Mr. Jinnah's manifesto, which is logical and vigorous, thoroughly castigates traitors to the country and meets their arguments unanswerably. Although it may not have any effect on those unpatriotic Muslim leaders who have determined to go against their country by co-operating with the Royal Commission, it is to be hoped that the general Muslim public will take a warning from it and will refuse to stand by these traitors. The paper refers to the "backsliding" of the Labour party in connexion with the Commission and remarks that India thinks much better of genuine Conservative imperialists than of the Labour imperialists who are no better than pitchers of poison with milk at their mouth. The *Anand* writes:—Signs are not wanting to indicate that the Muslim League has freed itself from the grip of Sir Muhammad Shafi, and that there is little likelihood of the Statutory Commission receiving any support from it. This unprecedented unity on the boycott question is a happy augury for the future of this country and if it proves lasting, Government will be compelled to concede our demands in the near future. The *Pratap* apprehends that the prevailing unity on the boycott question will only lead to a multiplication of the existing wrangles and dissensions if the boycotters have conflicting aims. It points out the need of the clarification of the issue, and suggests that the proposed boycott should be defined as applying not only to the Simon Commission, but also to the committees of the House of Lords and the House of Commons which will consider the Simon Report and to the constitution which may be granted to India on the basis of this report. It says that a boycott which aims at anything short of this, will be inconsistent with India's sense of self-respect. Anyone who joins the boycott movement is pledged to reject the constitution which may be granted to India as a result of the labours of the Simon Commission. In short, the proposed boycott means *swaraj* by self-help The *Samaya* infers from the formation of committees at Madras and Bombay with the specific object of directing the boycott movement into right channels that Pandit Malaviya's advice has been negatived by the Liberals and the Independents. It regrets that even such a simple and moderate programme, as has been outlined by Pandit Malaviya, should have proved unacceptable to a section of Indian politicians when the situation demanded a much more vigorous and forward movement. It exhorts the people to boycott the Simon Commission after the manner of the Milner Commission and to non-cooperate with the British Government in every manner conceivable if it refuses to them a constitution as framed by the Congress. It is idle to dream of *swaraj*, says the paper, unless the country unanimously accepts Pandit Malaviya's programme and acts upon it. The *Shakti* says that the masses are indifferent towards the boycott of the Statutory Commission. It is only the newspaper-reading public which is concerned with it It is the distrust of the people in the Moderates which accounts for the absence of enthusiasm in the country despite Pandit Malaviyaji's vigorous statement, Mr. Chintamani's thundering agitation and the lengthy speeches of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Jinnah, and Dr. Annie Besant. In order that the masses should join the movement it is

imperative that Mahatma Gandhi should lead it. Freedom cannot be won by Moderates. It will be won only by the courage of the Nationalists. The *Abhyudaya* disapproves of the action of the Muslims in laying down certain conditions precedent to their participation in the boycott of the Statutory Commission and warns the organizers of the boycott movement that a discussion of this question at the present juncture is not only futile, but is also calculated to create dissensions and thereby pave the path for the failure of the boycott movement. The *Gyan Shakti* justifies the exclusion of Indians from the Statutory Commission and says that if Indians are fit for *swaraj* they should not be afraid of being tested by an alien agency. *Swaraj* is not worth having if the people are not fit for it. The history of Russia and China proves this. Co-operation is preferable to boycott if the net result of both is the same. When the Muslims are going to co-operate with the Commission Hindus should not boycott it. If Hindus do so they will be acting most foolishly for which they will have to repent for a long time.

The *Medina* deplores that the Muslims are divided over such a worthless thing as the Royal Commission which cannot bring even the slightest change in their national life, and that men like Khwaja Hasan Nizami have made it a tool to achieve their selfish ends or to feed fat their ancient grudge. The Khwaja's strongest argument in favour of welcoming the Commission is that the Hindus are boycotting it. This means that if to-morrow the Hindus decide to welcome it he will urge the Muslims to boycott it. We agree with him that the Hindus are the enemies of Islam, but we would have bowed our heads before him if he had also produced some instances of Britain's friendship with Islam, such as the massacre of Delhi, the internment of Bahadur Shah, the destruction of Turkey, and the occupation of Arabia, etc. Co-operation with Christians is quite different from co-operation with the Government of India and the British politicians. Islam can never allow you to kiss the hands of those on whose skirts the blood of the Muslims has not yet dried up. Referring to a letter from Colonel Wedgwood to Lala Lajpat Rai, in which he has stated that Sir John Simon would not be influenced by the evidence of selfish communities in the matter of communal representation and would be able to anticipate the reality of the views of selfish people even before they give expression to them, the *Hamdam* says that a Hindu group has been busy in London since 1924, influencing important personages and statesmen and Members of Parliament against separate representation for Muslims, so that any understanding with Muslims may not prejudice the scheme of Hindu *raj*. It is probably because of failure in these efforts, it proceeds, that Lala Lajpat Rai has become so disgusted with national movements that he does not want to attend even the Congress session. Had Lala Lajpat Rai been more hopeful of Sir John Simon's attitude his party would have welcomed the Commission, but as Colonel Wedgwood's information is discouraging it has decided upon its boycott in a pique. But the boycott can lead to good only if Lala Lajpat Rai alters his angle of vision and co-operates whole-heartedly in the framing of a constitution on behalf of the country which will ensure the safeguarding of the rights of minorities.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In the course of an article severely condemning Hindus for their supineness and submissiveness the *Vartman* writes:—If we were alive we should have shown ourselves determined to avenge the brutal atrocities perpetrated on us. If we were alive, we would not have looked on passively at the dishonour of our mothers, sisters, and daughters. If we want to pass our days as worms of slavery what right have we to call ourselves alive? We are impotent as we are afraid of death. Drawing the attention of the Government to a Muslim publication entitled the *Talqin-i-Hindu*, which it says contains most indecent attacks on Rama, Krishna, Sita and Draupadi, the *Arya Mitra* observes:—When the Government is asked to proscribe or take action against such books it expresses its inability to do so on the ground that there is no public agitation against them, and when any such agitation is started it prosecutes the agitators. It is very strange and deplorable that while it institutes proceedings against the writers of the *Vichitra Jiwan* and *Rangila Rasul* it takes no action against the objectionable publications of the Muslims. Do not the Hindus love their religion as the Muslims do? In the course of an

article warning Hindus against the activities of Muslims and exhorting them to reform Hindu society the *Hindu Mitra* says:—Muslims are not anxious either for the political emancipation of the country or for the boycott of the Commission. They are hatching new conspiracies for harassing the Hindus. On the one hand, they have formed a secret society at Noakhali for the demolition of Hindu temples and on the other Ghaznavi and others are girding up their loins to make the Commission a success. In the Punjab they are threatening the Hindus with deadly knives that either they should accept Islam or bend their heads before them. Swami Shraddhanand and Manak Chand were murdered and attempts were made on the lives of Rajpal and Swami Nirbhayanand. In spite of such horrible bloodshed the Muslim assassins did not refrain even in the least from their muderous deeds. They approached even Lala Lajpat Rai with the horrible intention of murdering him. Every day flowers are offered at the tomb of Abdur Rashid, and a *mêla* of Muslim fanatics is held there daily. Paid Muslim propagandists are moving about in several districts of the United Provinces for creating a hostile atmosphere against the Hindus. Terrible reports of the kidnapping of Hindu boys and girls are so numerous that it is becoming impossible to compile them. The situation has become so serious that at several places Hindus cannot perform their religious rites. For the sake of their religion Muslims shed their blood like water. Through this virtue of theirs Muslims are harassing twenty-two crores of Hindus. The very existence of Hindus is in danger. On the one hand, Muslim *goondas*, like Rahu (a demon), are after Hindu widows, and on the other like Satan they want to devour the Hindu untouchables. Everywhere the Muslim net is spread. The alarm bell was sounded repeatedly, but the Hindu community was not roused and continued to lop off its limbs with the result that seven crores of Muslims are ready to swallow up the Hindu community itself. It is the duty of every Hindu to devote himself to the task of reforming the Hindu society and resolutely to face Muslims. The *Hamdam* regrets that at the present juncture, when all discord-breeding activities should cease, people of that particular mentality which prefers strife in the country are busy with their pursuits in blissful ignorance of the fatal effects of their inflammatory propaganda on the present situation. Only recently the celebration of the anniversary of Swami Shraddhanand was proposed and meetings of Hindus were held in this connexion in every city at which speeches were made to incite them against the Muslims and memories of incidents were revived which are bound to alienate Hindus from Muslims for good. Noted Hindu journals brought out *shahid* numbers in which scenes causing extreme provocation and hatred were painted and coloured pictures were presented of murders by irresponsible persons and incidental events. It is a pity that *sangathanist* papers are not at all giving up their strong language and are busy as usual with their shameful task of widening the gulf between the two communities. The *Najat* publishes an ode by H. Ali Sher Khan, *Zahin*, Fatehpuri, giving the date of the martyrdom of Qazi Abdur Rashid in which the following lines occur among others:—He cared not for his life and grieved not for his family, it would be quite proper if this were called sacrifice. Rashid, supporter of the faith, bravo! may God reward thee; thou wast a devotee (*lit.* ready to sacrifice life), a standard-bearer of Islam. Everyone in his heart believes in thy martyrdom; that Muslim is unthinking who denies this. Who can question thy being destined for paradise! Thou hast ascended the gallows in the path of God. Rashid of virtuous mien has sacrificed himself for the community.

Political propaganda.

The *Swadesh* deplores the lull in the political life of the country after 1921 and says that since that year the Congress had done nothing to place a practical and stimulating programme before the people and carry forward the struggle for freedom. The enemy has been launching attacks upon attacks upon them, but their commanders have never rallied again. If the Congress fails this year, too, to adopt such a programme the country will devise its own means for the arbitrament of its destiny. Communalism can best be met by such a programme. The question of internments can be utilized to frame this programme which should be pushed forward to every nook and corner of the country. The boycott of the Statutory Commission can form another basis for it, and the whole country can be aroused by a well-directed propaganda in this behalf. Liquor and

foreign piece-goods shops should be picketted. Unity can be preached not on the basis of pacts, but in the name of bread for the poor, hungry peasants. Referring to Emir Faisal's return from England on the British refusal to recommend Mesopotamia for membership of the League of Nations the *Najat* writes :—Such is always the fate of those who repose faith in the false promises of the Britishers. So long as the Emir is destined to receive kicks he will always go to England only to return disappointed, and the Britishers will never fulfil their promises even to the day of judgement. This incident serves as a warning to all those who hope to get anything from the Britishers. The Britishers regard those who hope to get anything from them to be fools, and they fear only those who do not beg for their rights but achieve them with their own strength. The *Desh Bhagat* wonders whether Mr. Saklatwala is being refused permission to enter India because when he was here last time he infused new life among the young men of India and exposed the cunning moves of the British Government. The truth is, it goes on to say, that the powers that be never like that Indian young men should become so fearless and should tread the straight course of freedom. Earl Winterton's statement that Mr. Saklatwala will not be granted a passport so long as he persists in his present attitude means that he can receive a passport if he does not expose British trickeries and does not help Indian youths to tread the straight path of freedom. In other words. he can get a passport if he sings praises of the Tory Government. But Shapurji Saklatwala is never going to accept such conditions even at the risk of exile. The British imperialistic Baldwin Government may place what obstacles it chooses in the path of India, but the waves of freedom will sink the iron chains of the Government to the bottom of the sea.

The King of Afghanistan.

Newspapers, both Hindu and Muslim, warmly commend the speeches delivered by the King of Afghanistan. Referring to the advice given to Indian Muslims by His Majesty the *Leader* writes :—His brief visit to this country, in the course of which he has given such wholesome advice to its people, ought to produce a beneficial effect on the communal atmosphere. He said nothing that was novel or extraordinary; but if the simple truths he inculcated are acted upon there is no doubt that the demon of communal discord will be laid low. Writing in a similar strain the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says :—Indians will, we hope, henceforth treat Afghanistan as a kind and sympathetic neighbour and dissociate themselves with all those who habitually trot out the bogey of the North-Western Frontier danger. The *Aj* remarks that the highest authorities of India can be envious of the reception accorded to the Amir of Kabul by all classes and communities of Indians. This enthusiastic reception is accounted for by the fact that the Amir is one of the independent Kings of Asia and has thus national sympathy with subject India. His Majesty's description of *mullahs* is literally true. When Hindu and Muslim priests meet the same fate in Asia as was the portion of the clergy in Europe then alone this continent can know true peace and happiness. Turkey has shown the way to Asia by rendering mad *mullahs* helpless. Afghanistan, too, is going to follow suit. It is a happy augury. The *Desh Bhagat* is suspicious of Government's refusal of permission to the Bombay Corporation to present an address to the King of Afghanistan and inquires why the Karachi Municipality was allowed to give an address to him and the London Corporation to King Fuad? There must, it asserts, be some secret reason for this refusal.

Indian States.

The exclusion of Indians from the committee appointed by the Secretary of State to report upon the relationship between the paramount Power and the Indian States has been strongly criticized by some papers. The *Leader* writes :—As in the case of the Statutory Commission, the constitution of the committee is all British, not a single Indian prince or Indian public man being apparently considered fit for appointment. The theory of subordinate alliance has been fully maintained in the constitution of the committee and the princes of royal blood must now make up their minds to appear as petitioners before it to plead their cause. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—The appointment of the Butler Committee is an affront to the Indian princes and it remains to be seen how many of them have inherited the spirit and courage of their forefathers for protecting the rights, privileges and properties bequeathed to them.

The *Hamdam* says that the appointment of Sir Harcourt Butler as Chairman of the States Inquiry Committee will be warmly welcomed by his numerous friends throughout the length and breadth of India. His wide Indian experience added to his tenure of the Foreign Secretaryship of the Government of India eminently fits him for this office. The *Haqiqat* asks for the inclusion of a ruling Chief in the Committee so that the charge of partiality may not be preferred against it. It is a pity, it goes on to say, that Indians have been excluded from it. Sir Harcourt Butler's appointment is no doubt certain to be viewed with general approval as he has passed the entire period of his service in India, mostly in the United Provinces, and has always had ample opportunities of acquainting himself with Indian Chiefs and their States. Moreover, his statesmanship and sympathetic treatment will also re-assure Indian Chiefs to some extent. But his two colleagues can hardly prove acceptable to the Chiefs. An inquiry is also needed, as we have already urged, into the internal affairs of States and the luxury and extravagance prevailing there so that there may be an improvement in these respects also. The *Jatvir* disapproves of the "notice" served by the Government of India on the Maharaja of Bharatpur and remarks :— We view the Government *communiqué* with mixed feelings of pain and surprise. The news of the appointment of the Commission has created great dissatisfaction in the Jat community all over India. Let the Government know that the Bharatpur State is honoured as much by the Jat community as Mecca is by Muslims. The very mention of the name of the Bharatpur state has the effect of stirring blood in the veins of every Jat and of creating overflowing enthusiasm. We, therefore, urge the Government of India to bring the Commission affair to an end. Government is greatly mistaken if it has an evil eye on the Maharaja, who is very popular among his subjects and enjoys an international reputation. It is the traditional policy of the Government to find fault with Indian Chiefs, make a mountain of a mole-hill, dethrone them, and take over the administration of their States in its own hands on the first opportunity available. We warn the Government to refrain, in recognition of the services of the Jat community and of the Maharaja himself, from committing any mischief, otherwise there will be discontent which it will be difficult to control.

The Jamait-ul-Ulema.

Commenting on the presidential address delivered by Maulana Anwar Shah at the Peshawar session of the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, the *Medina* says that the Maulana made a forcible exposition of the term "ulelamra" (one who gives orders, emperor, commander) and exposed those votaries of the Government and imperialism who, in order to achieve their selfish and cowardly ends, put forward the lame excuse that every "ulelamra," whether he is a Muslim or not, can demand loyalty and obedience from Muslims. By quoting the Hadis and commentaries he has established that "ulelamra" is that ruler who keeps in proper order the organization of the Muslim community, acts as its trustee, and is a reliable and powerful man, *i e.*, a Muslim. The *Najat* says :—The presidential address shows that the Muslims are more patriotic than the Hindus. If Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Dr. Moonje compare their patriotism with that of this "mullah" they are sure to find that if any one, other than the British Government, is hostile to India's freedom it is the narrow-minded and short-sighted leaders of the Hindu community. The day will soon come when India, which has been blinded by Pandit Malaviya's magic, will regain her sight, and the Hindus will long to be taken out from that infernal pit into which they have been hurled by the Pandit. The Muslims ought to carry on trade and the work of *tabligh*, sacrifice cows, and uphold the honour of their mosques, but should not allow themselves to be led away by the satanical politics of the times.

The "Arjun" case.

Commenting on the sentences passed on Professor Indra and Mr. Satyakam in the *Arjun* case the *Pratap* remarks :—The sentences find no parallel for callousness. We are prepared to co-operate with the Government if it is really anxious to suppress the promoters of communal hatred, but we are convinced that it does nothing to suppress them. We have sufficient proof in our possession to show that the propagation of communal hatred receives an impetus from the conduct of the officials. If the Government keeps its hounds under control the communal fire

is bound to subside considerably, but it will defeat its object if it confines itself to making a scape-goat of a few journals. The *Abhyudaya* writes:—It will be unanimously conceded that even if the findings of the trying magistrate regarding the offence committed by Professor Indra and Mr. Satyakam are correct the sentences passed on them are unduly severe and inhuman. The *Anand* says:—As the matter is still *sub judice* we refrain from making any comments beyond expressing our surprise and regret at the attitude of the Government in abandoning all sense of sympathy and impartiality in its treatment of the Hindus. The Muslim press openly abuses the Hindus and incites the Muslims against them and yet the Government is favourably disposed towards it whereas it is very prompt in arresting and imprisoning those Hindus who dare to answer such mean attacks. Professor Indra's only offence is that he is the editor of a courageous Hindu journal and persistently strives for the protection of the rights of the Hindus. The *Swadesh* says that the sentences inflicted on the editors of the *Arjun* are unparalleled in severity in communal cases under British rule in this country. It is noteworthy that Muslim papers carry on their trade with impunity. Such a policy on the part of the Government cannot end communal unrest.

The Congress.

The *Hamdam* says that Dr. Ansari's patriotic appeal for participation in the Madras Congress breathes such noble sentiments that no lover of India can refuse to respond to it. But following in the wake of Lala Lajpat Rai, his famous lieutenant, Bhai Parmanand, the erstwhile president of the Aryan Congress, has replied that the differences between Hindus and Muslims are based on fundamental principles, and that their ideas are so far wide apart that their co-operation on a common platform is an impossibility in the present circumstances. To him the unwillingness of Muslims to abandon themselves to the mercy of the Hindu majority betrays lack of patriotism. He believes that the Hindus cannot benefit from *swaraj* at present on account of their disorganization and should not, therefore, boycott the Royal Commission. A careful study of this opinion of Bhai Parmanand not only exposes the prevailing mentality, but provides a helpful guide for chalking out future policies.

The Kakori case.

A number of papers have written impassioned articles on the execution of the condemned prisoners in the Kakori dacoity case. The *Swadesh* writes:—Vindictiveness, thou art more stony than stone and more satanic than Satan. O! devilish one, to-morrow morning thou wilt hang from the gallows like lizards our brethren who were mad after the liberty of the Motherland and whose patriotism has overawed even the hearts of the opponents. Was not this the crime also of de Valera, Napoleon, Zaghlul, and Kemal Pasha? How many times, then, were they hanged? But no, thou art only dogging India relentlessly. Those youths who were not even in their full bloom did not escape thy kindness despite their apology and repentance. These four handfuls of bones proved such a weight on the heart of the Government of India that it threw off the yoke of mercy and peace. The Government alone can know how it can suppress revolutionaries by throwing such challenges to them. The *Pratap* remarks:—What a cruel end? What would not these youths of the country, who may be called misguided but who were in no way devoid of patriotism and the emotion of youth, have become if they had lived and developed! Their sentences have got the same callousness about them which is to be seen everywhere in the country at present. The unanimous prayer of the country for mercy which did not imply release, but merely the commutation of the death sentence to one of life-long imprisonment has gone unheeded. Even knowing that these youths followed a wrong path a study of the farce of the Kakori trial leads one to think that it is a great sin to be a youth in this country!

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ALLAHABAD:

December 24, 1927.

16 JAN 19

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE SUPDT., GOVT. PRESS, UNITED PROVINCES, ALLAHABAD.

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